DEVELOPMENT OF MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PRE-MUGHAL BENGAL

Volume I. Text

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims essentially at an investigation of the origins and developments of mosque architecture in the region of Bengal in pre-Mughal times (that is, for these purposes, to A.D. 1538); but, since the study of a limited aspect of a pan-Islamic manifestation may in itself be sterile, an attempt has been made to integrate the Islamic Bengali microcosm into the macrocosm of the mediaeval Islamic world.

Firstly, therefore, the growth of religious architecture is related to its humanistic background, especially that of the development of Islam with its political and social implications increasing in importance while Islam as a religious system gathered increasing momentum. The mosque itself is then studied in various aspects: the architectural origins of the mosque as a focal point of the religious life of the community are first investigated; and then the history of mosque architecture from the beginning to A.D. 1538 is analysed in general, but always with an eye to the particular manifestations of Bengal. Evidence for the etymologies which have been proposed for the term Masjid are collected and discussed in extenso; but, to preserve the continuity of the major arguments of the thesis, this material has been relegated to an appendix.

The mosque architecture of Bengal is then discussed in detail. All previous work on the subject is examined and criticized, and the errors and misapprehensions of some authors corrected and explained. The treatment of this material is at once broadly chronological and typological, and a viable classification (as exhibited in the Table of Contents) has been adopted throughout. Full use has been made of the rather confused epigraphical evidence. While Mughal architecture is not the direct concern of the thesis, an attempt has also been made to relate some characteristic aspects of Bengali building and their future employment in Mughal times. The decorative arts of the period have been considered in drawing conclusions; but the volume of evidence from this sphere is so great as to have made it necessary to exclude any detailed discussion in this thesis.

Thus the thesis as a whole presents an ordered exposition of Bengali mosque architecture viewed in its wider context, which I submit as an original contribution to scholarly knowledge especially in the exercise of critical judgment over the whole field; in addition, some new evidence is here presented for the first time, which adds a further dimension to the validity of my criticism.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEL	= Arabic-English Lexicon.
AF	= The Architectural Forum.
AI	= Ars Islamica.
AIPAA	= American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology.
AJ	= The Architect's Journal.
AR	= Architectural Review.
AR,DAND	= Annual Report , Department of Archaeology, Nizam's Dominions.
AR,ASI,DG	= Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India Director General .
AR,ASI,EC	= Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle.
ASR	= Archaeological Survey Reports.
ASI,M	= Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs.
ASWI	= Archaeological Survey, Western India.
BAIIAA	= Bulletin of the American Institute of Iranian Art and Archaeology.
BASOR	= Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.
BGA	= Bibliotheka Geographorum Arabicorum
BM	= The Burlington Magazine.
BSOAS	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
CHI	= Cambridge History of India.
CIS	= Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.

DA	=	A Dictionary of Architecture.
DI	=	A Dictionary of Islam.
EB	=	Encyclopaedia Britanica.
EI	=	Encyclopaedia of Islam.
EMA	=	Early Muslim Architecture, vol. I & II.
A Short Account of EMA	=	A short Account of Early Muslim Architecture.
ERE	=	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
EWA	=	Encyclopaedia of World Art.
IA	=	Indian Antiquary.
IAL	=	Indian Art and Letters.
JA	=	Journal Asiatique.
JASB	=	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JE	=	Jewish Encyclopaedia.
JRIBA	=	Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
JRSA	=	Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.
MAB	=	Muslim Architecture of Bengal.
PRIBA	=	Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
WZKM	=	Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDMG	=	Zeitschrift der Deutsch Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1880.

A NOTE ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The bibliography falls into two distinct categories: The first section consists of the bibliography to Chapters I-III, listed separately, in which the order of entry of the works follows that of citations in the text and footnotes, but of course without repitation. A general bibliography of Islamic art and archaeology outside the works cited would, in view of its enormous volume, be out of place here.

The second category is a critical bibliography to the specifically Bengali sections of the thesis (Chapters IV-VII), arranged alphabetically, which is designed to classify, extend and elaborate the bibliographical apparatus already provided in the footnotes to those chapters. Since the thesis, as the abstract explains, depends to a great exteht on the criticism and correction of earlier work, an analysis of this sort seems essential.

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C H A P T E R I

THE BACKGROUND OF MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE

Arabia,[1] as a whole, was in many ways isolated from the general development of ancient history; that is to say, the Arabs and the Arabian culture, at a certain stage, flourished in geographical isolation[2] - a sort of solitary political confinement, which was almost complete until the rise of Islam.

Marking an incubatory phase in her history, this isolation of the Arabian peninsula to a certain extent was maintained and is reflected in many aspects of Arabian life and thought until the cataclysmic wave of militant Islam heralded an unparalleled and significant era of Arabian expansion in the Seventh Century A.D. To quote O'Leary, "So we take Arabia to be the land of the Arabs, the area in South-West Asia which was not brought within the scope of river-valley culture and where consequently the inhabitants lagged behind in the evolution of cultural progress."[3]

Lying between the two ancient flourishing centres of civilization of Mesopotamia and Egypt, ancient Arabia thus remained unaffected by the upheavals of history for a considerable period.[4] Thus spared from the humiliating subjugation of conquering races, namely, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Achaemenians, and the Macedonians, at least in the early phases of her history, a temperament and outlook not only coherent and persistent, but also truly indigenous germinated in the soil of ancient Arabia.[6]

Totally unconcerned with the chequered careers of the warring neighbouring Kingdoms, the Arabian peninsula maintained a self-contained existence. In other words, Arabia looked inwards and not outwards for the formation of her cultural values at a stage when the Mesopotamian and Egyptian Kingdoms were interlocked in bitterest rivalry and incessant warfare, the culmination of the struggle being reflected in the Tell el Amarna letters dated 1380 B.C.[7]

Egypt and Mesopotamia, linked by the "Fertile Crescent" of Syria, were preoccupied with one another.[8] Access was easy and Egypt was able to create an Empire, linking the two great centres, The Tell el Amarna letters

set out the economic advantages she gained from her power. The unrelenting hostility between the two equally powerful ancient nations on the fringes of the Arabian peninsula, rather than any definite geographical barriers, has been considered to be one of the contributory factors for her segregation.[9]

The concept of Arabian isolation is largely based on the fact that Arabia was the cradle of the Semites.[10] Its people had a language of their own, namely Arabic. Although its literature is comparatively recent, it has unmistakably preserved the essential peculiarities of the Semitic tongue.[11] Hitti says, "The reasons which make the Arabian Arabs, particularly the nomads, the best representatives of the Semitic family biologically, psychologically, socially and linguistically should be sought in their geographical isolation and in the monotonous uniformity of the desert life."[12]

The ancient Arabians adopted a curiously idiosyncratic way of life. They maintained their tribal organisation in the face of the powerful monarchies of Egypt and Mesopotamia; they preferred Sheikhdom to Kingship. The characteristics of their social life was a strong system of individualism expressed in a tribal framework,

that is to say, in small groups under personal leadership.[13] Hitti observes, "Individualism, another characteristic trait, is so deeply ingrained that the Bedouin has never been able to raise himself to the dignity of a social being of the international type, much less to develop ideals of devotion to the common good beyond that which pertains to the tribe."[14]

Established codes of hospitality were maintained between tribe and tribe. In the wide expanse of the desert area constant movement was necessary in order to maintain the flocks in which Arab wealth lay.[15] Each tribe had its own well-demarcated area of migration and so was able to exist largely in isolation. Robertson Smith says, "Indeed, one of the most palpable proofs that the populations of all the old Semitic lands possessed a remarkable homogeneity of character, is the fact that in them, and in them alone, the Arabs and Arab influence took permanent root."[16] Moreover, Moscati defines the Semites "as that people which, at the beginning of the historical era, is to be found dwelling in the Arabian desert, in homogeneous linguistic, social and racial conditions."[17]

While stressing the importance of geographical factors, forming the background of human endeavour,

Codrington observes, "Our view of the human scene, at any given period, must obviously be built upon the physical facts at our disposal. But geography is not a mere record of discoveries. It is, also, the expression of ideas, and must strive towards their synthesis with the physical facts, in a single, critical picture."[18] This truth is borne out by the geographical features of the Arabian peninsula.

Arabia is a huge quadrangular area between Asia and Africa, bounded on the north by the Syrian desert and steppe, on the east, the south and on the west by the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea respectively.[19] So while the shores are accessible to shipping, the stony, sandy and barren desert to the north and west formed a natural barrier to influence from the settled centres of civilizations in Egypt and Mesopotamia, whose way of life was also unsuited to the desert. To the men of the cities it was impenetrable.[20] It remained the cradle of the Arab tribes. Moreover, a distinction should be drawn between the open spaces of the desert habitat of the Arab tribes and the irrigated area on which the cities subsisted. Depending upon such topographical distinctions, the peninsula has from ancient times been divided into two:

Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, that is, the Desert and the Sown. The differences between the nomad Bedouin, extending north into Syria and the mainly settled and agricultural populations of South Arabia, such as Yemen and Oman are less sharp in their distinctive ethnological and linguistic background.[21]

Consequent upon this state of isolation in the desert, Arabia has often been designated the cradle of Nomadism.[22] In its customary conception Nomadism is the antithesis of settled urban life. It implies a truly distinctive pattern of living, involving ever-shifting occupation of thinly populated areas, conditioned by the availability of water, food and forage.[23] Nomadism is, therefore, integrally connected with the domestication of animals[24] and tribal ownership of grazing grounds. The inevitable exhaustion of pasturage in a low rainfall area without rivers resulted in the necessary migration of men with their flocks and belongings within an area demarcated by intertribal law.[25]

Nomadism is often identified with desert life but this is an exaggeration of the facts.[26] As Coon rightly puts it, "The enormous number of unexplored archaeological sites in the Arabian desert, the advance of desiccation

since the introduction of the camel, and many historical references in pre-Islamic literary sources indicate that the Arab nomads for the most part are descended from farmers, traders, and caravanmen who took to pastoralism during the early centuries of this era...The period during which Arabian nomadic life developed and crystallised lay between the time of Jesus and that of Muhammad, [A.D.1-570]"[27] It is a well-established fact that many of the nomadic people in Central Asia as well as Arabia are sedentary at a certain time of the year, although conditions both of climate and of population pressure force upon them a certain amount of migration.[28] The pre-Islamic Arabs were no exception to this general rule.[29]

The keynote of Arab tribal life is, however, Kinship,[30] which supplies a cementing bond of fraternity, encased in what may be described as ineradicable particularism. Arab society was patriarchal, and patriarchal tribalism stimulated democratic organisation, embodied in the Majlis or Council of Elders, presided over by a senior Sheikh. The concept of the Majlis found expression in the formation of the Islamic Republic by the Prophet and in the Majlis al-Shūra or the Council of the Elders.[32]

The most striking factor which brought the ancient Arabians into contact with the civilised life of the cities was camel-borne trade, later on augmented by maritime commerce.[33] Arabia was known to the outside world as the source of incense, and Arabian prosperity was largely achieved through commercial intercourse.[34] Since the Arabs kept land-trading in their own hands, Arabia remained largely unknown to foreign merchants, who avidly sought its products.[35] They, thus, to a large extent conducted the westward trade in Oriental commodities, such as spices.[36] Pliny and Ptolemy[37] justly regarded the ancient Arabians as "purveyors of the inter-continental trade."[38]

The existence of the ancient spice routes which crossed the peninsula from remote antiquity is proved by the bas-reliefs of dromedaries dating from the time of Ashurbanipal and in the Palace of Xerxes at Persepolis.[39] The system of custom duties and tolls imposed on foreign goods by the city states, incidentally providing safe conduct, also testify to the caravan trade.[40] The "episodic" rivers of Arabia resulted in the Oases of the trade-routes as well as the caravanserais, and townships, which in themselves demonstrate the existence of the spice and incense trade in Arabia.[41]

It is sometimes forgotten that one of the results of this highly organised and profitable commerce was the growth of city states in ancient Arabia. As Rostovtzeff puts it, "...this regular and profitable trade with Babylonia, Egypt and their dependencies (all civilised powers) led... to the creation of organized states and of an individual, highly developed civilization in Arabia."[42] Robertson Smith expands the traditional but one-sided view of Arab individualism to take in its commercial achievements.[43] This aspect of ancient Arabia is, however, well-established. It is undeniably proved by the discovery of a mass of inscriptions, revealing a succession of Kingdoms, such as Ma'ān, Saba'[45], Himyarite[46], Qatabān[47], Hadramaut[48] in the South and the Nabataeans[49], the Ghassānides[50], the Lakhmids[51] and the Kinda[52] in the north, the north-east and the central Arabia respectively.

Many hitherto unknown historical facts have been brought to light from the study of ancient Arabian architecture, numismatics, epigraphy and plastic art. As Doughty says, "Potsherds and broken glass, nearly indestructible matter, are found upon all the ancient sites in Arabia:"[53] Gold coins were issued side by side with silver coins with the image of the Himyarite King on

the obverse, and the Athenian owl or bull's head on the reverse,[54] types illustrating South Arabian contacts with the Mediterranean.

The ancient Arabians were adept in the art of writing and stone carving.[55] As a matter of fact, writing was known to the Himyarites many centuries before Islam, as proved by the discovery of inscriptions dating from seventh century B.C.[56] The ceramic art of pre-Islamic Arabia possessed considerable merit. As put by Tufnell, "it is clear that the population (South Arabians) was highly literate in the Second half of the first millennium at least, judging from the number of pots which were inscribed."[57] Glueck discovered in the Nabataean site of At Telah a number of delicate glasses, manufactured locally".[58]

The pre-Islamic Arabs were also well versed in astronomy, astrology and medicine,[59] According to Lammens, Arabian poetry "is rich in sententious expressions and overflowing with energy and passions rather than with ideas, yet it lacks neither harmony nor picturesqueness and possesses a surprising profusion of formulae."[60] Such an affluent state of the society naturally stimulated the growth of architecture.[61]

The rich architectural heritage of South Arabia is attested by Strabo and Agatharchides.[62] Some of the sites, like the Temple of Venus at Timna', demonstrate massive layers of occupation, ranging from the 8th century to the Ist century B.C.[63] Referring to the elegantly carved statues of bronze and alabaster dating from the sixth and fifth century, excavated at Awwam, Phillips goes so far as to say, "the high metallurgical skill of the South Arabians is expressed by those objects."[64]

Recent researches in the field of archaeology based on systematic exploration and excavations in the different regions of the peninsula, such as Petra, Palmyra, Hadramaut, Ma'rib, Timna', etc., have brought many hitherto unknown facts to light.[65] Ma'rib was examined by Thomas Arnaud (1843) and Joseph Halévy (1869) and later by Eduard Glaser (1889).[66] In A.D. 1936, Perowne found South Arabian inscriptions at Qataban.[67] Rhodokanakis identified Timna', the capital of the Qataban Kingdom, with Hajar Kuhlān, a powerful city on the incense route to the Mediterranean.[68] Glaser discovered the ancient Kingdom of Saba', the Biblical Sheba.[69] Rathjens and Wissmann discovered the Temple of the Sun-goddess dated 3rd century B.C., at Dhat Bahdan at Hugga in South

Arabia.[70]

G. C. Thompson excavated in A.D. 1937/38 the Moon Temple of Hureidah in Hadramaut, which she described as a three-sided complex buried shrine, having an oblong stone paved pavement.[71] The ruins of Quraiya, a Nabataean city which Philby says was built in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antonius and Lucius towards the beginning of the second half of the Christian era, were first observed by the Swedish traveller Wallin in 1848 A.D. and described by Philby in February, 1951.[72]

The imposing monuments of North Arabia at Petra and Palmyra like their South Arabian counterparts, demonstrate a building technique founded on the Greco-Roman tradition of architecture.[73] These North Arabian caravan cities,[74] were situated at the meeting place of Hellenistic and Oriental civilization. It is, therefore, intelligible that they outshone the architectural splendour of the South Arabian cities, such as, Awwam, Timna' and Hureidha. The Temple known as El-Khazaneh at Petra provides a striking example of the combination of Hellenistic architecture with Assyrian tradition. The carved slender columns, joined by elegant pediments and arches, forming niches to hold statues arranged in tiers, are Hellenistic,

while dog-tooth designs and altars set high up on the vertical walled plinth, bearing votive inscriptions in Nabataean script, recall Assyrian planning.[75] Palmyra with its Temple of Bel (the Sun) is deservedly described by Rostovtzeff as "one of the wealthiest, most luxurious, most elegant towns in Syria."[76] The Temple consists of a court-yard, a peribole and a cella which is divided into three parts surrounded by Corinthian colonnades.[77] Excavated by Weygand in 1937, Palmyra illustrates a strange medley of Parthian and Greco-Roman features.[78]

In contradistinction to Petra and Palmyra, Hīra, the capital of the Lakhmids (A.D. 226-610/11) which stands in the dividing line between Syria and Mesopotamia, was to some extent the centre of the transmission of Persian cultural influences into Arabian peninsula.[79] Whereas Petra and Palmyra reflect Greco-Roman ideas and themes, Hīra reflects Sasanian influence. Here Nu'man I (A.D. 400-418), the Lakhmid prince, built a magnificent desert castle at al-Khawarnak as a residence for the Sasanian King Bahrām Gōr.[80] It is interesting to note that in the earliest phase of Muslim Architecture, the Mosque of Kūfa, was built in A.D. 638 with marble columns taken from the Lakhmid buildings of Hīra.[81]

Situated between north and south Arabia, the Hijaz is no less important than the flourishing cities of Petra, Palmyra, Saba' and Ma'ān, as a centre of commercial and religious life.[82] The erection of a fabulous and highly ornate palace by Shaddād, son of 'Ād is referred to in the Qur'ān (Sura lxxxix,6).[83] It is, however, surpassed by the Ka'ba, built in Mecca in the ancient sanctuary with its famous relic, the "Black Stone", which led to the age-old custom of pilgrimage and ceremonial circumambulation.[84] Besides being a religious centre, Mecca traded with South Arabia, 'Irāq and Syria, and thereby came into contact with the religious ideas of the people she traded with.[85]

Because of her vulnerable geographical situation, North Arabia lost her autonomous rule, as a result of the Roman invasion in A.D. 105-6 conducted by Trajan,[86] much earlier than South Arabia. It is, therefore, evident that Arabia came into contact, if only peripherally, with both Hellenistic civilization and, at a later date, with Sasanian culture. In spite of the many antiquities of South Arabia, it is often suggested that pre-Islamic Arabia was devoid of architecture and architects. The many references in Strabo and elsewhere to the importance of Arabian gold indicate its wealth, although historians as

a whole have attached little importance to these references.[87]

Scholars, depending on the statement of Ibn Khaldūn[88] that the Arabs of all people in the world have the least predilection for the arts, have denied ancient Arabia any cultural accomplishment.[89] This conception, however, is at variance with the revelation of many unknown facts brought about by excavations at Ma'rib and Hureidha as well as the preliminary exploration of many other archaeological sites. This is further substantiated by the discovery of epigraphic records, pottery, coins, etc. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that Arabia has an extensive history of its own which further work will doubtless make more precise. Yet it is to a large extent true that architecture in Arabia only found a place in the History of Art as a result of the rise of Islam.

Repudiating the often repeated term Jāhilīya, that is, savagery or ignorance, applied to ancient Arabia, Margoliouth observes, "The charge of ignorance may well be repudiated by races who not only possessed a far more appropriate script for their languages than that employed by the Islamized Arabs, but attained a fair degree of excellence in the arts of architecture and sculpture."[90]

The rise and expansion of Islam is one of the most

momentous events in history, not only as far as the history of Arabia is concerned, but also of the whole world. It brought the age-old isolation of Arabia to an end. Moreover, the overwhelming effects of the surging waves of military conquests made Arabia the hub of the Islamic World which within a few years stretched from Central Asia to Spain. But the future grows from the past. In the words of Becker, "Islam emerges from its isolation and becomes heir to the Oriental-Hellenistic civilization. It appears as the last link in a long development of universal history."[91]

A cursory survey of the Coptic embroideries, which are well represented in the Museums of Europe, is sufficient to indicate the artistic heritage to which the Caliphate succeeded.[93] In these fascinating works of art is displayed the last evidences of the Hellenistic tradition, as reworked during the period of Roman domination. Many of the motives found have persisted in Asian art. From early times, the grape vine-scroll, is found in India.[95] It survives in the Coptic textiles which contributed to the prominent place it held in Islamic art.[94]

In the seventh century A.D. Islam, under the guiding spirit of the Prophet Muḥammad, emerged as not only a

religious but also as a military and political power. The Prophet healed the wounds of the jarring tribes of Arabia, locked in internecine warfare from time immemorial and so gave them a new unity. They, thus, came to constitute the sinews of the armies of Islam, which so dramatically carried the banner of the new Faith across the face of the known world.[96] Within a century Islam had spread its political power from the pillars of Hercules into Persia and India.[97]

It was the success of these campaigns which ensured the future of the Faith and welded the tribes and the conquered peoples into a world power. To quote Snouck Hurgronje, "But for the military success of the first Khalifs, Islam would never have become a universal religion."[98]

Islam was, thus, established by means of Muslim prowess in the field. Abandoning Jerusalem as the centre of the Faith, the Prophet made Mecca, an ancient Arabian centre of cult and culture, the qibla or focus to which all Muslims turn at the established times of prayer.[99] Jerusalem was polyglot. Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek and Latin all played a part in its history. Mecca stands in the very heart of Arabia and the classical Arabic of the Qur'ān formed the language of Islam and its nascent

literature.[100] It was the bond that united the growing empire.

The Prophet's dramatic appearance on the stage of history coincides with an epoch of disintegration throughout Arabia. It has, indeed, been said that Arabia was politically convulsed, socially corrupt and morally depraved. It was a time when paganism and animistic beliefs were rife and solidarity among the contending tribes was totally absent.[101] The conversion of such a disunited society into a national and, later, international power was the direct outcome of the Prophet's leadership and teaching. The social aspects of his mission are well-established. He pacified the animosities of the warring tribes, composed their differences and cemented them into a universal brotherhood, so creating the nucleus of the Islamic commonwealth of the near future.[102]

Combining in himself the functions of Pope and Caesar,[103] the Prophet so laid the foundation of a unified Arabia, a sort of Islamic Republic, based on a common outlook upon life. In other words, the Arabians felt themselves for the first time to be a homogenous entity.[104] The Prophet succeeded in arousing in his people a broader, clearer, fresher, more vigorous political and social ideal

than that of the enfeebled Byzantine Empire. No other society has such a record of success in uniting so many separate people in an equality of status, opportunity and endeavour under a central government within such a brief time.[105]

But the new unity was not achieved at once. The Prophetic mission was resisted at the beginning in Mecca itself. The Qur-aish tribe, a highly developed mercantile organisation who held the curatorship of the sacred enclosure surrounding the Ka'ba with its ancient rite of pagan worship, opposed the Prophet, and their opposition led to the Hijra.[106] The term is sometimes translated "flight" but the Prophet's removal to Madīna was a planned movement at the invitation of the leaders of Madīna itself, which was in its own right a well established centre of trade and culture. But it must be noted that Madīna as a city was not wholly Arabian for it had a large population of Jews.[107] It was, indeed, a commercial centre, whereas Mecca was a cult centre. It changed his fronts.[108]

The Prophet left Mecca, the city of his birth, persecuted and dejected, but he was hailed at Yathrib, renamed Madīnat al-Nabī, as the honoured and invited guest of its citizens.[109] At Mecca he met with opposition from

his worldly-minded kinsmen. At Madīna he gained both religious support and backing of his wealthy converts. The petty incident of the Prophet's migration to Madīna is no longer a petty insignificant event: rather it is a landmark in the social, religious and political history of Islam, for it altered his standing from that of a local enthusiast to that of a national leader throughout the Arabian peninsula.[110]

The differentiating characteristics between the Madīnites and the Meccans may be sought in their respective environments. Madīna lies in the central Arabian plateau, thus differing from Mecca which is a city of the coastal plain. Muir says, "Within the great mountain range which skirts the Red Sea, and midway between Yemen and the Syrian border, lies Mecca with its holy Temple. The traveller from the seashore approaches the sacred valley by an almost imperceptible rise of about fifty miles, chiefly through sandy plains and defiles hemmed in by low hills of gneiss and quartz, which reach in some places the height of four or five hundred feet."[111] Contrasting to Mecca, Madīna as described by the same author offers a completely different picture. Muir writes, "Closely embracing the city and in contrast with the rugged rocks on which our

travellers stand, are the orchards of palm trees for which from time immemorial Medīna has been famous. One sheet of gardens, the loveliest and most verdant spot in all the plain."[112] Therefore, it can be said that while the rugged atmosphere at Mecca bred a materialistic outlook upon life, the bracing climate of Madīna with its palm trees, rich gardens and grazing ground produced not only prosperity but a genial and receptive attitude among its inhabitants. Moreover, the pagan Arabian society with the Ka'ba as its centre was no match for the international society at Madīna with its settlements of Christians and Jews.[113]

Imbued with Messianic ideas, the Jews were awaiting the appearance of a Messiah. Fully aware of the political advantages these expectations offered, the Prophet abandoned Mecca for Madīna which became the nursery of Islam. Henceforth, Madīnat al-Nabī served as the centre of political sovereignty of Islam as well as base of military expeditions beyond the borders of Arabia. The Prophet's organisation of his supporters, to quote Sale, was "not a change of front; it simply embodies the growing development of the principles of Islam from the first and forms a definite starting point for the national and foreign

conquests it was about to enter upon".[114]

Arabia before the birth of Islam was nothing more than a mere geographical expression, the landmark that lay between the Mediterranean and the East. Under the aegis of Islam, she became a thriving centre of human activity: social, political, religious and, most striking of all, military. The prima facie cause behind the cataclysmic Arab expansion was a deep-seated religious inspiration, serving as a cementing bond among its adherents.[115] No less predominant were the factors of privation, caused by drought and lack of pasture.[116] To these factors may be added a new feeling for national homogeneity derived largely from a common language and a momentary sense of racial superiority over the neighbouring decadent nations.[117]

Thus inspired the Arabs eventually brought under their sway the enfeebled Kingdoms of the Byzantines and the Sasanians.[118] Within a century of the death of the Prophet at Madīna in the year A.H.10/A.D.632, the Muslims carried the banner of their Faith, from the pillars of Hercules to the confines of China, embracing part of Southern Europe and the whole of Northern and a portion of Central Africa, and also a major part of the continent of Asia.[119] Dwelling on the far-reaching effects of the expansion of Islamic

horizon, Codrington says, "The ancient barriers of race and language had not merely been broken down, but a new combination of men's mind had been brought about and a new environment for human activity."[120] This created a new environment for human cultural advances brought about by the contacts of Islam with the ancient architectural traditions of the vanquished building races. The formation of the eclectic art of Islam coincides with its confrontation with the two basically different building traditions of the time: the Byzantine and the Sasanian.[121]

In the course of their military conquests, the Muslims came across two alien artistic elements, neither of which was, however, immune from the influence of the other. In contradistinction to the ashlar masonry architecture of the Mediterranean region, particularly Syria, Africa, Egypt and also Northern Mesopotamia, the tradition of brick architecture was demonstrated by the monuments of 'Irāq, Persia, and Central Asia. Richmond stresses the process of assimilation of these two divergent architectural traditions: "Islam brought into close contact the different traditions of the stone-builders of the Eastern Mediterranean and the brick-builders of Asia".[122]

During the Caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who has often been designated as the warrior-Caliph par excellence, the Muslims conquered Syria, 'Irāq, Persia and Egypt.[123] In these conquered regions, the Arab invaders could not but be impressed by the awe-inspiring products of both Byzantine and Sasanian architecture, namely the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (A.D. 527-65), the Church of St. John at Damascus (A.D. 379), and the Tāq -i- Kisra at Ctesiphon (probably second half of the 3rd century A.D.)[124]

The succession of the patriarchal epoch of Islam by the hereditary kingship of the Umayyads was the result of the elimination of many of the original orthodox features of early Islam. The Umayyads revived the ancient Bedouin spirit, the basis of the new Arabian nationalism and the re-established monarchy as an autocratic institution.[125] Wellhausen calls the result "an Arab Kingdom"[126] and Browne points out that it was modelled upon Byzantine and Persian Kingship.[127]

The transfer of the capital from Madīna, the birth-place of Islam to Damascus, a centre of Byzantine culture, was a second turning-point in the development of Islam. With the fall of the Eastern Empire, the Muslims came into contact with Byzantine art, discernible in the Churches of

Mawsil, Nisibis, Bosra, Homs, Hamā, Baalbek, etc.[128] But the influence was also decorative. Arnold rightly comments on the extraordinary motifs of lions, horses and birds, which are said to have been used in the designs of the tapestries of Hīra, which was before the Muslim conquest a flourishing Nestorian city. He says that they undoubtedly display the influence of Christian workmanship. The appearance of hieratic figures in the pottery of Rāyy indicates the participation of non-Muslim artists in the ceramic art of Persia.[129] At any rate, at all these centres artists were available and it is clear were used by the Umayyads.

Creswell has fittingly expressed the effects of the transfer of the capital from Madīna to Damascus. He says, "What Greece had been to Rome, Syria was to the Arabs under the Umayyads, saving and transmitting great culture."[130]

The older primitive buildings of barrack-like simplicity gave place to ostentatious architectural projects, as exemplified by the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque of Damascus.[131] The growth of Muslim architecture, in which the Mosque played a determining role, obviously stimulated by the steady urbanization of Islamic society throughout the conquered regions.[132] Muslim

settlements sprang up out of "army camps" in the newly conquered cities. Fusṭāṭs and Hiras were converted into Madīnas.[133] Thus were created the early Muslim cities of Kūfa, Basra, Fusṭāṭ and Qayrawān, each of which had a Mosque as the nucleus. The ruling Princes or their provincial Governors built new metropolitan cities as demonstrated by the Umayyad capital cities of Damascus and Harran, as well as the 'Abbāsid cities of Baghdād, Raqqa, Sāmarrā, etc.[134]

The confrontation of the indigenous Arab ideas of building with the surviving arrangements of Mediterranean and Mesopotamian architecture revolutionized the building traditions of the Muslims for all time to come.[135] In the attainment of an architecture of truly Muslim character, skilled workmen recruited from the various regions were employed.[136] They naturally incorporated foreign elements.[137] Therefore, as Ernest Rhys puts it, "The origin of the Arab [Muslim] style may probably be traced to Sasanian as well as to Byzantine sources."[138]

However, the origin of Muslim architecture is a highly controversial subject. While Rivoira, Sauvaget and others have attributed the splendour of Muslim architecture to Christian sources, consisting of Byzantine Church art

grafted on Graeco-Roman elements.[139] Gayet and Creswell, thus, trace the origins of many Muslim features from Coptic Egypt.[140] On the other hand and probably not without reason, Dieulafoy, Sarre, Herzfeld and others reflect on the indebtedness of Muslim architecture to Mesopotamian, Persian and Central Asian building traditions.[141] Havell was the first to assert the "Indianness" of Indo-Muslim architecture.[142]

There is no denying the fact that Muslim art and architecture throughout its history did embrace a wide range of art motifs from non-Islamic artistic sources.[143] Nevertheless, the source of functional ideas of early Muslim architecture of which the Mosque was the most important must be sought in the primitive Arab building of the Prophet at Madīna erected in A.H.1/A.D.622. This met all the formal requirements of Muslim congregational prayer, and thereby served as the prototype of Mosque architecture throughout the Islamic world.[144] Therefore, the origin of Muslim architecture in general, and Mosque architecture in particular, is indigenous. Elaborating this point Richard Burton says, "What in Arabia was simple and elegant became highly ornate in Spain, florid in Turkey, sturdy in Syria, and effeminate in India. Still

divergence of detail had not even after the lapse of twelve centuries materially altered the fundamental form".[145] Theoretically Muslim art is aniconic, but in practice the rejection of representational art[146] was confined to religious buildings, such as Mosques, tombs, etc.[147] Yet Islamic art had need for decoration and satisfied it by means of calligraphy, arabesque designs and floral motifs.[148] The stone building traditions of the Mediterranean regions with their decoration in which marble mosaics, vine-scrolls, acanthus and palmettes appear,[149] play an undoubted part in the Umayyad monuments of Syria, namely, the Dome of the Rock (A.H.72/A.D.691), the Mosque of Aqsa (A.H.66-86/A.D.685-705), both at Jerusalem, and the Mosque of Damascus (A.H.86-96/A.D.705-715) as well as the Qusayr 'Amra (A.H.93-97/A.D.711-715).[150] But Persian influence also played a leading part at Mshattã (A.H.126/A.D.743-44).[151] As Creswell puts it, "Yet even here [Mshatta] there is penetration of Persian influence, for in the midst of the vine-scrolls [Hellenistic] are mythical animals taken from Sasanian art, just as the Sasanian tulip-like motif occurs in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rome in the midst of Hellenistic motifs vine-scrolls, Corinthian capitals, etc."[152]

The transfer of the capital of the Muslim Empire from Damascus to Baghdad by Caliph al-Mansūr, the founder of the 'Abbāsid capital, brought Islam into contact with Iran.[153] Marçais says, "With the separation of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate from the regions of Western Islam and the shift of the capital from Damascus to Baghdad a vast stream of Iranian influence came pouring in, charged with Sasanian survivals and reminiscences and with ever more ancient Mesopotamian memoirs."[154]

It is often said that Islam not so much conquered Persia as Persia conquered Islam.[155] The imposing monuments of the 'Abbāsids at Baghdād, Raqqa, Ukhaidir, Samarrā, etc. unmistakably demonstrate the influence of Sasanian Persia, especially in its use of brick construction.[156] Brick was used predominantly in Mesopotamia and Persia since good building stones were often unprocurable.[157] The Tāq-i-Kisra, probably built in the second half of the 3rd century A.D. at Ctesiphon is a surviving example of the earlier Sasanian vaulted and stucco architecture.[158] Pope says, "Trained from time immemorial in the instructive school of raw and fired brick, it is not surprising that the masons of Persia, apparently by the tenth century at least A.D., had mastered many fundamental forms which were soon carried to a high degree of perfection."[159] The finest

creations of the new Persianized Islamic architecture are found at Iṣfahān, Shīraz, Varāmīn, Tabrīz, Mashhad, Harāt as well as in the Central Asian buildings at Samarqand. Here Islamic architecture reaches perfection both in building construction and decoration.

According to both Pope and Diez, the culmination of brick building, in Islamic Persia was its use of glazed tiles, painted panelling, and rich stucco designs.[160] The characteristic elements of brick buildings illustrated by the Palaces at Sarvistān, Fīrūzābād, and Ctesiphon exerted a profound influence on Muslim architecture.[161] The innovations include the four-centred pointed arch, the method of brick bonding, the arched squinch, the use of lustre tile, painting on gesso, ornamental stucco designs and carved and painted wood, etc.[162] The art of Samarrā with its distinctive ornamental stucco designs is unique in the history of 'Abbāsid architecture.[163]

It is, therefore, conclusive that the direct source of Indo-Muslim architecture can not be other than Persia.[164] Persian influence manifests itself in all the splendid monuments of pre-Mughal India at Manṣūra -Brahmanābād, Banbhore, Thaṭṭhā, Gulbarga, Bīdar, and Gauḍ and Hazrat Panḍuā in Bengal. It is not surprising that

Persian vaulted construction is magnificently represented in the Adīna Masjid (A.H.776-86/A.D.1374-84) at Hazrat Pandua and the Gunmant Masjid (A.H.889/A.D.1484) at Gaud. The picturesque mosque of Tāntīpārā (A.H.885/A.D.1480) at Gaud and the Lattan Masjid (A.H.889-925/A.D.1492-1519) also at Gaud are beautiful, encrusted with glazed tiles of unmistakable Persian origin. Under the Mughals new avenues of Persian influence were opened up.

CHAPTER I : NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Moscati, S., Ancient Semitic Civilization, London, 1957, p. 19. Arabia has been referred to in the Assyrian monolithic inscriptions of Sennacherib and Salmanser III dated ninth century B.C. (B.C.858-824) as "Arabi", "Arubu", "Arabi", "Aribu". (Finegan, J., The Archaeology of World Religion, Princeton, 1952, p.469.) The Akkadian documents also contain reference to Arabia (Montgomery, J.A. Arabia and the Bible, Philadelphia, 1934, p.4.) It is also mentioned in the Bible in the passages such as, Ezekiel, XXXVII, 21; Jeremiah, XXV, 24; Isaiah, XIII, 20; XXI, 13, etc. For example the passage in Jeremiah, XXV, 24, runs thus: "And all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert." -(in Jewish Encyclopaedia, vol. II, N.E. 1925, pp.40-42.)
2. Hogarth, D. G., Arabia, Oxford, 1922, p. 8.
3. O'Leary, De Lacy., Arabia before Muhammad, London, 1927, p. 5.
4. Montgomery, J.A., op. cit., p. 107, see also Hogarth, D.G., op. cit., p. 8.

5. Zwemmer, S. M., Arabia: the cradle of Islam, New York, 1900, p.159.
6. Philby, H. St. J. B., Arabia, London, 1930, p.XVII.
7. Bezold, C. and Wallis Budge, E. A., Oriental Diplomacy: the transliterated text of the cuneiform Despatches between the Kings and Western Asia in the XVth century before Christ, discovered at Tell el Amarna and now preserved in the British Museum, London, 1893, pp.1-62. They say about the importance of the letters: "They give an insight into the nature of the political relations which existed between the kings of Western Asia and the kings of Egypt, and prove that an important trade between the two countries existed from very early times."
8. Cook, S. A., The Semites, in Cambridge Ancient History, vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 1923, pp.182, 38 sq. The term 'Fertile Crescent' has been popularized by Breasted, the Egyptologist, who regarded it as the core of the Near East (Breasted, J.H., The Conquest of Civilization, New York, London, 1926, p.117, n.1.) See also Frye, R. N., Remarks on an outline of Near Eastern History in Archaeology or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, vol. VI, 1952, No. 1., p.39.

9. O'Leary, De Lacy., op. cit., p.5.

10. Barton, G. A., Semites in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. V, Edinburgh, 1920, pp.378-384. (Abbreviated as ERE) Caetani, Hommel and von Kremer regard Mesopotamia as the original home of the Semites. Noeldeke, however, suggests that Africa was the original home of the Semites. Sayce, Sprenger and Schroeder disagree with the above-mentioned home of the Semites on mythological, historical, geographical and linguistic grounds. (Grintz, J.M., On the Original Home of the Semites in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. XXI, July, 1962, No. 3, Chicago, pp.187-198.) H. Lammens, rejects the economic factor of Caetani and draws attention to the religious sentiments (Islam Beliefs and Institutions, Tr. by D.E.Ross, London, 1929, pp.1, 8-9;) Montgomery, J.A., op. cit., pp.92-187; Hartmann and Musil discuss the problem at length and arrive at the conclusion that in no period of Arabian history was there any phase of desiccation, referring to the rainfall, vegetation, well (bi'r). According to Hamdānī, there is a well, known as Bi'r Maimūm, referred to in the Qur'ān (Sūra lxvii, 30), which is

10. Cont...
situated not far from Mecca on the road to Minā, about an hour's journey from the town of Mecca. It is believed to have been dug before Islam (Bi'r Maimūm, EI, vol. I, 1913, p.722). The story of Zamzam, the sacred well of Mecca at the South-east of the Ka'ba in the al-haram al-Sharīf, opposite the corner of the sanctuary in which the Black Stone is inserted, is well known, as it has been traditionally connected with Hagar, wife of Abraham and their son Ismā'īl. (Vaux, B. Carra de, Zamzam in EI, vol. IV, 1913, part 2, pp. 1212-1213). The Semitic settlement was, however, complete at the dawn of history (Thomson, W., Islam and the early Semitic World in Muslim World, 1949, vol. XXXIX, No. 1, pp.36-37.

11. Nicholson, R. A., A Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1953, pp.XV-XVI; See also Coon, C.S., Badw in EI, NE, vol. I. London/Leiden, 1960, pp.872-880.

12. Hitti, P.K., The History of the Arabs, London, 1961 p.8.

13. Kennedy, P., Arabian Society of the Time of Muhammad, Calcutta, 1926, p.4. He says that tribeless man in Arabia, like a lawless man in the Middle Ages in England, was helpless.

14. Hitti, P.K., op. cit., p.24.

15. Watt, W. M., Badw, in EI, NE, vol. I. London/Leiden, 1960, p.892. He considers camel 'the ship of the desert' as the means of sustenance.

16. Robertson Smith, W., Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, London, 1914, p.11. (Hereafter cited as Lectures)

17. Moscati, S., The Semites in Ancient History, Cardiff, 1959, p.42. (Hereafter cited as Semites)

18. Codrington, K. de B., A Geographical Introduction to the History of Central Asia in Geographical Journal, vol.CIV, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. July, August, September, October, 1944, p.28.

19. Rentz, G., Djazïrat al-'Arab, in EI, NE, vol.I., 1960, pp.533-556. See also Goeje, M.J.D., Arabia in EI, 1913, vol. I, part I, pp.369-377.

20. Montgomery, J.A., op. cit., p.80; See also Hommel, F., The Civilization of the East, Tr. by Loewe, J. A., London, 1900, p.19.

21. Doughty, C. M., Travels in Arabian Deserta, London, 1936, vol.II pp.115-185. He refers to the ruins of platforms of the old wheel work of irrigation. He also mentions a spring called 'Ayn Selilîm in the

21. Cont...
Kheybar valley. See also Cook, S.A., op. cit., pp.872-74.

22. Coon, C. S., op. cit., pp.872-874.

23. Thurnwald, R., Nomads, in Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vols. XI-XII, London, 1949, pp.390-392.

24. Coon, C. S., op. cit., pp.872-9. It is amazing to note that the ancient Arabian tribes derived their appellation from the animals as much as from their gods, such as, Banū Bakr (cow), Banū Asad (lion), etc. (Smith, W.R., Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, London, 1903, pp.222-226 sq.) (Hereafter cited as Kinship). In the eleventh century B.C., the one-humped camel, which prevailed in North Africa and the Near East until the 3rd millennium B.C., was domesticated in Arabia especially in the South in place of the two-humped camels of Central Asian breed, namely, the Bactrian.

25. Kinship, pp.67, 253.

26. Musil, A., Northern Neğd: Appendix X; The Alleged Desiccation of Arabia, New York, 1928, pp.309-319.

27. Coon, C. S., op. cit., p.872.

28. Semple, E. C., Influence of Geographic Environment on the basis of Ratzel's System of Anthropo-Geography, London, 1913, pp.500-501.

29. ibid, pp.500-501. Semple writes, "Though agriculture is regarded with contempt and aversion by pastoral nomads and is resorted to for a livelihood only when they lose their herds by a pest or robbery, or find their pasture lands seriously curtailed, nevertheless nomadism yields such a precarious and monotonous subsistence that it is not infrequently combined with a primitive shifting tillage...Even the heart of avid Arabia shows fertile oases under cultivation where the lofty Nejd Plateau, with its rain-gathering peaks over five thousand feet high, varies its wide pastures with well-tilled valleys abounding in grainfields and date-palm groves." See also Hogarth, D. G., The Nearer East, London, 1902, pp.185, 195, 265. The superficial difference between pastoral nomadism and settled town life has survived in the terms of "madar", meaning "Glebe" or villages and town folks and "wabare" or hair-dwellers, particularly of camel-hair cloth. (EMA, Vol.I.p.7.) The prevalence of the worship of the sun as the giver of warmth and thereby vegetation in the great city centres of civilization, such as Petra and Palmyra, throws a flood of light on the agricultural communities. See

29. Cont...
Semites, p.42. One of the most interesting aspects of nomadism is the introduction of horse in Arabia from Syria where it was brought by the Kassites (Coon, C. S., op. cit., pp.872-74.) descending from the Oxus. It changed camel nomadism into equestrian pastorolism. It is also amazing to note that the Pharaonic Egypt seized the idea of horse chariot from the Hyksos marauders (B.C.1900-1800), who established their ephemeral rule in Egypt. (Cook, S. A., op. cit., pp.166-182.)

30. Lectures, pp. 33 sq., 62, 73, 41 sqq, 54, 90, 287. Robertson Smith explains kinship as the tribal bond which knits men of the same blood group together and gives them common duties and responsibilities from which no member of the group can withdraw. It is a well-known fact that female kinship which was prevalent in Arabia from time immemorial was changed into male kinship.

31. Watt, W. M., op. cit., p. 890.

32. Lewis, B., The Arabs in History, London, 1950, pp.29-31.

33. Carry, M., The Geographical Background of Greek and Roman History, Oxford, 1949, p. 186. Coon writes,

33. Cont...

"The fate of camel nomadism was closely connected with that of caravan trade." (op. cit., p.884). The most significant parts of ancient Arabia were Aden (Eudaemon) on the South-west coast connected by road with Shabwa and San'ā' and Gerrha (modern al-Hasa) on the coast of the Persian Gulf. One of the factors that brought about the decline of the Arab maritime trade was direct sailing to India by the Romans with the help of periodical monsoon winds discovered by Greek mariners, Hippalus and Eudoxus in A.D.45, avoiding risky coastal journeys (Charlesworth, M. P., Trade-routes and commerce of the Roman Empire, Cambridge, MCMXXIV, p.60; Niebuhr, B. G., Lectures on Ancient History, vol.II, tr. by L. Schmitz, London, MDCCCLII, p. 12; Eldridge, F. B., The Background of Eastern Sea Power, London, 1948, p.18.

34. O'Leary, De Lacy, op. cit., pp.185-6. He states that the convoying and safe transit of the native and foreign commodities received through seaports from the Southern Arabia to the North through the fabulous spice route was mainly due to the ingenuity and boldness of the expert camel drivers of South Arabia,

34. Cont...
chiefly the Sabaeans. The aromatic products of South Arabia which included Frankincense, cinnamon, cassia, myrrh and laudanum have been referred to in the literary works of ancient nations, such as the Egyptians, the Achaemenians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Buddhists and the Hindus, who use them for benedictory and funeral purposes. (Rawlinson, G., History of the Phoenicians, London, 1889, p.291; Phillips, W., Qataban & Sheba: Exploring Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia, London, 1955, p.199; Ingrams, H., Burton Memorial Lecture. From Cana (Husn Ghorab) to Sabbathā (Shabwa): The South Arabian Incense Road, in J.R.A.S., 1945, Parts 3 and 4, pp.169-85; Beck, G. W. Van., "Ancient Frankincense - producing Areas" in Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia, Baltimore, 1958, Appendix II, pp.139-142; Bowen, R. Le Baron, Ancient Trade Routes in South Arabia in Arch. Disc. in South Arabia, op. cit., pp.35-42.

35. Rawlinson, G., op. cit., pp.291-297. He states that the Phoenicians obtained aromatic products of South Arabia as well as wrought iron. They also got Indian ivory and ebony from the ancient Arabians who had established sea-traffic with India.

36. Hogarth, D. G., The Penetration of Arabia, London, 1904, p.43.

37. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Tr. by W. Vincent, London, 1800, pp.31-33. Pliny and Ptolemy referred to South Arabia as Regio-thurifera and Libanto Pheros, respectively both meaning the place of incense. Herodotus considers the whole of Arabia as exhaling "a most delicious fragrance". BK.III, Ch.113. See also Strabo. Bk.XVI, Ch.4, §25 and Pliny, Natural History, Book VI, Ch.32.

38. Montgomery, J. A., op. cit., p.107. See also O'Leary, De Lacy, op. cit., p.59.

39. Rostovtzeff, M., Caravan Cities, Tr. by D. and T. Talbot Rice, Oxford, 1932, pp.16-18. Plate II No.1. shows bas reliefs of the time of Ashurbanipal with single humped dromedaries of Arabian origin. Plate II, No.2. shows camels of Central Asiatic origin as they have double hump in the bas reliefs from the Palace of Xerxes at Persepolis.

40. O'Leary, De Lacy., op. cit., pp.185-6.

41. Geographical Handbook Series, BR 527, Western Arabia and the Red Sea, Naval Intelligence Division, June, 1946, pp.22-23. The term 'episodic' used by certain

41. Cont...
German geographers has been applied to those valleys, which are now dry on the surface but once carried underground water to be reached by wells, sunk in the bed. Sometimes they contain only isolated pools, during the greater part of the year (Hereafter cited as Western Arabia).

42. Rostovtzeff, M., op. cit., p.13.

43. Kinship, pp.272,274-76.

44. Wissmann, H. Von and Hüfner, M., Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabiens, Wiesbaden, 1953, pp.9-31. See also Hitti, P. K., op. cit., pp.53-56; Hommel, F., The Ancient Hebrew Tradition, Tr. by E. McClure, London, 1897, pp.272-3.

45. Wissmann, H. Von and Hüfner, M., op. cit., pp.9-13, 35-75, 77-136; G. Levi Della Vida considers the period of Sheba prior to the Sabaean rule. (Pre-Islamic Arabia in the Arab Heritage, Edited by N. A. Faris, New Jersey, 1944, p.32.) In the second Sabaean period (B.C.650-115), the capital Ma'rib, which is famous for its dam, maintained a connecting link between the frankincense lands and the Mediterranean ports. Biblical Sheba', whose caravans together with the

45. Cont...
caravans of Tejma, are referred to Job: 6, 19; Ezekiel: 27, 27. A. Musil, the Northern Hegāz, New York, 1926, p.288; The Periplus, pp.31-33.

46. Storm, I. P., Early Christianity in Arabia, in Moslem World, vol.XXX, 1940, p.8.
Referred to in the Book of the Himyarites, the second phase of the Himyarite Kingdom (A.D.300-525) witnessed the penetration of Christianity and Judaism in ancient Arabia as a result of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D.70. The Emperor Constantine sent an embassy headed by Theophilus Indus to the Himyarite Kingdom in A.D.356 with the intention of establishing Churches in al-Yaman. This resulted in the spread of the monophysite form of Christianity. Abraha, the Abyssinian Christian King of al-Yaman built at Sana, 'one of the most magnificent cathedrals of the age'. The Arabian writers call it al-Qalīs, al-Qulays from Greek ekklēsia, Hitti, P. K., op. cit., p.62.

47. Phillips, W., p.171. The American Foundation for the Study of man successfully brought into light the existence of an ancient South Arabian Kingdom during the excavations of 1950-51. Theophrastus referred

47. Cont...
to the rulers of the Qatabān Kingdom as Mukarribs with Tamna' (now Kuḥlān) as capital.

48. O'Leary, De Lacy., op. cit., pp.9, 16, 98. The Ḥaḍramaut Kingdom issued for the first time gold and silver coins, bearing strange Hellenistic influence. From its capital Sabwa, referred to by Pliny as Sabota or Sabbatha, she maintained sea-borne trade (Western Arabia, p.224;) See also Caton Thompson, G., The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Ḥadhramaut), Oxford, 1944, p.79.

49. Hitti, P. K., op. cit., p. 67. The early Nabataean Kingdom flourished from B.C. 312 to 105 with its capital at Petra which is referred to in the Bible as a trading centre between South Arabia and India oceans on the one hand and Syria and Palestine on the other. The second phase of its rule started from A.D.105 and lasted until A.D.272 with its capital at Palmyra.

50. Montgomery, J. A., op. cit., pp.13-14. The Ghassanids served as a buffer state between the Byzantine and the Sasanian Empire.

51. Hitti, P. K., op. cit., p. 84. The Lakhmid Kingdom flourished from A.D.226 to 601/11 with its capital at al-Ḥīra.

52. Hitti, P. K., op. cit., pp.84-86. The Kinda dynasty flourished from A.D. 480 to 540 with capital at an-Anbar.

53. Doughty, C. M. op. cit., Vol. I. Vol. I. pp.112-113, 161, 365.

54. Hitti, pp. 153-59.

55. Hitti, P. K., pp. 42-44, 50-52, 64. Old Testament Job: 6, 19, Job was "the author of the finest piece of poetry that the ancient Semitic world produced". He was not a Jew but an Arab as the form of his name Iyyŏb, Ar. Ayyūb, and the scene of his book, North Arabian, indicate.

56. Rostovtzeff, M., op. cit., p.17. See also Wellsted, J. R., Travels to the cities of the Caliph, London, 1840, pp.27-28.

57. Tufnell, O., "These were the Potters"... Notes on the craft in South Arabia, in Annual of Leeds University, Oriental Society, vol. II, 1959-61, Leiden, 1961, p.35.

58. Glueck, N., Explorations in Eastern Palestine and the Negeb, in BASOR, Sept. 1934, No. 55, p.6. He writes, "there is no question that the Nabataeans also manufactured glass".

59. Storm, I. P., op. cit., p.7. Agricultural prosperity of Southern Arabia is attested by irrigational dams,

59. Cont...
such as that of Ma'rib. Waterproof plaster which spread before in Syria about B.C.1200 was employed in Sabaean buildings and irrigational dams. Referred to in the Qur'ān (Sūra 34. 15), Ma'rib was destroyed in A.D. 542-70, resulting in the alleged decline of agricultural prosperity of Southern Arabia.

60. Lammens, H., Islam: beliefs and institutions, Tr. by D. E. Ross, London, 1929, p.7.

61. Albright, F. P., The Excavation of the Temple of the Moon at Ma'rib (Yemen), in BASOR, No. 128. December, 1952, pp.25-39.

62. O'Leary, De Lacy, op. cit., pp.75, 90. Agatharchides was tutor to Ptolemy (Soter II?)

63. Phillips, W., op. cit., p.171. The four occupational layers have been dated to the early and the late Mukkarib or priestly rule of the Qatabans, (8th-7th century B.C.; and 6th-5th century B.C.), the Persian (late 4th century B.C.) and the Hellenistic period (1st century B.C.) respectively.

64. Phillips, W., op. cit., pp.99-102. The Bronze Lion of Tamna' is dated c 75-50 B.C.

65, Brion, M., The World of Archaeology, London, 1962, Tr. by Mann, N., p.218. See also Finegan, J., op. cit., pp.468-469.

66. Müller Dav. Heinr V. Und. Rhodokanakis, N., Eduard Glasers Reise nach Mârib, Wien, 1913, pp.1-17; See also Grohmann, A., Ma'rib (Mārib), in EI, vol.III, 1936, pp.280-294.

67. Phillips, W., op. cit., pp.52-55. See also Mahmūd 'Ali Ghūl, New Qatabāni inscriptions, in BSOAS, vol. XXII, 1959, pp.1-22, 419-38.

68. Müller und Rhodokanakis, op. cit., pp.1-17.

69. See n.45.

70. Rathjens, C., und Wissmann, H. Von., Vorislamische Altertümer, Hamburg, 11, 1932, pp.60-75, Figs. 29, 30, 31. See also Serjeant, R. B., Miḥrāb in BSOAS vol. XXII, 1959, pp.452-53.

71. Caton Thompson, G., op. cit., p.79.

72. Philby, H. St.J. B., The Lost Ruins of Quraiya in Geographical Journal, vol.CXVII, Part 4, December, 1951, pp.448-458.

73. Murray, M. A., Petra: The Rock City of Edom, London/ Leiden, London, 1925, pp.51-61. Lime stone, basalt and granite were the chief building materials and the roof supporting pillars were of different sizes, such as, cylindrical, polygonal, quadrangular, monolithic, occasionally inscribed (Western Arabia, p.227).

73. Cont...
Petra is referred to in the Bible as 'Sela' (= rock), Kings XIV, 7; Isa XVI, 7. Gray, L. H. and Hirch, E. G., Petra, in Jewish Encyclopaedia, vol. IX, 1925, NE, p. 656.

74. Musil, A., Palmyrena. A topographical itinerary, American Geographical Oriental explorations and Studies, No. 4, New York, 1928, p.233. (Hereafter cited as Palmyrena).

75. Murray, M. A., op. cit., p.42.

76. Rostovtzeff, M., op. cit., p.103.

77. Fedden, R., Syria: An Historical Appreciation, London, 1946, p.109. The temple is dated 2nd century A.D; see also Fyfe, T., Hellenistic Architecture, in Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 26th Jan, 1935, p.359.

78. Brion, M., op. cit., p.256; see Palmyrena, p.233; Rubissow, H., Art of Asia, New York, 1954, p.202; Grant, C.P., The Syrian Desert, p.120.

79. Buhr, Fr., Al-Hīra in EI, vol.II, Part I, 1927, pp. 314-15. The pre-Islamic poet, namely Imru' al-Kais (4, 59) and Nābigha (5, 29) mention the splendour of al-Hīra.

80. Musil, A., The Middle Euphrates. New York, 1927, pp.103-107. The ruins are sixty paces (about 30 inches per pace) long from North-west to South-east and are rounded on the South-west. The Umayyad princes imitated the practice of mural painting, observed in the Khwarnaq Palace in their Palace at Qusayr 'Amra. S. Lloyd says that it was built for a delicate son of Bahrām Gūr (Twin Rivers, A brief history of Iraq from the earliest times to the present day, Oxford, p.134) See also Massignon, L., Khawarnak, in EI, vol.II, 1936, p.932. Pre-Muslim poets regarded the castle as one of the "30 wonders of the world". The appellation is probably derived from huvarna, meaning 'with a beautiful roof'. The castle, erected by Bahrām Gūr (V) (A.D.430-438) was drawn by Bihzād, depicting the construction of the castle of Khawarnaq, painted by Bihzād, Herat, dated 1494 A.D., now in the British Museum, London. Or 6810, folio 154 Verso. (Gray, B., Treasures of Asia: Persian painting, Ohio, 1961, p.116.)

81. Creswell, K. A. C., A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture, Pelican, 1958, p.9. (Hereafter cited as 'A Short Account of E.M.A.).

82. Hammershainuḅ, E., The Religious and Political Development of Muhammad, in Muslim World, 1949, vol.39, No. 2, p.130.

83. Hughes, T. P., Arabia, in the Dictionary of Islam being a cyclopaedia of the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and customs, together with the technical and theological terms of the Muhammadan religion, Second Edition, London, 1885, pp.17-20.

84. Lammens, H., La Republique marchande de la macque, in Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, 5e Série, T.IV, pp.23A, 32, 47, 54.

85. Hammershainuḅ, E., op. cit., p.130.

86. Hitti, P. K., p.68.

87. ibid, p.48. Gold was the most prized mineral deposit found along the western coast of the peninsula from Midian to Yemen, as attested by Diodorus, Bk.11. Ch. 50, § 1.

88. Ibn Khaldūn, Prolegomènes historiane, in Notes et Extraits, tr. de Slane, XXI, pp.274-7.

89. E.M.A., vol.1. p.7.

90. Margoliouth, D. S. South Arabia and Islam, in Muslim World, vol. XIX, 1929, pp.5-6; See also Beek, G. W. Van, Cole, G. H., Jamme, A., An Archeological

90. Cont...
Reconnoissance in Hadhramaut, South Arabia, - a preliminary report, Washington, 1964, pp.534-44.

91. Sayce, A. H., Early Israil and the surrounding Nations, London, 1899, p.128.

92. Beeker, C. H., The Expansion of the Saracens, in Cambridge Medieval History, vol. II, Cambridge, 1913, pp.329-330.

93. Koechlin, R., et Migeon, G., Art Musulman, Paris, 1956, pp.12-13. Soon after the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims in the 8th century A.D. Coptic art and industry became the most prized possessions of the conquerors. The most outstanding of the cultural heritages was tapestry, exhibiting unmistakable traces of Graeco-Roman art. These embroideries which had vital influence even on the Sasanian art are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Musee des Tissus de la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon, France; Museum of decorative art at Brussels and Arab Museum in Cairo.

94. Creswell, K. A. C., Coptic influence on early Muslim architecture, in Bulletin de la Societé d'archéologie Copte. Tome V, 1935, Cairo, MCMXXXVIII, p.36. (Hereafter cited as Coptic). He asserts that coptic

94. Cont...
influence penetrated Muslim decorative art as proved by the Triangles A-L at Mshatta. Coptic craftsmen were employed to execute motifs of Madīna, Jerusalem and Damascus. See also his "A Short Account of E.M.A.' Pelican, 1958, p.150. He also points out that a coptic craftsman named Baqum rebuilt the Ka'ba in A.D.608. (The Ka'ba in A.D.608, in Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, vol.XCIV, Second Series, London, MCMLI, pp.97-102.

95. In the Allāhābād Museum as well as in the Sarnath Museum, there are stone fragments, beautifully chiselled with vine scroll motifs of undoubted classical origin. Allahabad Museum has a fragment from Bharhut, bearing No. 6.

96. Watt, W. M., Economic and Social Aspects of the origin of Islam, in Islamic Quarterly, vol. I. No. 2. July 1954, p.99.

97. Cash, W. W., The Expansion of Islam, London, 1928, p.52.

98. Snouck Hurgronje, C., Mohammadanism, London, 1910, p.97.

99. The Holy Qur'ān, Surā al-Bakarah, II, Verse 144. Revealed at Madīna.

100. Nicholson, R. A., op. cit., Intro.XXIII.

101. Lammens, H., Islam: Beliefs and Institutions, Tr. by E. Denison Ross, London, 1929, pp.17-21. Many aspects of pre-Islamic Arabian society have been revealed by the ancient Arabian odes, generally known as Mu'allaqa and also the works of Muslim authors, such as al-Kalbi's al-Asnam (the idols). Von Kremer thinks that the Mu'allaqa is an index to the pagan sentiment of the Arabs. They believed in spirits, fairies, and oracles and practised by throwing headless arrows to idols, known as 'Azlam whom they thus consulted.

102. Wellhausen, J., Arab Kingdom and its fall, Tr. by M. G. Weir, University of Calcutta, 1927, pp.33-34.

103. Smith, R. B., Mohammed and Mohammedanism, London, 1876, pp.202-206. See also Koelle, S. W., Mohammed and Mohammedanism, London, MDCCCL XXXIX, p.115.

104. Sale, C., The Life of Muhammad, London, 1913, p.76.

105. Montgomery, J. A., op. cit., p.108.

106. Sale, C., op. cit., p.77.

107. Margoliouth, D. S., The Relation between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam. The British Academy. The Schweich Lectures, London, 1924, p.7. He also traces linguistic affinities between Arabs and Israelites. See also Goitein, S. D., Jews and Arabs, New York, 1955, p.47. He also refers to the Jewish tomb stones between Madīna and Palestine and to the Jewish term Yathrib for Madīna.

108. Sale, C., op. cit., p.77.

109. ibid, p.76.

110. ibid, p.77.

111. Muir, W., The Life of Mahomet, London, 1894, p.l. & maps. See also Lammens, H., Mecca in EI, vol.III. Part 1, 1936, pp.437-442.

112. Muir, W., op. cit., p.161 & maps.

113. Watt, W. M., op. cit., p.98. In comparison with the Jews, there were, however, very few Christians in Madīna. See Sale, C., op. cit., p.90.

114. Sale, C., op. cit., p.16.

115. Montgomery, J. A., op. cit., pp.98-99, says that Lammens challenged the economic factor of Caetani and stressed on the religious sentiment. See also Jurji, E. J., The Islamic Theory of War, in Muslim

115. Cont...
World, vol. XXX, No. 4. Oct. 1940, pp.332-339. He criticizes Caetani (Annali vol.I. p.365) who thinks that the Islamic Empire was the outcome of the Holy War or Jihād. Arnold, however, thinks that religious interest appears to have entered but little into the consciousness of the Arab high command who conducted campaigns and carved out a vast empire.

116. Cash, W. W., op. cit., pp.54-55. See also Note 10.

117. Jurji, E. J. op. cit., pp.335-36.

118. Grintz, J. M., On the Original home of the Semites, in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. XXI, July, 1962, No. 3, Chicago, U.S.A., p.192-3.

119. Richard Burton, F., op. cit., pp.342-4.

120. Codrington, K. de B., An introduction to the study of Islamic art in India, in Indian Art and Letters, vol. VII, No. 2. p.92.

121. Burckhart, T., The Spirit of Islam, in Islamic Quarterly, vol. I. No. 4, Dec. 1954, p.215.

122. Richmond, E. T., Moslem Architecture, 623-1516, London, 1926, p.8.

123. Lanepoole, S., The Muhammadan Dynasties, London, MDCCCXCIV. pp.4-8. See also Hazard, H. W., Atlas of

123. Cont...
Islamic History, Princeton, 1959, Third Edition, pp.5-18.

124. Briggs, p.39. See also Sarre, F., and Herzfeld, E., Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris - Gebiet, Berlin, 1920, P. Band II, pp.60-75, See also Dieulafoy, M., L'Art Antique de la Perse, vol. 4 & 5, Paris, MDCCCLXXXV, pp.61-62; Pls. III-VI; Streck, M., al-Madā'in, in EI, 1936, vol. III, Part I, pp.75-81; Wilkinson, G., On Saracenic Architecture: Paper read on 18th March, 1801, in PRIBA, pp.216-228.

125. Wellhausen, J., op. cit., pp.68-69.

126. ibid, pp. 68-69.

127. Browne, E. G., A Literary History of Persia, vol. I. Cambridge 1951, p.210.

128. Arnold, T. W., The Old and New Testament in Muslim religious art, London, 1932, p.8. (Hereafter cited as Muslim). See also Hamilton, R. W., Carved plaster in Umayyad Architecture in Iraq, vol.XV, London, 1953, p.43; Strzygowski, J., Art (Muhammedan) in ERE, vol.1, 1908, pp.874-881. He says that the mural paintings of Qusayr 'Amra exhibit Hellenistic style in Umayyad art. On the contrary, Creswell suggests that the frescoes belong not to the hieratic art of

128. Cont...
Byzantium but to the date Hellenistic art of Syria. (A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.84-96).

129. Muslim, pp.8-13; See also his Painting in Islam, Oxford, MCMXXVIII, p.60.

130. E.M.A., vol. 1., p.7.; See also Fedden, R., Syria: An Historical Appreciation, London, 1946, p.18.

131. Creswell, K. A. C., Architecture, in EI, vol. 1., 1960, NE, pp.609-16. (Hereafter cited as Architecture).

132. Wilber, D. B., The Religious edifice and community life, in Moslem World, vol. XXXVI, July, 1936, No. 3, p.250.

133. Wilber, D. B., op. cit., p.251.

134. Saladin, H., Architecture (Muhammadan), in ERE, vol. 1. p.757. See also Marçais, G., Abbasid Art, in EWA, vol. 1, 1959, pp.6-10.

135. Hoag, J. D., Western Islamic Architecture, London, 1963, p.10; See also Grousset, R., op. cit., vol. 1, p.177.

136. Bell, H. I., Greek Papyri in the British Museum, IV, The Aphrodito Papyri, 75-76. From these papyri we know that non-Muslim workmen were on occasion conscripted or engaged and materials appropriated by

136. Cont...
the Caliphs or their agents for work on buildings far removed from their places of origin. Ziyad ibn Abihi employed, besides skilled Arabian masons, craftsmen of the Days of Ignorance, that is to say, non-Muslims, in the reconstruction of the mosques at Kūfa and Basra. (Architecture, p.610). Caliph al-Walid (A.H.88-98/A.D.705-15) employed Greek and coptic artisans as well as craftsmen from Syria and Egypt for the reconstruction of the Prophet's original mosque of Medīna (A Short Account of E.M.A. p.43).

137. Cohn-Weiner, E., Islamic Art and Architecture, in Journal of the University of Bombay, vol.IV, Part, I, July, 1935, p.89.

138. Rhys, E., Arabian Architecture in Appendix F., Editorial note in the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians by E. W. Lane, London, 1923, p.589. Ettinghausen ascribes the unity of Islamic art to the eschatological beliefs of the Divine Judgment and the sacredness of the Qur'ān (Character of Islamic Art in N.A. Faris, The Arab Heritage, New Jersey, 1941, pp.254-55). Marçais says that Arabic, being a sacred tongue, formed the basis of

138. Cont...
calligraphic unity in all the Islamic countries. L'art Musulman, Les Neuf Muses Histoire générale des Arts, Paris, 1962, p.9.

139. Rivoira, G. T., Moslem Architecture: its origin and development, Tr. by G. McN. Rushforth, Oxford University Press, 1918, p.15. He traces the plan of the Aqsa mosque to the Roman Basilica Fulvia Aemil dated 179 B.C., shown on a coin struck by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Basilica Julia erected by Augustus dedicated in 12 A.D. Lanepoole, S., (The Art of the Saracens in Egypt, London, MDCCCLXXX, p.52) maintains that the mosque plan is the survival of the ancient Semitic temple plans, such as those of the Phoenicians and also in the portico, surrounding the Ka'ba at Mecca. The arguments of Rivoira and Lanepoole have been criticized by Fergusson and Creswell. Fergusson says that the reconstructed mosque of 'Amrát Cairo (A.H.21-53-79/A.D.642- 99) is hardly based on church models. (A History of Architecture, vol.II, London, 1867, pp.371-74, 381).

140. Gayet, Al., L'Art Arabe, Paris, 1893, pp.41-42.

141. Jackson, A. V. W., Art (Persian), in ERE, vol.I. 1908, p.883; see also Pope, A. V., An introduction to Persian Art, London, 1930, p.19. He writes, "Islam did not create the architecture of Persia nearly as much as Persia created the architecture of Islam".

142. Havell, E. B., Indian Architecture, its psychology, structure and History, From the first Muhammadan invasions to the present day, London, 1927, pp.1-14.

143. Pinder-Wilson, R. W., Islamic Art, London, 1957, pp.7-10.

144. Rivoira, G. T., op. cit., p.2.

145. Richard Burton, F., op. cit., p.95.

146. Grand-Pierre, C., op. cit., pp.8, 11. See also Marçais, G., L'Art Musalmane, op. cit., p.11. In spite of representations of animate objects in Islamic art, buildings of religious character, such as mosques, tombs, etc., have very rarely been decorated with representations of living beings (Clenahan, R. S., The Moslem Mosque and the Christian Church, in Muslim World, vol. XXXIII, 1942, p.260; Arnold writes, "Not that Islam has been hostile to art as a whole for in the mosque it gave to

146. Cont...
architecture the sanction of religion (Survivals of Sasanian & Manichaean Art in Persian painting, Oxford, 1924, p.4.)

147. Ettinghausen, R., op. cit., pp.253-54.

148. Diez, E., Simultaneity of Islamic Art in Ars Islamica, vol.IV, 1937, p.186. See also Pinder-Wilson, R. W., op. cit., pp.7-10.

149. Fergusson, J., op. cit., pp.371-74; 375-90.

150. A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.17-81; 156-58.

151. ibid, pp.156-58.

152. ibid, p.150.

153. Briggs, M. S., Islamic Architecture in Persia and India in Indian Art and Letters, vol. XX, No.2, 1946, p.75.

154. Marçais, G., Abbasid Art in EWA, vol.I, 1958, pp.6-10.

155. Strzygowski, J., op. cit., p. 876; see also Jackson, A. V. W., op. cit., p. 883; Davey, N., A History of Building Materials, London, 1961, pp.21-24.

156. Marcais, G., Abbasid Art in EWA, op. cit., pp.6-7; See also Batlivala, S. H., Intellectual movement of Iranian in relation to non-Iranian cultural influences, in Indo-Iranica, vol.XIV, Sept. 1961, No. 3, p.34.

157. Pope, A. U., SPA, vol.II, pp.37-41, 1485. See also Brown, P., Early Indo-Persian Art and its relation to the Art of the Seljugs and of Iran, in Indo-Iranica, vol.II, Oct. 1947, No.2, p.2.

158. Diez, E., SPA, II, pp.916-919.

159. Pope, SPA, II, p.902.

160. Pope, SPA, II, pp.37-41.

161. Saladin, H., op. cit., p.750. See also Streck, M., op. cit., p.76.

162. Diez, E., Masdjid in EI, Vol.III, Part I, 1936, p.380, SPA, II, p.402.

163. Hameed, A. A., The Stucco ornaments of Sāmarrā, vol. I & II, an unpublished thesis of the University of London, May, 1962.

164. Fischer, K., Some examples of mutual Hindu-Muslim Architectural influences, in Indo-Iranica, vol.VIII, March, 1955, No.I, pp.1-7.

CHAPTER II

ARCHITECTURAL ORIGINS OF MASJID

The evolution of Masjid as a distinct type of Muslim building can be traced by an analytical study of the term Masjid, together with other cognate terms. Among these are Musalla, Mihrāb, Majlis, Bayt or Dār, Zāwiya and 'Anāza - Harba - Sutra.

Like Sajada, Salāt is a loan word in Arabic, as has been stated earlier.[1] Sajada, which forms the root of Masjid differs from Salāt, from which the term Musalla is derived not only in its radicals but in meaning. Sajada, forms one of the ten genuflections performed during the ritual prayer or Salāt. In the ordinary sense Salāt denotes spontaneous individual prayer. However, both Sajada and Salāt indicate some place of prayer, namely the Musalla from Salāt and the Masjid from Sajada. (see Appendix I) e.

However, in the early phase of the missionary career of the Prophet, both Musalla and Masjid seem to be identical in interpretation. As Pedersen puts it, "in the dogma of Muhammad, a sanctuary was not a fundamental necessity".[2] Hence the Prophet had no fixed place of prayer in Mecca. He performed Salāt sometimes besides the

Ka'ba, sometimes in the private place of worship, that is, the Musalla, erected by Abu Bakr.[3]

The Musalla-Masjid conception of the place of prayer is expanded by the statement of the Arab grammarian Ibn al-'Arabi. While interpreting the term Salāt in his Tāj,[4] he refers to the Mihrāb al-buyūt wa Musalla al-Jamā'at, that is, the Mihrāb of (or in) houses and the place of the prayer meeting. Here Mihrāb and Musalla are employed in the sense of a place of congregational prayer, that is to say, Masjid.[5]

Diez observes, "The private place of worship known as Musalla originated in pre-Muhammadan Arabia where we have evidence of it, for example, in the story of the Prophet's Salāts outside Medina in a place belonging to the Banū Salima".[6] The site was situated south-west of the city in the territory of the Banū Salima, outside the wall, north-east of the bridge. Festivals were held there on 1st Shawwāl and the 10th Dhul Ḥijja.[7]

While Diez traces the Musalla from pre-Islamic Arabia, Wensinck expounds a curious theory in ascribing its origin to the North Semitic threshing floor.[8] It is, however, extremely misleading to determine the nature of any specialised building such as the Islamic mosque is

simply because of a primitive ritual performed on threshing floors. It is known that in the Prophet's Mosque, funeral prayers were offered in the same way as they were elsewhere.[9] Curiously enough, there is no prostration in the Salāt al-Janā'iz or funeral prayer. It was always feared that people ignorant in religious matters should take the service to be an act of the worship of the dead, corresponding to the ancient practice of ancestral worship. In any case, the fundamental concept of Musalla and Masjid is that they are places of prayer.

However, the Masjid as a type of architecture intended for congregational prayer did not exist at Mecca before the Hijra. In Madīna, the stronghold of Islam, however, the two concepts of Musalla and Masjid came to receive distinct interpretations. The controversy among the Traditionalists over the performance of prayer in either the Musalla or the Masjid would seem to prove that they were structurally different.[10] Wensinck maintains that the Musalla was the place of prayer for rain,[11] and that the Masjid was the place of prostration and worship. Without entering into the controversy, it is clear that the Musalla was relegated to a secondary importance as

compared with the Madīna Masjid. The original, very simple building of the Prophet at Madīna, possessed all the appurtenances necessary for congregational prayer and served as a prototype of the Mosque throughout the Islamic world.[12] The Muṣalla, on the other hand, was part of the buildings, forming the headquarters of the tribal organization or seat of a tribal clan.

Doughty[13] refers to a Maṣally (Muṣalla) as a raised mud platform with a low cornice bestrewn with clean gravel and says that it was to be found in all the house courts at Hāyil. These praying platforms or "kneeling places", as Doughty calls them, are quite common in the desert, being defined by a border of stones, facing the Ka'ba, known as Sutra. Niebuhr gives a detailed account of a ceremony he observed in Yemen in a place outside the town devoted to public prayer and known as Maṣally (Muṣalla).[14]

Hughes explains Muṣalla as a small mat, cloth or carpet on which a Muslim says his prayer. (Fig. 4.) Incidentally, he also observes that in Egypt the term Sajjādah is used in place of Muṣalla, as well as the Persian Jāi-Namāz.[15] In a commonly used sense, Muṣalla seems to represent a single square chamber with a mihrāb

in the qibla wall, approached by a high entrance portal. In other words, it later on came to be identified with Masjid.[16] Architecturally speaking, the Musalla is, as Diez says, "a religious building not sufficiently important to form an architectural type of its own".[17] This is not altogether correct for Gauhar Shād's great Mosque at Harāt is commonly known as Musalla as well as Masjid.[18] But, generally speaking, the term Masjid superseded the term Musallā.

Attempts have been made by scholars to identify the Mihrāb as a place of prayer, having all the appurtenances of the developed Masjid.[19] Ibn al-'Arabī refers to the Maḥārib of the Banū Isrā'īl, as being their Masjids. Müller translates the term Mihrāb which appears in the Kawkaban inscription of Hamadān for the first time as "sanctuary".[20] The Prophet also refers to the Mihrāb of David and other Prophets, thereby implying chapels, like those at Jerusalem, referred to by Ṭabarī and commented on by Serjeant.[21]

The employment of the compound term Mihrāb al-Musalla by Qalanisi[22] is interesting, for both the terms, as we have seen, can imply Masjid. Taking this into account and also the simultaneous use of Mihrāb al-Bayt wa Musalla

al-Jama'at, i.e. the Mihrāb of the House and the Musalla of the Congregation,[23] it is possible to suggest that the former indicates a part of the Mosque devoted to congregational worship. It would seem that the usual meaning of Mihrāb, as the usually concave niche indicating the Qibla, did not emerge in Islamic architecture until the reconstruction of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madīna by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the Governor of the Ḥijāz under the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid in the year A.H. 88-90/ A.D. 707-9.[24] Curiously enough, the earliest known example of the Mihrāb is in the cave of the Dome of the Rock, and is commonly spoken of as Solomon's Mihrāb.[25] This Mihrāb, (Plate IIIa) which corresponds to the design on a coin of 'Abd al-Malik (Plate IIa, b; Fig. 8) dated A.H. 75/A.D. 695 was built not later than the end of the 7th century.[26] Both Solomon's Mihrāb and that represented on the coin of 'Abd al-Malik are, however, not concave, but flat.

Etymologically, the term Mihrāb[27] has much the same meaning as 'Anāza or Sutra, for the derivative ḥariba denotes "a place of a struggle" or a battlefield".[28] Lane explains Mihrāb as Masjid or "sanctuary". He writes, "... and sanctuaries were built for the sons of Israel:

their masjids in which they used to teach and gathered for prayer".[29] Like Masjid, Miḥrāb is also a loan word, being probably Aramaic.[30]

It is interesting to note that Miḥrāb[31] occurs in the poems of Imru 'l-Qais, al-A'shā, Ibn Duraid Ishtiqāq.[32] It also appears in Sūra xxxiv. 3, but in Sūra iii. 37, where it denotes not a qibla-niche or sanctuary but rather a Lady's private chamber or Zanāna.[33]

Hamilton considers the little chamber within the bath in the Khirbat al-Mafjar, built by the Umayyad Caliph Hishām in A.H. 172-80/A.D. 788-96, as a dīwān or audience hall. He writes, "It is easy to recognize in the apsidal dais a Miḥrāb (in the secular sense), the form of chamber prescribed by long usage for the seats of Governors and princes".[34] Much the same observations have been made concerning Mshatta and Qusayr 'Amra.[35] Following the same line of thought Serjeant contends that the original meaning of the term Miḥrāb was "a row of columns with their intervening spaces". He explains it as "a pillared sitting-place, open at one side, set at some eminence above ordinary ground level".[36] His description is very like that of the dīwān of Médain Saleh drawn and described by Doughty.[37]

It is interesting to note that the Masjid is on occasion referred to as the Miḥrāb, as is done by Ṭabarī in his commentary on Sūra III, 37, when mentioning the Miḥrāb with reference to the Prophet's private room. He writes, "-any kind of room or mosque which was built for her (Maryam) the most honoured place - it is called so because it is the place of fight which the devil never will touch - as it is placed in the most honourable place of the house of Jerusalem".[38]

Ibn Ḥazm in his chapter entitled Ḥakm al-Masjid relates a story which clearly shows that the word Miḥrāb could stand for the whole building in the early days of Islam.[39] In other words, it evidently denotes a "holy place" or a "place of prostration". Serjeant states that in Hadramaut the term Maḥārib means the portico of a Mosque.[40] In the successive phases of architectural development of the Masjid, Miḥrāb was used especially to indicate the place of prayer, that is to say, the qibla of the Mosque. Besides exercising its essential functions in orientating Mosques towards the Holy Sanctuary of the Ka'ba, the Miḥrāb has been made the subject of ornamentation as no other part of the Mosque has been.[41]

According to Lammens,[42] the idea of the Masjid is

closely linked with the customs of the pre-Islamic Arab Bedouins.[43] In the accepted social framework of Bedouin life, the tent of the individual Bedouin came to be dissociated from the tribal tent, which was considered to be both inviolable (hima) as well as sacred (harām).[44] Such a tent on which was centred the unbounded veneration of the tribe was the meeting-place of the Majlis and so was identified with it.

The terms Majlis and Nadī, as pointed out by Lammens are synonymous.[45] The Majlis or rather the tribal tent assumed the role of the tribal sanctuary, where Dīn al-'Arab, the pre-Islamic Arab religion, was practised.[46] Citing the example of the Masjid of the Banu Najjar tribe (Masjid al-Qaum), founded before the Hijra, Lammens writes, "- it (Masjid) succeeded the Majlis of the tribe, a tent of the council among the individualistic Arabs whose social life was concentrated in it".[47]

Drawing a parallel between the Majlis idea of the Bedouin tribes and the Dar conception of the Prophet's Mosque at Madīna, Lammens again says, "- just as Islam showed the desire of absorbing the organisation of the Jāhilīya, of including it in its Jam'ā, it adopted in enlarging it, the conception of harām and hima, both

Semitic ideas".[48] In spite of these remarks of Lammens, which are supported by Rivoira,[49] it is hard to believe in the pre-Islamic origin of the Masjid. Primarily the Majlis or Council Tent served as the focus of Arab society, whereas the Masjid, right from the very beginning, formed the veritable focus or centre of the socio-political and religious life of the Muslim community. But philologically Majlis does not mean anything more than merely a meeting place.

The ideas of ḥarām and hima are doubtless very old. Moreover, the widely-venerated shrines of Mecca and Jerusalem, which are referred to as Bait al-Harām or "Sacred Enclosures" and Bait al-Muqaddas or "Holy House" were already in existence, and must have radically influenced the idea of the early Muslim mosques.[50]

With regard to the problem of the "place of prostration", another term exists, Zāwiya.[51] In connection with an Arabian Nights' tale, Richard Burton refers to the Arabic term Zāwiya as a little mosque or oratory. He further explains that it stands to the Mosque in the same relationship as a Chapel to a Church,[52] but such Christian parallels are misleading. Properly speaking, Zāwiya is the corner of a building, but it was also applied

to the cell of a Christian monk and later on to a small "praying room".[53] In its widest sense, as Dumas puts it, "the Zāwiya is, to sum up, a religious school and a free hostel, in these two respects it has much in common with the Mediaeval monastery".[54] The Zāwiya, therefore, is not so much an oratory or a part of the congregational mosque, devoted to individual prayer, as an asylum for travellers and poor people.[55]

However, the idea of the Masjid does have an inseparable connection with the characteristic Muslim idea of 'Anāza, which is also sometimes known as Sūtra and Ḥarba.[56] Lane explains 'Anāza as a sort of spear or staff. Like 'Anāza, Sutra and Ḥarba also denote a kind of spear.[57] Lane suggests that the term 'Anāza means "spear with bent horns".[58] Schwarzlose considers it to be something between a staff and a spear with a head like a spear,[59] Miskat gives an idea of the size and shape of the Sutra when he says that the stick or spear should be a cubit in height and an inch thick.[60] Miles says, "The 'anazah was the ḥarbah or spear which the Abyssinian King Najāshi sent to Zubayr b. [bin] al-'awwām as a gift and which the latter in turn gave to Muhammad. As early as the year 2 of the Hijrah it was carried by

Bilal before the Prophet when he went forth to the Muṣallā on the two 'Īds and was stuck in the ground in front of him to serve the dual purpose of sutrah and qibla, that is, to delimit the piece of ground private to him during his prayers and to point the direction".[61] In the field of battle, warring Muslim soldiers naturally used their spears as the Sūtra when praying. (Plate I). The Prophet's own 'Anāza is preserved as a sacred relic of the Caliphate at Sāmarrā.[62]

Literally, Sūtra denotes covering, sheltering, protecting, specially at the time of ritual prayer.[63] In its specific sense, it means an object, either fixed or lying in front of the worshipper at right angles to the direction of Mecca. It has also been referred to as Kiswa or veil. As Gayet puts it, "The censer of a woman in charge of burning perfume before the ka'ba communicated the fire to the veil and the whole sanctuary was burnt from the top to the bottom".[64] As a concept the Sutra is, therefore, probably pre-Islamic, engrained in the idea of the Kiswa of the Holy Sanctuary of Mecca.[65] In the traditions, the Kiswa is mentioned as the Sutra. Sutra is derived from sitr, or satāra, denoting the veil or curtain, which screened the Prophet's wives from public eyes in the

Hujra of his Mosque at Madīna.[66] Bamboo staff and turbans are sometimes also used as the Sutra.[67] The term Harba is closely related to Mihrāb, being its root, as has been stated earlier. Bukhārī relates a tradition. "The Prophet ordered the Harba to be placed between his hands, and he took it as (a qiblah), and people followed him, and the door of praying faced the Harba. The Harba was fixed and they prayed in front of it". The Harba, therefore, clearly has the function of marking the direction of the qibla".[68]

Becker[69] interprets the Sutra as a sceptre, a part of the royal paraphernalia, but this magnification of Arab royalism is not really convincing. Both Becker and Rhodokanakis[70] think that the staff (Sutra) and pulpit (Minbar) are derived from the two indispensable attributes of the Judge or Orator in pre-Islamic Arabia.[71] Quoting Strzygowski, Rhodokanakis substantiates this view by referring to the frescoes of Qusayr 'Amra and Mshatta, where seated figures were found with sceptres in their hands.[72] Ibn Khaldūn, however, does say that the preacher (Khāṭib) carried a staff or sword as he approached and mounted the Minbar.[73] But the idea of the Sutra is essentially Islamic.

The place of 'Anāza in the study of early Islamic

iconography is still a matter of deliberation. Miles draws attention to the iconographical or symbolic representation of 'Anāza in a unique Arabo-Sasanian dirham struck at Damascus in not later than A.H. 75/A.D. 695, now in the American Numismatic Society's Collection.[74] The obverse has a portrait of a ruler in the Sasanian style with Pahlavī script, but the reverse bears the most extraordinary representation of a semi-circular Miḥrāb resting on two twisted pilasters with an upright spear, descending from the crown of the arch. (Plate II,a, b; Fig. 8). Miles describes it as terminating in an apical blade with two basal prongs bent background, and standing upon what appears to be a bifurcated base".[75]

According to Miles, the 'Anāza, within the Miḥrāb is a replica of "the distasteful gabri symbolism of the fire altar".[76] The Achaemenian and the Partho-Sasanian seals and coins demonstrate representations of fire-altars with two flanking attendants (Figs. 5, 6).[77] As figural or symbolic representation is revulsive to Muslim religious taste, the Muslim mint-masters probably replaced it by a Miḥrāb, copied probably from Solomon's Miḥrāb (Plate III,a) in the cave of the Dome of the Rock, which is dated A.H. 72/A.D. 691 referred to above. Architectural and decorative resemblances

between the two are to be observed in the semi-circular arch of the Miḥrāb, the two twisted pilasters, the unusual form of capitals and vine scroll motifs.[78]

In the institution of the Ḥajj, the pilgrims have to pelt pebbles at the stone pillars at certain stage with a view to prevent devilish interference. This pre-Islamic custom which survived in Islamic rites led Wellhausen and Wensinck to think that Sutra may be said to have possessed the power of exorcising demonical influences.[79] In the sense of a spear, it has been considered to be a manifest attribute of the Commander of the army, Chieftain of the tribe, ruling Princes and Judges.[80] In its implication of exorcism, the Sūtra may be considered to have been borrowed from ancient Jewish practice, the parallel being Shēbet or sceptre or staff.[81]

In the light of the above discussion, there is no reason to doubt that Sutra or Ḥarba is the embodiment of the Miḥrāb meaning "the place of the lance".[82] Strangely enough, before the concave miḥrāb appeared in A.H. 88-90/ A.D. 707-9, the qibla in the Mosque of the Prophet at Madīna was determined by a large block of stone.[83] This stone which is often considered as the replica of the "Black Stone" of the Ka'ba,[84] occurs in the form of

a hanging bell at the corner Mihrāb (Plate IIIb, Fig. 7) of the Mashhad or Tomb of Imām 'Aun al-Din at Moṣul (xiiith century A.D.).[85]

From the concept of Sutra is evolved the 'Idgāh (Plate IV, a1.) which is an open air praying ground with a wall on the qibla side. As Richmond puts it, "They have a screen of wall about a hundred yards long with a central prayer-niche and the normal three steps for the preacher: and each extremity is garnished with an imitation Minaret".[86] 'Idgāh is, in fact, an enclosed mosque, but with a limited and special function.[87]

In conclusion, it may be said with a fair amount of certainty that the Sutra formed the genesis of the 'Idgāh, which in course of time developed into a well formed architectural type. As Conde puts it, "The Mosque is of various and almost of any shape. It is, in fact, a wall".[88] This fundamental concept of Masjid is in close conformity with the sayings of the Prophet, as Bukhārī relates, "The earth has been created for me as a Masjid and a place of purity, and whatever man from my Umma finds himself in need of prayer, let him pray". (anywhere).[89] This is further attested by the fact that the early camp-mosques at Kūfa, Baṣra, and Fusṭāṭ are

built of reeds and thatch so that they could if necessary, be taken down with the movement of the military camp.[90]

CHAPTER II : NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Jeffery, A., The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, vol. LXXIX, 1938, p. 197, While al-'Ukbarī, Imlā', ii, 89 and al-Jawālīqī, mu'arrab, 95, derive the origin of the term from the Hebrew thereby interpreting it as synagogue, Ibn Jinnī, muḥtasab, quoted by as-Suyuti, Mutaw, 55, and Fraenkel, De Vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in corano peregrinis, Leiden, 1880, p. 21., think that it had been borrowed,from Syriac, implying a place of prayer, the parallel words in Syriac being ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ , byt ṣlwt'. Rossini, C.C., Chrestomathia Arabica, Meridionalis Epigraphica with Glossarium, Roma, 1931, p. 224, and Hommel, F., Südarabische Chrestomathie, München, 1893, p. 125, have attempted to trace it to the South Arabian vocabulary, implying chapel. However, Wensinck suggests that the term has been derived from ṣl' in Aramaic, denoting 'to bow', 'to bend', 'to stretch'. The substantive selota is the 'nomen verbale', or nominal verb of the Aramaic verb ṣl', ordinarily used as a trap set catching birds, so that selota only means 'a bowing down' a 'prostration', Wensinck, A.J., Some Semitic rites of Mourning and religion: Studies on their origin and mutual relation, Amsterdam, 1917, p. 13, (Hereafter cited as Semitic Rites, p. 13.). The term assumed a comprehen-

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sive usage in the South Arabian inscriptions before it came to be employed in a wider scale in the classical language of the Arabic, referred to on several occasions by the Qur'ān, Sūra, xxii, Verse 41.
2. Pedersen, Johs, Masdjid, in EI, vol. III, pt. I, 1913, p. 316.
3. Pedersen, p. 316. See also al-Bukhārī, Sahīh bab Salat, 86, V.
4. Jeffrey, p. 197.
5. Serjeant, R.B., Miḥrāb, in BSOAS, vol. XXXII, 1959, pp. 439-441. He writes, "The Maḥārīb of the Banu Isra'īl are these masjids, in which they used to sit, as if it were for counsel in the matter of war". Maḥmūd 'Ali Ghūl connects mdqnt with Miḥrāb, (Was the Ancient South Arabian Mdqnt the Islamic Miḥrāb? in BSOAS, vol. XXV, pt. 2, 1962, pp. 332-33.
6. Diez, E., Muṣallā in EI, Supplement, 1934-38, p. 158.
7. Wensinck, A.J., Muṣallā in EI, vol. III, Part, 2, p. 746.
8. Semitic Rites, pp. 2-4, J.G. Wetzstein draws attention to the religious significance of the threshing floor in an article entitled 'Die Syrische Dreschtafel.' In Egypt and Babylonia, time-honoured mourning rites were performed on thrashing floors, which were, therefore, considered to be sacred. Mourning ceremonies were, however, held in Churches in early Christian times. This proto-Semitic use of the threshing floor, also existed in South Arabia, as pointed out by Wensinck.

9. Semitic Rites, pp. 7-8. Besides the observance of the funeral prayers along with the usual congregational prayers, the Madīna mosque also served as a suitable place for performing the ṣalāt al-Istiḳā' (prayer for rain) and the Ṣalât on the Two-Feasts, namely, 'Īd al-Fitr on the First day of Shawwāl, and 'Īd al-Aḍhā and even the prayer for rain. (Bell, A., Istiskā' in EI, vol. II, Part 1, 1927, p. 562).

10. Semitic Rites, pp. 7-8. See also al-Bukhārī, Istiskā' bab 4, Cairo, 1304; Muslim, sahīh with Nawawi's commentary, Cairo, p. 301 sqq; Abu Du'ad I, p. 115. sq; Tirmidhi, 1, 110; Nasai, 1, 224.

11. Semitic Rites, p. 8.

12. Richmond, E.T., Moslem Architecture 623 to 1516, some causes and consequences, London, 1926, pp. 3, 29.

13. Doughty, vol. II, pp. 11, 248.

14. Semitic Rites, quoted by Wensinck, p. 8. Niebuhr, in Reisebes-chreibung, Kopenhagen, 1774, p. 397 (Pl. LXVI(12)) gives a description of a ceremony in Yemen at a place outside the town of Dola, called Musallā (Msālle)

15. Hughes, Musallā, in DI, p. 433

16. Pedersen, pp. 325-58. He says, "the word musallā may mean any place of prayer, therefore also mosque". See also Diez, Musallā, p. 159.

17. Diez, Musallā, p. 159. He saw Arabian Musallās and Masjids of the simplest kind with Līwān of several naves built of rows of pillars, running parallel with the qibla wall. They often lack any courtyard or even Miḥrāb. See also his Die Kunst der Islamis - che Volker, Berlin, 1915, pp. 8, 11, 37, 91, f. 100. He regards Musallā as a place of prayer. He particularly refers to the Musallā of Banu Salamah in Madīna, and that of Bahrain. Marçais, H., Manuel d'art Musulman, vol. 11, Paris, 1926, p. 489, describes the Musallā of Manṣūra.

18. SPA, vol. II, pp. 1125-6.

19. Serjeant, p. 441, quotes Ibn al-'Arabi, "The Miḥrāb is the place where people sit (Majlis) and congregate". Abū Hanīfa obviously thinks it is an elevated place. He says, "The Miḥrāb is the noblest of the places where kings sit". See also AEL, Book 1, Part 2, pp. 540-41). It is in this exalted sense that the term Miḥrāb has been used for the Castle of Gumdan (Serjeant, p. 440). Another perplexing interpretation has been put forward by ibn Qais in his Dīwān which runs thus: "the maḥarib are masjids (places of prostration) made of graven stones (ḥujāra manqūra) and raised above ground level (al-ard)". This corresponds

19. Contd.....

unmistakably to "the kneeling places" described by Doughty, as stated above.

20. Serjeant, p. 442; CIS, 106; See also Müller, D.H., Sifat Jazīrat al-'Arab, Leiden, 1884-91, 1, p. 107, 195. N.1.

21. Serjeant, p. 448. See also Tabarī Ta'rīkh, ed. M.J. de Goeje, etc., Leiden, 1879-1901, 1, 2408, N.5. ibn Qalānisī refers to miḥrāb al-muṣallā. He used Maḥāriba as a part of the mosque in which people could pray. Edited by H.F. Amedoroz, ed. History of Damascus, Leiden, 1908, 9. N.4.

22. Serjeant, p. 441.

23. Ibid, p. 441.

24. EMA, vol. I, p. 44.

25. Dalman, G., Neue Petra Forschungen und der Heilige Felsen von Jerusalem, Leipzig, 1912, p. 128, Abb. 81. See also EMA, I, p. 70, Pl. 120(a) in vol. II, Fergusson, J., The Temples of the Jews and other buildings in the Haram area at Jerusalem, London, 1878, p. 225. J. Walker states that "the entrance of the cave is on the south-eastern side of the Ṣakhra and on the right is the miḥrāb of Sulaymān, the maqām al-Khalīl on the north corner with David's miḥrāb opposite". (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra, in EI, vol. II, Part 2, p. 1088). It measures 1.37 x 70m. (EMA, I, p. 70).

26. Miles, G.C., Mihrāb and 'Anazah, in Archaeologica Orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld, New York, 1952, pp. 156-71. This coin is preserved in the American Numismatic Society's collection. It has the portrait of 'Abd al-Malik on the obverse and a mihrāb with a semi-circular arch resting on two twisted pilasters on the reverse. It closely resembles Solomon's mihrāb, which may have served as the prototype. This problem is discussed in detail in an unpublished thesis by G. Fehérvári, entitled 'Development of the Mihrāb down to the XVth Century, University of London, 1961.

27. AEL, Book I, Part 2, p. 541. The word also appears in the Mu'allaqāt of Imru'l-Qays: "As the gazelles of the sand-desert in the palaces of the south Arabian princes". Considered to be one of the greatest of the Pre-Islamic Arabian poets, Imru'l-Qays claimed his descent from the ancient Arabian Kings of Yemen.

28. AEL, Book I, Part 2, p. 541.

29. AEL, Book 1, Part 2, p. 541. See also Dillman and Fraenkel derive Mihrāb from the Ethiopic root Krb, thereby linking with Aramaic. Dillman, A., Lexicon Lingual Acthiopicae, Leipzig, 1865, p. 836; Fraekel, S., Die Aramäische Fremdwortern im

29. Contd....
Arabischen, Leiden, 1886, 274); E. Glaser (Mitteilungen "Über einige Sabäische Inschriften, p. 80) and Nielsen, (Die Altarabische Mondreligion, Strassburg, 1910, p. 101) think that the word Mihrāb is identical to the Ethiopic Mikrāb, which denotes 'a pagan church'. It is also connected with the Hebrew word charabot as suggested by S. Daiches. (The meaning of charabot, in Jewish Quarterly Review. vol. 1908, pp. 637-39.). It is translated by Derenbourg as 'fortress'. (Supplément aux monuments, Sabéen et himyarite du Louvre in Revue d'Assyrologic et D'Archaeologie Orientale, vol. VI, Paris, 1905, p. 40). Some have tried to deduce the root hrb from the Assyrian Karabu, 'to be praised'. Mahmūd 'Ali Ghūl states that the term mhrb occurred twice in South Arabian inscription. (Mahmūd 'Ali Ghūl, p. 453). Creswell refers to the term haikal, a form of niche in a Coptic Church in connection with the concave mihrāb of Madīna, built by Coptic masons (EMA, vol. I, pp. 98-99).

30. Fehérvári, op.cit., pp. 1-54.

31. Bible: Job. iii: 14:
The passage runs: ..."with kings and counsellors of the earth, who built desolate places for themselves..."

31. Contd....
In Isaiah v. 17 the passage runs: "Then shall the lambs feed after their manner, and the waste places of the batons".

32. Geyer, R., Dīwān of al-'A'shā p. 261, V, 220-5. Al-A'sha particularly refers to the miḥrāb of Tadmor or Palmyra in the sense of tomb-tower. Quoted by Fehérvári, I, op.cit., pp. 32-33.

33. The Qur'ān: Sūra XXXIV, 13: The passages in the Qur'ān run as follows:
XXXIV: 13: "They made for him what he pleased of fortresses [maḥāriba] and images, and bowls (large) as watering-troughs and cooking-pots that will not move from their place";
iii, 36: "So her Lord accepted her with a good acceptance and made her grow up a good growing, and gave her into the charge of Zacharias; whenever Zacharias entered the sanctuary [miḥrāb] to (see) her, he found with her food".
xix, 11: "So he went forth to his people from his place of worship [miḥrāb] then he made known to them that they should glorify (Allāh) morning and evening".

34. Hamilton, R.W., Khirbat al-Mafjar, Oxford, 1959, p. 64.

35. Rhodokanadis, N., Zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,

35. Contd....
in W.Z.K.M., XXV, 1911, p. 71. See also A Short Account of E.M.A., pp. 104-6, 124; Hamilton, W., op.cit., p. 64: Musil, A., Kusajr 'Amra, I, Test band, Wien, 1907, pp. It has an audience hall with three recesses at the end of it. At Mshatta, the big basilican hall with trikonchos or triple apse also serves the same purpose. Strzygowski, J., Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architectur, Mshatta, vol. I, p. 59, 334-44

36. Serjeant, R.B., op.cit., pp. 450-51.

37. Missions, I, p. 417, Figs. 206, 207, 208.

38. Fehérvári, G., op.cit., I, pp. 30, N.2., p. 32, N.1; Tabarī, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān.

39. Ibn Ḥazm, Al-Muhallā quoted by Fehérvári, G., op.cit., I, pp. 31-32. He in his treatise on Islamic Law according to the Ẓāhirī school, vol. IV, p. 239. The story is as follows: "While the Muslims were performing their dawn prayer on Monday, and Abū Bakr was praying with them, suddenly the Prophet raised the curtain of his wife's (Ā'isha) room and looked at them, and it was thought that the Prophet wanted to share the prayer. Thereupon the Muslims were about to move during their prayer, clearly so that the Prophet might join the prayer. But the Prophet

39. Contd....
asked them to remain quiet and to carry on with their prayer. After that he entered his room and put down the curtain. 'Alī said, "If Abū Bakr was in the Miḥrāb he could not see the Prophet raising the curtain. And this was the day of his death".

40. Serjeant, pp. 439-453.

41. Frye, R.N., Some aspects of Persian art in An illustrated souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House, London, 1931, Second Edition, Intro. XIX, Pl. 57. Miḥrāb of faience mosaic, XIVth Century, Pennsylvania Museum.

42. Lammens, H., Ziād ibn Abihi Rivista degli studi orientali. See also AEL, Book 1, Part 2, p. 444. The term Majlis is derived from Jalasa (جلس), sitting place which recalls makan (مكن) or house. But there is a sharp difference between the two; for majlis pre-supposes a large assembly of the people of a particular clan for deliberations and makan indicates a family close circuit get-together. (Hereafter cited as Ziad)

43. Ziad, p. 241.

44. Ziad, p. 241.

45. Ziad, p. 242.

46. Ziad, p. 242, N. 4. See also Ibn Hanbal, Masnad, IV, 391, 10, d; Ibn Hisham, Sira, 184, 185, 336, 10,428, zd, 1; 430, 1.

47. Ziad, p. 241.

48. Ziad, p. 244. He quotes Jarir as follows: "Behold my ancestors! these maglis (majlis) enjoyed the privileges of the mosques".

49. Rivoira, p. 1. See also Ziad, pp. 241-244, ff.

50. Muhammad 'Ali: The Holy Qur'ān, London, 1917, p. 306, N. 799. In Sūrah V. 93, Mecca is referred to as "the metropolis".

51. Kasdorff, pp. 52-67, N. 3. See also EMA, vol. I, p.

52. Arabian Nights, vol. 6, p. 239, N. 2.

53. Lévi - Provençal, Zāwiya in EI, vol. IV, Part, 2, 1934, pp. 1220-1. The Greek equivalent to zāwiyah is γωνία (gōnia) =

54. Ibid, pp. 1220-1; See also Dozy, R., Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, Paris, 1927, vol. I, pp. 615-16. He calls it Petite mosquée or the little mosque.

55. AEL, vol. 3, Book 1, Part, 3, 1869, pp. 1273-4.

56. AEL, Book 1, Part 4, p. 1304.

57. AEL, Book 1, Part 5, p. 2173. See also Wensinck, A. J., Harba, in EI, vol. II, Pt. 1, P. 1927.

58. Miles, p. 166.

59. Schwarzlose, F.W., Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 212ff.

59. Contd....
See also Freytag, G.W., Einleitung in das studium der arabischen Sprache bis Mohammed und zum Theil später, Bonn, 1861, pp. 252-4.

60. AEL, Book 1, Pt. 4, p. 1309. Also see Wensinck, A.J., Handbook of Early Muhammadan Traditions, Leyden, 1927, pp. 23 - 24. In between the worshippers and the sutrah, a space enough to allow a sheep to pass is generally maintained. Lane, E.W., The Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians, 5th Edition, London, 1923, p. 72 (Hereafter cited as Manners).

61. Miles, pp. 164-65. See also Wensinck, Harba, op. cit., p. 266.

62. Goldziher, I., Muhammedanische Studien, vol. II, Halle, 1890, pp. 54, 361. See also Herzfeld, E., Geschichte der stadt Sāmarrā, 1948, p. 202. Mas'ūdī relates (murūj, vi, p. 77) that the robe, qadīs and mikh sara of the Prophet were burned by the Umayyad Marwān but recovered by the 'Abbāsid (Miles, p. 165, N. 27).

63. Wensinck, A.J., Sutra, in EI, vol. IV, p. 573.

64. Gayet, Al., L'Art Arabe, Paris, 1893, pp. 17-19, writes, the incense burner of a woman in charge of burning perfume before the Ka'ba communicates the fire to Soutrah [sutra] which is the veil hung from

64. Contd...
the door and the whole sanctuary collapsed, burnt from top to bottom. See also Wensinck, A.J., The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the navel of the earth, Amsterdam, 1916, p. 43; DI, pp. 279-339.

65. Rhodokanakis, N., Zur semitischen sprachwissenchaft, in W.Z.K.M., 1911, p. 75. (Hereafter cited as Semitischen). He discusses in detail the ancient oriental custom of hanging carpets behind the throne with a view to magnify the glory of the ruling sovereign, see also Gayet, p. 17.

66. Wensinck, Sutra, p. 574.

67. AEL, Book 1, Pt. 4, p. 1304.

68. Wensinck, A.J., A Handbook of early Muhammadan Traditions, London, 1960, p. 223.

69. Becker, C.H., Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt. Islamistudien, Leipzig, 1924, p. 16. See also Mecler, Zur Geschichte der Kanzel in Islam, in Der Islam, XIII, 109-12; see also Beckers, Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam, in Orientalische Studien, Theodor Noldeke, Gieszen, 1906, pp. 468-472, 643. He thinks that both minbar and stick perhaps strictly belongs to early Heathenism. They naturally and closely resembled the throne and the sceptre. (Hereafter cited as Kanzel)

70. Semitischen, pp. 73-75.

71. Kanzel, p. 643. See also Semitischen, pp. 73-74. Rhodokanakis connects the throne placed in the throne-recess with the minbar in a mihrāb, the difference lying only in the minbar being placed outside the niche in a mosque. It is, also very interesting to note that the minbar is found inside the mihrāb in a mosque at Aden as reported by Serjeant, (op.cit., p. 447). This practice was repeated in the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Kirmān and the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Yazd. (SPA, vol. IV, Pl. 40 & 443, pp; Briggs (Architecture, p. 28) says, "In ancient Arabia the minbar had been the Judge's chair, and as the leader of Islam gradually became a great temporal ruler, his simple rostrum, while retaining its Arabic name, developed into an ornate pulpit or throne".

72. See n. 135.

73. Kanzel, pp. 332, 336, 343, 348-49. cf. Muqaddama, ii, p. 57, Tr. by De Slane, ii, p. 66. Lane reports that in Egypt, a wooden sword was carried by the Khātib as he ascended to and descended from the minbar (Manners, pp. 106-7).

74. Miles, pp. 157-58, 171. John Walker published this coin. (A catalogue of the Arab-Sasanian coins in the British Museum, London, 1941, p. 29, Pl. XXXI, 5.

75. Miles, p. 159.

76. Miles, p. 163.

77. SPA, vol. IV, Pl. 126. Fig. 142, d. pp.

78. Fehérvári, pp. 90-105.

79. Ibid, pp. 90-105. See also Dalman, G., Neve Petra-Forschungen... Leipzig, 1912, p. 128, Abb. 81; Wensinck, A.J., Animismus und Dämoinenglaube im Untergrunde des judischen und Islamischen Rituellen-gebets in Der Islam, Band V, Heft, 1, p. 228; also his Harba in El, op.cit., p. 266. He informs us that when the Prophet went out to relieve nature an 'Anaza was carried behind him. It deliberately implies thwarting devilish interferences on occasions like the one mentioned. Bukhari, Kitab al-Wadu, Bab 17; Muslim, Sahih, Nawawi's commentary, Cairo, 1, p. 337. Lane quotes the Prophet "as blood is circulating in person, so circulates the devil around them". (Goldziher, I, Beiträge zur Geschichte der sprachgelehrsamkeit bei den Araben, Wien, 1872, p. 621.).

80. Miles, Pl. XXVIII, pp. 160-2.

81. Benzinger, I., Staff,in JE, which is called "Shebet", "matteh", vol. XI, p. 526. Herodotus (i, 195) and Strabo (XVI, 746) say that among the Babylonians every man carried a ring and a staff. It was a

81. Contd...
universal custom among the ancient Hebrews to carry a staff. Gen. XXXVIII. 18 - a custom dated back to their nomadic life. See also sceptre, in EB, 1911, vol. 24, p. 309. It is a rod which is regarded as a token of authority among the early Greeks, it was a long staff used by aged men. Later on it came to be used by Judges, military leaders, priests and others.

82. Miles, pp. 159-62.

83. Richard Burton, F., Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina, vol, I, London, MDCCCXCIII, p. 361-2.(Hereafter cited as Narrative)

84. Ibid, 361, Burton says that Black Stone consists of three large pieces and several small fragments stuck together and surrounded by a ring of stone. (Hereafter cited as Narrative).

85. Fehérvári, pp. 385-7, see his Plate LXXXI.

86. Arabian Nights, vol. 2, p. 202.

87. Narrative, p. 294.

88. Mosque, in DA., vol. V-VI, p. 133. The author says, "The mosque is of various and almost of any shape. It is in fact a wall; and in poorer villages of India, the people dig a ditch, white washed it, ornament it with flowers and convert it into a mosque. The next thing is to make a platform or

88. Contd...
pavement against the wall for the worshippers. In populous places it became convenient to enclose the space, which was done by building a wall so as to form a courtyard. This done, it became a complete mosque, such as one was called Eadgah or Eedgah". In fact mosque which demands certain set of requirements is an extension of 'Idgāh. See Chapter III, p. N.

89. Bukhārī, vol. I, p. 80. (Bulaq Edition).

90. Diez, E., Masdjid in EI, vol. III, Part I, 1936, p. 380.

C H A P T E R III

DEVELOPMENT OF MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE

The Mosque constitutes one of the most highly developed forms of religious architecture. Unlike Stonehenge, the Greek altar, the Roman basilica, the Jewish tabernacle, the Christian Church, the Buddhist temple and Hindu shrine, the Mosque was not the product of a highly organized liturgy and priesthood.[1] Islam condemns all self-centred individualistic types of worship. It postulates unified congregational worship rather than communal prayer. With the rapid expansion of the Muslim community through conquests as well as missionary activities, it became necessary to set aside an enclosed area in cities or large towns for the purpose of this established communal worship.[2]

The set form of the daily and weekly worship demanded certain architectural features or rather furniture. (Fig. 9.) The Mosque is not merely a place of prostration, facing Mecca. The Friday Khutba is of great importance as the regular acknowledgment of the

authority of the Caliph and governors, and was so from very early times. Hence the Mosque must contain a pulpit (minbar). Since the traditions, also, require ablution before prayer, the Mosque must contain a tank or fountain (hawz), and since the Friday prayers are communal and attendance is obligatory, the Mosque must be spacious enough to contain the Faithful, arranged line by line facing the qibla. The Mihrāb cannot be compared with the Christian altar, since it only indicates the qibla and does not represent or symbolise godhead. As Bertram Thomas puts it, - "Saracenic [Muslim] architecture came to have its birth and development in the Moslem congregational place of worship, the Friday Mosque."[3]

Despised by his lawless kinsmen, as has been stated earlier, the Prophet sought refuge in Madīna in A.H.1/ A.D.622. The first thought that entered his mind upon his arrival was to erect a shelter for himself, his family and companions.[4] He purchased a plot of land and laid the foundations of a living-apartment (Fig.10.) in the customary fashion of the day.[5] Tradition has it that the courtyard he erected has survived. The enclosed square measures 100 cubits each way. This courtyard

later on assumed great public importance.[6] In the embryonic stage of mosque architecture, the courtyard with its surrounding wall embodied the idea of both sūtra and qibla.[7]

Muir observes that Madīna had a sultry climate with occasional rainfall which necessitated the erection of some kind of shelter.[8] But, as a matter of fact, the worshippers complained to the Prophet about the scorching heat of the sun at the times of prayer.[9] Therefore, a portion of the open spacious courtyard towards the North was roofed over for the congregational of the Faithful. In its rudimentary form, this sheltered portico came to be known as līwān.[10] The līwān was supported by palm-trunks used as columns and roofed over with wooden planks, palm leaves and branches, daubed with mud and again a thatch over-all.[11] Hence the emergence of the līwān or portico may be sought in the practical purpose of providing shelter for the Muslim congregation against sun and rain.

Physical needs, also, led the Prophet to accommodate the members of his family in a roofed shelter, known as hujra, hastily built against the outer wall of the court-yard at the South end of the Eastern side.[12] Approached

from the courtyard, this comprised nine separate rooms, resembling, according to Briggs, the rude hovels of modern Egypt, derived from the ancient Arab dwellings known as dār.[13] The Prophet also provided accommodation for his Companions or Sahaba in the south-west corner of the court, known as "the People of the Portico." (Ahl as-Suffa) The existence of these two sets of living apartments within the walled enclosure indicates the domestic character of the Prophet's building plan at Madīna.[14]

The Prophet here brought into being a set form of ritual prayer associated with Friday as the Muslim Sabbath. In the initial stage he imitated the ancient Jewish practice, instructing his followers to turn their faces towards Jerusalem at the time of prayer.[15] Soon after his arrival at Madīna, the need of a distinctive qibla for Islam was felt, and acting on Divine revelation[16] he changed the qibla from the Temple of Jerusalem to the Holy Sanctuary at Mecca and conducted the prayers himself, facing south. This memorable event took place in A.H.2/A.D.624.[17] Henceforth, the Ka'ba stood forth as an unchallenged qibla for the whole Muslim world, marking "a new political and moral orientation".[18]

The change of the qibla necessarily wrought a great transformation in the architectural arrangement of the Madīna Mosque. The līwān was necessarily transferred from the north side of the courtyard to the south.[19] Richard Burton writes, - "Instead of a Mihrab or a prayer-niche, a large block of stone directed the congregation, at first it was placed against the northern wall of the Mosque and it was removed to the southern when Meccah became the Kiblah".[20] Diez rightly says that "the Mihrāb appears for the first time in the form of a stone in the Prophet's Mosque".[21]

The qibla having been fixed, the need to find an independent form of calling the Faithful to prayer,[22] distinct from the Christian bell and the Jewish Shofar, was keenly felt.[23] The Prophet, therefore, instructed Bilāl to chant the call to prayer or the āzān from the highest roof in the vicinity of the courtyard of the Mosque.[24] This primitive form of Mazīna contained the germ of the elegantly tapering minarets of the developed Islamic mosque of the future.[25]

The traditions have it that the Prophet leaned against a post while preaching the Khutba or Friday Sermon.[26] With the advancement of his age, the Prophet

introduced in A.H.7/A.D.628-9, a wooden pulpit (minbar), consisting of two steps and a seat (mak'ad).[27]

Becker[28], Lammens[29], Horovitz[30], and a host of other historians[31] consider the minbar as the veritable symbol of the Prophet's sovereignty.[32] They regard it as a Judge's seat or a throne.[33] In point of fact, the introduction of the minbar was an afterthought and took place only in A.H.6/A.D.628., that is, six years after the foundation of the Madīna Mosque. Its introduction was probably due to the failing health of the Prophet.[34] Curiously enough, the Caliph 'Umar disapproved of the minbar and ordered his Governor 'Amr ibn al-'Ās to destroy the pulpit of his Mosque at Fustāt, Cairo.[35] Creswell traces the minbar back to the Coptic Christian prototype, discovered by Quibell at Saqara.[36]

Ablution[37] being a pre-requisite of prayer, provision for the ritual purification was made by the Prophet. It later took the form of a fountain or Qubbat placed in the open courtyard of the Mosque.[38]

Caetani[39] and Lammens[40] argue that the building required by the Prophet was simply a Dār, originally a private dwelling. Margoliouth's story that the Prophet utilized a barn or store house which had served for drying

dates and which was to be had for a reasonable sum seems far-fetched.[41] Muir says, "Bricks were prepared and other materials collected".[42] According to Creswell, the Prophet's buildings were based upon the old Arab kind of dwelling, 'ahl al-Madr', that is, made of mud.[43]

Although the traditions refer to the domestic activities,[44] the fact that the Prophet's building had certain of the rudimentary features of a Mosque, such as, sahn, līwān, qibla, minbar, mihrāb can hardly be disputed.[45] In any case, it undoubtedly formed the prototype for the architecture of all later Islamic Mosques.[46]

The patriarchal simplicity of the oldest of the Islamic Mosque remained unimpaired for more than three quarters of a century, until the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Walid I (A.H.86-96/A.D.705-15). It is clear that individuals or groups of Muslims can fulfil their obligations of prayer anywhere they like, provided the attention of the worshippers is not distracted. As has been said, the mosque was the central feature of the Islamic way of life and it formed a necessary part of any settlement, village or city or palace. On the conquest of new areas, Mosques were immediately built, such as those at Bosra, Kūfa, Fustāt.

Soon after his accession to the Caliphate, 'Umar ibn

al-Khaṭṭāb (A.H.13-23/A.D.634-44) started to enlarge and rebuild the original mosque of the Prophet at Madīna, adding among other features such as a paved floor.[47] According to Creswell, this paved floor marked the real starting-point of the evolution of the Mosque, embodying its public character.[48]

The Caliph 'Uthmān (A.H.23-35/A.D.644-56) again carried out the task of the expansion and renovation of the Madīna Mosque. The roof was strengthened and the pillars of Indian teak were replaced by columns of cut and dressed stone. 'Uthmān is also credited with the introduction of stone carving and inlay work.[50] The minbar destroyed by the order of the Caliph 'Umar[51] was restored to the Mosque of 'Amr at Fusṭāṭ. Moreover, as Saladin puts it, "Osman is said to have built porticoes to the temple at Mecca in the year of the A.H.26/A.D.646-47, and this is the earliest recorded instance of this feature perhaps for a shelter from the sun".[52] Although less ambitious than the projects of his kinsmen Mu'āwiya (A.H.41-60/A.D.661-80) who built a palace, 'Uthmān may be considered to have been the first to change the character of the Madīna Mosque, making many architectural innovations.[53]

Unlike Syria, where mosques were mostly adaptations

of earlier non-Muslim buildings, 'Irāq witnessed the foundation of new cities or hirās founded with mosques as necessary centres of community life.[54] The Mosque of Bosra, the first religious building outside the Arabian peninsula owes its origin to 'Utba ibn Ghazwān.[55] Founded in A.H.14/A.D.635, it was originally no more than a "marked off" area or ikhtitāt, which was later on enclosed by a fence of reeds.[56] The combination of the Governor's residence (Dār al-Imāra) with the Mosque demonstrate the fact that the political and religious functions and aspirations of Islam are inseparable.[57] Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, the Governor of 'Irāq under the Caliph 'Umar I, enlarged and renovated 'Utbah's Mosque at Basra, adding the Līwān and the Sahn.[58]

After the capture of Ctesiphon (Madā'in) by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās in A.H.16/A.D.637, the Muslim militia performed their congregational prayers in the Sasanian Palace of Tāq-i-Kisra, built by Shāhpūr (A.D.241-272).[59] With the foundation of the city of Kūfa, Sa'd set himself the task of erecting a Mosque (Fig.11) by marking out an area 200 cubits each way, demarcated by bow shots.[60] The use of bow and arrow in determining the dimensions of this Mosque may perhaps, be linked with the principle of

sūtra, fundamental to the concept of the Masjid, as stated before. A striking innovation here is the covered colonnade or zulla, running the whole length of the southern side.[61]

The Mosque of Kūfa is perhaps the earliest known example of the use of materials taken from non-Muslim builders. These include re-used columns of Persepolitan type taken from the ruins of the Lakhmids at Hīra.[62]

Lammens' contention that the roof of the Mosque was decorated with frescoes and gold mosaics, realized by means of Romano-Byzantine techniques, has been contradicted by Creswell, who says that the gable roof rested on the superimposed columns directly without the intervention of arcades.[63] In any case the unique properties of this building are due to the consummate skill of the Persian architects. Henceforward, Persian influence is apparent in almost all Islamic work.[64]

Built in A.H.21/A.D.641-42 by 'Amr ibn al-'Ās, the original Mosque of Fustāt (Fig.13) was one of the earliest known examples of a covered prayer hall in early Muslim architecture.[65] Similar covered Mosques of later date are to be seen in the Jāmi 'Masjid of Gulbargā (A.H.769/A.D.1367), (Fig.55 & Pl.XXXIX a,c.), the Khirkī and Sanjar (Kālī) Masjids (A.H.766-776/A.D.1364-75) at Delhi, the Chāmkattī

Masjid (A.H.889/A.D.1478) (Fig.107 & Pl.XCVII), the Tāntīpārā Masjid (A.H.885/A.D.1480) (Fig.116 & Pl. CII a, b.) and the Lattan Masjid (A.H.889-925/A.D.1493-1519) (Fig.108 & Pl. CXVIII) at Gaud. In other words, the style originating at Fusṭāṭ survived.[66]

The Fusṭāṭ Mosque marks a further development in the lay-out of the Mosque, by having a mihrāb in the form of a flat niche. It, also, is rectangular in plan, as many Mosques in Persia and India are.[67] Furthermore, its enclosing wall was surrounded by a pathway and the mosque itself was roofed over by split palm trunks, supported by pillars of palm trunks, recalling a similar arrangement at Madīna.

Gertrude Bell regards the primitive Mosques of Madīna, Boṣra, Kūfa, and Fusṭāṭ as approximating to the primitive Arab unadorned architecture of sun-dried bricks and palm trunks.[68] She says that they fulfil only the simplest needs. But the point is that they did fulfil the needs of Islam. The mihrāb was in process of evolution but the minbar and the hawz were already there.

Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad Caliphate, is credited with the further innovation of the maqṣūra. According to Ibn Khaldūn, ".. the enclosure (al-bayt al-

Maqsūra) in which the Sultan stands during public prayers is an enclosure which includes the mihrāb (prayer-niche) and its neighbourhood."[69] He further adds, "The invention of the Maqsūra dates from the time when the Empire had become powerful, and when luxury had begun to appear..." The Maqsūra has persisted for instance, in Cordova and Kairawān, but it is not to be found in Persia or India. Ibn Khaldun is incorrect when he says that in spite of the disintegration of the 'Abbāsid Empire and the numbers of dynasties which subsequently arose, the Maqsūra continued to exist in all countries of the East.[70]

To summarize, it is clear that the real beginning of substantial Muslim architecture, in contradiction to the rude hovel type of early mosque, is to be found in Ziyād's reconstruction of the Mosques of Basra and Kūfa. As Creswell puts it, "the first Mosques to be worthy of the name of architecture were the second great Umayyad Mosques at Basra (A.D.665) and Kūfa (670)."[71]

Ziyād ibn Abīhī renovated the existing Mosques of Basra and Kūfa with a view to eclipse the overriding power of the tribes. In other words, he intended that the reconstructed mosques should eclipse the local tribal Majlis. Lammens says, "There was a need to eclipse in proportion

and splendour the Masjids of the particular clans, which were only private meeting places difficult to control and often quite hostile to authority."[72]

Ziyād, inspired by the splendour of Parthian and Sasanian architecture, replaced the palm trunk supporting members of the mosques of Basra and Kūfa with marble columns, quarried from Mount Ahwāz.[73] He also introduced the ancient Mesopotamian technique of building in brick with gypsum mortar in the renovated Mosque of Basra.[74] But the chief merit of his work probably lies in the invention of the maqsūra, which first appears in this mosque.[75]

Ziyād's Mosque of Kūfa has been described by Ibn Jubayr in 1184. De Goeje's translation of the passage concerning the Mosque runs as follows: It is "a vast mosque, the qibla side has five aisles, whereas the rest have two only; the aisles are supported by columns like masts, composed of hard blocks of stone superimposed piece by piece, bedded on lead, and not surmounted by arches; extremely high, they go up to the ceiling of the mosque. I have nowhere seen a mosque of which the columns are so long or the ceiling so elevated".[76]

This important passage is unfortunately obscure in its details. All that can be gathered from it is that the

height of the colonnade was striking: that the drums of the columns were bedded in lead and that the columns were cylindrical. Judging from its present state, it would seem that this building has been completely reconstructed since Ibn Jubayr wrote this description.

The Mosques of both Basra and Kūfa had a Dār al-Imāra attached to the qibla wall, communicating with the līwān by a doorway.[77] These 'Irāqī mosques, square in plan, built with burnt bricks and gypsum mortar and supported by columns, were certainly roofed with timber. They are reminiscent of the hypostyle halls of the Parthians and the Sasanians.[78] They also anticipated not only the Mosque of Wasīt but also the 'Abbāsid mosques of Baghdād (Fig. 24) and Raqqa, (Fig.26) and early Indian Mosques at Mansūra and Banbhore (Pl. XIXa) which are in ruins.[79]

The later mosque of Fustāt as renovated by Maslama ibn Mukhallad had minarets, placed at every corner of the building, and these seem to be the earliest known examples of their kind in Islam.[80] As Maqrīzī puts it, "So Maslama ordered by Mu'āwiya to build sawāmi' (plural of ṣauma'a) [minarets or towers] for the call to prayer. So Maslama constructed four sawāmi' for the mosque at its four corners. He was the first to construct them in it, there having been

none before his time".[81] In all probability, the idea of these corner minarets may have been suggested by the four square towers at the corners of the ancient pagan Temenos", which was converted into a Christian Church at Damascus, (1st A.D.) and later on converted by al-Walīd into a (Fig.17 & Pl.Vb) mosque.[82]

Corbet's suggestion that Maslama's mosque at Fusṭāṭ was encrusted with raised stucco work has been criticized by Creswell on the ground that this technique did not appear in Muslim architecture before the Mosque of Sāmarrā (A.H.232/A.D.847), being also found later on the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn at Cairo (A.H.265/A.D.879).[83]

Unlike the 'Irāqī mosques built on newly cleared sites with freshly quarried materials, the early Syrian mosques were merely improvisations, such as the Mosques of Homs (A.H.97-98/A.D.635), Ḥama (A.H.15/A.D.636-37) (Fig.19.) and Aleppo (A.H.97-98/A.D.715-16) (Fig.18).[84] They certainly mark a sharp departure from the barbaric simplicity of the early Islamic mosques. Umayyad architecture is distinguished by its boldness of conception and richness of ornamental details of which the Dome of the Rock (Fig.16 & Pl. Va) and the Great Mosque of Damascus (Fig.17 & Pl. Vb) provide good examples. The latter Umayyad monuments,

drawing inspiration from Classical architecture, of which remains abounded in Syria, namely, at Palmyra, Baalbek (Fig. 20), Damascus, Jerusalem, etc., redirected the entire development of Muslim architecture. This is the great formative period.

'Abd al-Malik's reign (A.H.65-86/A.D.685-705) was an active one; he made an attempt to change the qibla by replacing Mecca by Jerusalem as it had been before the Prophet's establishment of the Ka'ba at Mecca. With a view to achieving this, he built the magnificent Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aqsa in the Haram Sharīf or Sacred Enclosure (Fig. 14) at Jerusalem.[85] However, the earliest Muslim building at Jerusalem is the mosque built by Caliph 'Umar and this was clearly not a conversion of an older Church or Synagogue.[86] 'Abd al-Malik's attempt to reinstate Jerusalem as the qibla is obviously of great importance. He must have done it primarily for political reasons, although religious motives might have played some part. It is, however, remarkable that he was able to make such an attempt to change the Prophet's established ordinance.

Built on the site of the Royal Stoa of Herod within the Holy Enclosure, the Mosque of Aqsa (Fig.15 & Plate IVb) marks an important stage in the evolution of Mosque

architecture.[87] It incorporates building materials from the destroyed Church of St. Mary the Virgin, and its plan clearly demonstrates its alignment with the adjoining Dome of the Rock.[88] The planning of the two buildings may well have been contemporary.

Of the Mosque of Aqsa, Richmond says, "It would seem, then, that by the time 'Abd al-Malik had completed the great Mosque of Jerusalem, the several needs of a Moslem place of congregational prayer had all found some form of architectural expression. A walled enclosure gave seclusion; a roofed sanctuary gave protection from the weather; a pulpit accommodated the preacher; a basin for ablution enabled the faithful to prepare for prayer; towers enabled the call to prayer to be made from a commanding height; cloisters protected the congregation from the weather, after entering the open enclosure from the vaulted or arcaded streets of the town on their way to the roofed sanctuary".[89] However, both the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aqsa demonstrate striking features which may be traced to Graeco-Roman and Byzantine architecture, namely, wooden tie beams, Corinthian capitals, dressed stone columns formed of cylindrical drums set in lead, polychrome and gilt mosaics, with vine scrolls etc.[90] The Dome of the Rock is the

earliest octagonal building roofed over by a ribbed double dome of wood, known in the history of Muslim architecture.[91] The construction of this roof marks a great innovation. As Richmond says, "The Dome of the Rock affords a good illustration of the increased familiarity, brought about by the establishment of Islam, between the traditions of stone building and the traditions of brick and its derivatives".[92]

Built by Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf in A.H.85/A.D.704-5, the Mosque of Wāsit bears a close resemblance to the early Islamic Mosques of Madīna, Basra and Kufa in its ground plan and building technique. It is one of the many mosques built of brick in Mesopotamia. In fact, it paved the way for the brick built Mosques of Baghdād, Ukhaidir, Raqqā and Sāmarrā.[93]

The reign of Caliph Walīd I (A.H.86-96/A.D.705-15) may fairly be regarded as epoch-making in the history of Muslim architecture, for he introduced a concave niche, marking the qibla in reconstruction of the Prophet's Mosque at Madīna in A.H.89-91/A.D.707-9. The work was carried out by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and led to the final formulation of mosque-planning.[94]

The concave Miḥrāb later on appeared in the Mosque

of 'Amr at Fustāṭ, rebuilt by Qurra ibn Sharīq, which is dated A.H.92/A.D.710-11 and also in the Mosque of Damascus (A.H.86-96/A.D.705-15), and in the Mosques of Khan al-Zabīd and 'Umm al-Walīd both erected in Transjordan which are dated after A.H.89-90/A.D.707-9.[95]

The Great Mosque of Damascus (Fig.17 & Pl. Vb), also, built by Walid I, provides the type of all later Mosque architecture. Following the precedents set by the early Syrian mosques, the Mosque of Damascus was founded on the enclosure of the Church of St. John, the Baptist, built by Theodosius (A.D.379-95), which was originally a pagan temple dedicated to the Sun or Jupiter.[96] Collecting masons and craftsmen from Persia, India, Egypt and Greece and pooling all their resources al-Walīd set himself to build a mosque which would surpass the splendid Christian Churches in Syria.[97] Thus the great Mosque of Damascus demonstrates not only the political power and prestige of the Caliphate, but also knits together the features of the earlier congregational mosques into a single symmetrical architectural whole.[98] Rectangular in plan, Walid's mosque consists of a court-yard, surrounded on the east, west and north by colonnaded arcades or riwāqs, the deeper southern side being occupied by the līwān. The līwān, which is divided by a

broad nave running North and South, consists of three aisles supported by two transverse rows of columns with Corinthian capitals of Byzantine type. Each arcade carries eleven semi-circular arches, springing from polished marble columns, built up from cylindrical drums. The aisles are gable roofed.

The most impressive feature of the liwān is its triple arched facade, dominated by its great central arch. These arches are surmounted by an upper bearing arch which is slightly pointed and very slightly stilted.[99] The dominating feature of the nave leading to the mihrāb is the wooden double dome placed at its crossing with the liwān. It springs from a drum, the transition from the square to the circle of the dome being attained by arched squinches.[100]

The Mosque of Damascus exerted a profound influence on the development of Mosque architecture. It fulfils the physical needs of a mosque, with its roofed liwān, arcaded porticoes, marble pavement and maqsūra, as well as the ritual needs in the form of a concave mihrāb, minarets at the four corners, minbar and fountain for ablution. Moreover, unlike the Mosque of Aqsa, the Mosque of Damascus is situated in the centre of the city, approached through axial extrances, a marked improvement over the earlier mosque plan. Above all, it demonstrates, as Richmond says,

"a majesty and symmetry of plan and a splendour of ornament".[101] In short, it foretells the full development of Mosque architecture in times to come. Creswell stresses the paramount influence exerted by the Mosque of Damascus. The liwān cut by an oblong central nave occurs in the Mosques of Qasr al-Hair (A.H.110/A.D.728-29) (Fig. 21) and Diyarbakr (A.H.484/A.D.1091-92) and also in the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua (Fig.72 & Pl. XXXIII a) (A.H.776-86/A.D.1374-84) and Gunmant Masjid (A.H.889/A.D.1484) at Gaud. (Fig.106 & Pl. CXVIIIa) The three aisle deep liwān is also represented at the Mosques at Qusayr al-Hallābāt (A.H.89-90/A.D.707-9) and the 'Abbāsid mosque at Raqqā (A.H.156/A.D.772) (Fig.26),[102] as well as at al-Azhar (A.H.360-1/A.D.970-72) and in the Mosque of al-Hākim in Cairo (A.H.380-404/A.D.990-1013).[103]

Although the rectangular plan became the accepted form of mosque planning, the traditional square plan of the ancient Mosque of Madīna and the Mosque of Harrān (A.H. 127-33/A.D.744-50) (Fig.23),[104] reappear in the 'Abbāsid Mosques at Baghdād (A.H.145/A.D.762-63), Raqqa (A.H.156/ A.D.772) as well as in the Mosque at Hazāra near Bukhāra (A.H.2nd or 3rd century/A.D.8th or 9th century) and, also, in the Chamkatti Masjid (A.H.883/A.D.1478), the Chika building (A.H.818-36/A.D.1415-32, the Lattan Masjid

(A.H.899-925/A.D.1493-1519) all of which are at Gaud.[105] Reflecting the development of Mosque architecture, Van Berchem observes, "The style and methods of construction were modified during the course of time, particularly as to the choice of materials, gateways, façades, and minarets, profile outline of the interior arches and decoration; but the general plan of the Mosque remained the same until the Ottoman conquest".[106]

The inception of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate marked the real starting point of Islam's ever-growing cultural relationship with Persia. As Jackson puts it, "If the Arabs conquered Persia, they received more in art from her than they gave...."[107] Unlike the Umayyad architecture, which was primarily based on the marble and mosaic traditions of Byzantine art as found in Syria. 'Abbāsid architecture owed its elegance and perfection to the ancient Persian tradition of brick building with its concomitant ornamental styles.[108] Thomas describes it as "a tradition rooted in the mud plains of Mesopotamia extending eastwards through Persia and across the Oxus to Samarkand, the old Babylonian-Sasanian brick tradition, the appeal of which lay in its lighter shapes under a mantle of exquisite ornamentation of glazed tiles and mosaics, sumptuous interiors of stucco,

carved and painted panelling, coloured glass, and similar features of a richly decorative Oriental art".[109] In other words, the technique of brick building has the great achievement of Islamic architecture, just as its magnificent use of decoration are derived from Persia.

'Abbāsid architecture must, therefore, be considered as major breakthrough in the history of Islamic art. The 'Abbāsid monuments demonstrate distinctive features, such as the use of the four-centred pointed arch, the arched quinch, the tunnel vault, the stalactite pendentive as well as the decorative use of stucco ornament and glazed tiles.[110] Excepting a few early monuments at Qazvīn and Istakhr which were raised upon Persepolitan columns with characteristic bull-headed capitals,[111] the 'Abbāsid Mosques at Baghdād, Raqqā, Ukhaidir, Sāmarrā and Abū Dulāf (Fig.26) were wholly contemporary in technique, planning and style.[112]

The citadel Mosque of Baghdād (A.H.145-50/A.D.762-67), built by Caliph Mansūr, founder of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, conforms to the square plan of the 'Iraqī Mosques (Fig.24). Al-Khaṭīb writes, "Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr had established the principle mosque... in contact with his palace - it is [what is now known as] the Old Court - he built it with sun-dried bricks and clay; its dimensions were as follows: the

dimensions of the palace of al-Manṣūr were 400 by 400 cubits and those of the mosque 200 by 200; and the columns of wood of the mosque each consisted of two pieces..."[113] It recalls Ziyād's mosque of Kūfa in the use of superimposed wooden columns, presumably supporting a flat roof.

The Mosque of Raqqā (Fig.26), built by Sa'd ibn 'Amir ibn Huzaym during the reign of the Caliph al-Manṣūr in A.H.155/A.D.772 is also rectangular in plan. It resembles the mosques of Baghdād and Ukhaidir (Figs.24, 25.) in the columns which run transversely across the līwān, the bastioned walls of mud and bricks and the use of end piers in the līwān façade. Like the Mosque of Baghdād, the Raqqā Mosque has four circular buttress-like towers in between the four round corner towers.[114] The aisled līwān is entered from the courtyard by an arched screen pierced by eleven openings. The arches of the screen spring from rectangular piers, placed transversely to the qibla wall. At the two ends of the arched façade of the līwān there are two columns decorated with acanthus capitals in stucco, which bear close relationship with the arrangements in the Palace Mosque of Ukhaidir. This Mosque provides an interesting example of the blending of Syrian and Mesopotamian forms. As Creswell puts it, "The nearly square plan of the

mosque and sahn [courtyard], the bastioned walls, and the large number of entrances (instead of the three axial ones usual in Syria) is Mesopotamian, likewise the combination of material - mud brick for the walls and burnt bricks for the arches - a combination found in the Nestorian churches of Hīra, but the triple-aisled sanctuary and the parallel gable roofs which covered it (in contrast to the flat roofs of 'Irāq) are Syrian features which we have already met with at Damascus and Qasr al-Hair".[115]

The most significant feature of the early phase of 'Abbāsid architecture is the introduction of the four-centred pointed arch in sharp contradistinction to the two-centred variety to be seen in the līwān arch of the Mosque of Damascus. This innovation is demonstrated in the arch of the Baghdād Gateway of the citadel.[116]

In Mesopotamia, as Gertrude Bell writes, "the Mosque builders were guided by a scheme of extreme simplicity, the details of which were executed according to the nature of the building material which was available."[117] Persian brick laying made the four-centred arch possible. This striking phenomenon is also displayed in the Mosque of Ukhaidir, (Figs.25,26 & Pls. VIa, XLIb), built by 'Īsa ibn Mūsa, during the reign of al-Mahdī in the year A.H.162/A.D.778.

Rectangular in plan, the līwān of the Mosque is tunnel-vaulted. The līwān is formed by a single-vaulted aisle of five arches on the qibla side, resting on round columns of rubble construction. These were also vaulted riwaq, surrounding a rectangular sahn on all sides, except the northern side.[118] The most curious feature of the Mosque besides the tunnel vault is the rectangular Mihrāb covered by an alcove carried across the corners on horizontal brackets, which served as a prototype for later Persian and Indian Mosques, as found at the Tārik Khāna at Damghān, (Fig.27 & Pl. IXa.), the Great Mosque at Sāmarrā (Fig.26c& Pl. VIIb.), the Masjid-i-Jami' at Nāyīn (Fig.28 & Pl.IXb.) as well as at the Jaunpur mosques (Fig.42) and the Mosques at Ahmadābād, (Fig.62).

Persian artistic infiltration into Muslim architecture was further stimulated by the transfer of the capital from Baghdād to Sāmarrā by al-Mu'tasim in A.H.221/A.D.836. As Creswell puts it, "Under the 'Abbāsids the Hellenistic influences of Syria were replaced by the surviving influences of Sasanian Persia which profoundly modified the art and architecture, and this gave birth to the art of Samarra, influence of which extended to Egypt [Ibn Tulūn's Mosque](Fig.26a& Pl. VIIIa, b.).[119]

The most illustrious examples of 'Abbāsid brick and stucco architecture are the Mosque of Sāmarrā and the Mosque of Abū Dulāf, built by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil. The Mosque of Sāmarrā, (A.H.234/A.D.848-49), is a rectangular building of large dimensions enclosed by a surrounding wall (Fig.26c& Pl.VIIb), This wall is strengthened by rectangular bastions of red burnt bricks, which may be regarded as modified survivals of the Byzantine rectangular buttresses in the Mosques of Damascus and also Qayrawān (A.H.248/A.D.862-3) (Fig.22.).[120]

Unlike the wooden columns of the Mosques of Baghdād the flat wooden roof of the Mosque of Sāmarrā is supported by irregular brick piers, resting on square bases. Gertrude Bell informs us that there are four composite piers at the corners of the Mosque.[121] These are composed of three slender marble shafts superimposed one upon the other, and have bell-capitals, recalling those in the Mosque of Raqqa, the Nilometer on Rhoda Island in Egypt (A.H.247-59/A.D.861-73), the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn (A.H.265/A.D.879) (Fig.26a& Pls. VIIIa, b,), and in the much later capitals of Nūr al-Dīn's Great Mosque at Mosul (A.H.561/A.D.1165-66)[122] A more developed form can be seen in the capitals of the attached pillars in the mihrāb of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Nāyīn (Fig.28 & Pl. IXb).[123]

The rectangular stucco mihrāb of the Mosque of Sāmarrā, is flanked by two pairs of columns which are exactly similar to those observable in the mihrāb of Jausaq-al-Khāqānī in Sāmarrā.[124] But the chief merit of the structure rests in the remarkable spiral-shaped detached minaret, known as the Malwīya tower (Pl. LXXXVIIIa, b.). Its design is often said to be reminiscent of the Babylonian tower or zikkurat, but this comparison is far fetched. However this minar does anticipate the similar detached minarets of Persia, Egypt and India.[125]

In general planning and architectural details, the Mosque of Abū Dulāf (Fig.26d.), built in the year A.D.860-61 in the newly founded city of Ja'fariya, near Sāmarrā, is a replica of the Mosque of Sāmarrā.[126] It has half-round buttresses, supporting the enclosure wall, such as are to be seen at Baghdād, Raqqā and Ukhaidir.[127] The Mosque of Abū Dulāf has also a detached spiral minaret on a square base, very like the Malwīya minaret on a square base. These detached minarets may have served as prototype of the supposed minar, also, detached, on the western side of the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua, (Fig.102.).

The Mosque of Ibn Tulūn, built in A.H.263/A.D.876-77 (Fig.26a& Pls. VIIIa, b.), marks a sharp departure from the

columnar halls of the Syrian mosques by its universal employment of brick piers to support the roof. The double circuit wall of Ṭulūn's Mosque recalls that of the Mosque of Sāmarrā. Rectangular in plan, the five-aisled deep liwān of the Mosque is carried by a double-tiered arcade, resting on rectangular brick piers with engaged columns at the four angles. These arcades support the transverse beams of the timber roof, as in the Mosque of Baghdād. Its detached minaret is reminiscent of those at Sāmarrā and Abū Dulāf. Concerning the second story of this minaret, Creswell says that it is "part of an original helicoidal minaret copied from the Malwīya of Sāmarrā,..."[128]

According to Fergusson[129] the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn demonstrates the regular employment of rectangular piers in place of marble columns,[130] as well as pointed arches[131] in place of semi-circular arches and burnt bricks in place of stone and marble.[132] Lane Poole considers the Mosque as "the first example of the universal employment of pointed arches throughout a building 300 years before the adoption of the pointed style [Gothic] in England".[133] It is, also, of course, earlier than the use of the pointed arch in Persia and India.

Ware says, "By the time of Toulun in the ninth century,

the new style was apparently so perfected that it only needed encouragement to produce works of great splendour".[134] Persian Islamic architecture is indebted to 'Abbasid architecture for many of its structural and decorative features.[135] These include the four centred pointed arch (the Baghdād Gate at Raqqa), half round buttresses (Baghdād, Raqqa, Ukhaidir), columnar and arcaded halls (the Mosque of Sāmarrā and the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn), spiral-shaped minarets (Malwīya tower at Sāmarrā), the use of burnt brick as a building material (Baghdād, Sāmarrā, Abū Dulāf, Raqqā, Ukhaidir), the tunnel-vaulted līwān (Ukhaidir), the use of slender engaged columns (the Mosque of Sāmarrā), the English bond of the brickwork (the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn).[136] The use of lustre tiles (the Great Mosque of Qairawān), and rich stucco incrustation (Sāmarrā, Ibn Tulūn), is also predominant. Constructional details include the ancient Persian apadāna plan (Baghdād and Sāmarrā), the arched squinch (the Bāb al-'Āmma, the Jausaq al-Khāqānī or the Palace of Mu'tasim, at Sāmarrā (Pl. XLIVa), the mosque of Ukhaidir, the mosque of Qairawān), brick domes cased in green or gold tile mosaics (al-Qubbat al-Khadrā or The Green Dome and the Golden Gate in the Palace of al-Mansūr in Baghdād)[137] as well as the use of glass mosaics (Sāmarrā

Mosque). Other features included the double courtyard mosque plan (Baghdād Mosque) and the rectangular miḥrāb (Ukhaidir, Sāmarrā, Abū Dulāf).[138]

Inheriting these characteristic features of 'Abbāsid architecture, Persian Islamic architecture demonstrates greater ingenuity, innovation and elegance in its structural and decorative details.[139] Strikingly enough, Persia did not react passively to the religious impact of Islam. It must be said that ancient Persian tradition stood in sharp contrast with the Arab traditions introduced under the conquering banners of Islam.[140] As Grousset puts it, "While embracing Islam, it [Persia] still remained itself, but the new Persia had gained fresh life from the elements brought to her by Islam from all parts of the world and was emancipated from all parts of the world and was emancipated from the narrow nationalism, strengthened by all the energy and love of action which had found expression in Moslem revolution, and lastly, endowed with a more delicate, restless, and impassioned sensibility. In this respect, Islam played the same part in Iran as Christianity did in the West; in their respective spheres these two Semitic religions created one a Moslem Persia and the other a Christian Europe, infinitely richer and more complex than

Sāsānid Iran and the Greco-Roman world had been".[141] Persian royalism survived as well as much of her old religious ideas and traditions.

Geographically, Persia is the meeting place of the trade routes from China to the Mediterranean. Thus, it has been constantly open to contacts with foreign cultures. It has also been, in many ways, the meeting point of Chinese and Indian culture. Beyond it lay the easternmost extension of post-Alexandrian Hellenism in the Bactrian principality, and later it was traversed by the Muslim armies and became an integral part of the Muslim world. But it must always be remembered, when dealing with these intrusions of foreign cultures, that Ancient Īrān had long been in contact with Mesopotamia, and that its cities are of great antiquity.[142]

Assimilating these foreign influences, Persia was able to evolve a homogenous culture of its own, derived from Achaemenian, Parthian and Sasanian origins.[143] Turning to the Muslim period, it is evident that the uniformity of Persian Islamic architecture reflect Mesopotamian brick building tradition with its concomitant decoration, but that it, also, achieves an individuality which is intrinsically Persian.[144]

The technique of brick building, although not special

to Persia, obviously dominated Persian Islamic architecture. It enabled Persian architects to attain structural originality, such as the four-centred arch, the ogee arch, the tunnel vault, the cross vault, large scale domes and double domes. In decoration, from the first, Persian architecture is original. This achievement was the result of the use of certain technical devices, namely, various types of brick bonding, stalactite pendentives, carved terracotta plugs, glazed tiles, and stucco decoration.[145]

Diez writes, "The builders of Persia and Mesopotamia in the four and five millennia during which they had been using brick finally developed a wealth of technical resources never equalled elsewhere, and the outstanding specific merits of Persian Islamic architecture are, to a certain extent, attributable, in the last analysis, to the qualities of this material. The monumentality, huge scale, quiet repose, and three dimensionality, well realized though sometimes concealed by a screen, would not have been possible at all in wood, and would have been difficult and costly of achievement in a cumbersome material like stone; but given the technical skill acquired by long experience, the Persian builders could readily attain them in brick, so inexpensive and easily handled".[146] According to Upham Pope, Persia

made three outstanding contributions to Muslim architecture:- the development of the pointed four-centred arch and, also, the perfection of domical structures and the enrichment of surface decoration.[147]

From the 8th century B.C. probably on account of the scarcity of timber, Persian builders used the pointed arch as the unity of construction. Later on Muslim builders transformed the ancient Persian catenary (elliptical) arch as seen in the Tāq-i-Kisra (2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.) (Pl. XLVI b) and the Tārīk Khāna at Dāmghān (A.H.130-70/A.D. 750-80) (Fig.27 & Pl. IXa) into the characteristic pointed arch, demonstrated by the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Nāyīn (A.H.350/A.D.960) (Fig.28 & Pl.IXb).[148] Thus, in course of time, the Persian arch, original and sophisticated in character, penetrated Indo-Muslim architecture, as demonstrated by the arched screen of the Quwwat al-Islām Mosque at Delhi, (A.H.587/A.D.1191-2) (Fig.43 & Pl. XIXb) and that of the Arhāi Din-kā-Jhoprā at Ajmer (A.H.595/ A.D.1198-9) (Fig.46 & Pls.XXIIa, b.)[149] More outstanding still, the four-centred pointed arch was disseminated throughout Europe and formed the structural basis of later Gothic architecture.[150]

Employed in Egypt and Mesopotamia as early as the

second and third millennia B.C., the vault was skilfully developed by the Persian Islamic builders.[151] As Briggs puts it, Persia was the home of "the ogival vault and of the vault carried on piers with the weight resting on the axes: the interspaces being merely shells".[152] Muslim Persia is, therefore, rightly regarded as the disseminator of the vaulting system as an integral element of architecture.[153]

It is, also clear that the Persian Islamic architects explored the structural potentialities of dome-construction and were able to introduce a wide range of contours and forms.[154] Byron observes, "It was not until the beginning of the 15th century that the Persian introduced the double-dome with a slightly swelling outline, which then became characteristic of Persia and was transmitted to India for Taj Mahal [A.H.1044/A.D.1634], the Tomb of Humayun [A.H.963/A.D.1565]..."[155] However, the double-dome[156] was already known in a limited form in India,[157] as shown by the tomb of Tāj al-Dīn Shihāb Khan (A.H.907/A.D.1501) and the tomb of Sikandar Lodi (A.H.923/A.D.1517-18), both at Delhi.[158]

But the excellence of Persian Islamic architecture relies on the rich texture and patterned surface of its

brick work. This is brilliantly attained by stucco encrustration, terracotta plugs, panelled designs and geometrical repeating patterns, as demonstrated by the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Nāyīn (Pl.IXa.), the tomb of Ismā'īl the Samānid (Fig.29 & Pl.VIb) at Bukhāra (A.H.722-26/ A.D.1322-26) etc.[159] These monuments show how rich ornamentation can be applied to a well-planned construction. The Persian patterned bricks and polychrome tiles often suggest textile designs, the panels on the sides of the entrances of the 'Alā'ī Darwāza at Old Delhi (Pl.XXb) being excellent examples.[160] Yet this richness of decoration enhances the lines of the construction and does not obscure.

The most striking feature of Persian architecture is the decorative use of coloured glazed tiles - an "entourage of colour",[161] as Ricardo puts it. Smith observes, "No impression of Persian brick work would be accurate without mention of the polychromy of tile and mosaic faience in conjunction with which the terracotta coloured brick was often combined."[162] The sumptuous colour-schemes of Persian architectural decoration as seen in the Mihrāb of the Maidān Mosque in Kāshān dated A.H.623/ A.D.1226, now in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin and the

Blue Mosque of Tabrīz (A.H.870/A.D.1465) appear in the Alhambra (A.H.629-897/A.D.1232-1492) in Spain and the Lattan Masjid (A.H.899-925/A.D.1493-1519) in Bengal.[163]

So the Mosque, a new architectural organic unit, essentially Islamic, assumed its characteristic expression in Persia in both structural ingenuity and decorative effect.[164] Stylistically, the Persian mosque may be said to fall into two general types: the rīwāq or kiosk type, as Godard suggests;[165] and the Īvān or vaulted portal type.[166] Both the types appear quite early in Persia. Upham Pope summarizes the process: "The first Mosques in Persia, like those throughout the early Islamic world, were very simple, either a domed sanctuary, following existing Sāsānian structures like the fire temples or palaces, or perhaps a single vaulted Īvān, or columnar arcades surrounding the court, deeper on the qibla side."[167] Distinct from the rīwāq type of Mosque, Islamic architecture in Persia has fostered another type, namely, the vaulted portal or Īvān. Derived from the apadāna or large trabeate audience hall of the Achaemenid Kings the Īvān is formed by a rectangular court, enclosed by three walls open on the fourth side and roofed by a semi-cylindrical cradle vault.[168]

It is difficult to say when the Īvān plan came to dominate Persian mosque planning. Godard says that this appeared in the 4th century A.H. - 10th century A.D. onwards, but this has been denied by Upham Pope who cites the riwāq type of mosques at Bāmiyān, Nirīz (Fig.30 & Pl. XVIIa) and Farumad (Pl. XIVa) which are of earlier date.[169] Moreover, the Īvān-domed type of mosques at Gulpaygān (Fig.32) Ardistān (Pl.XIa), and Zawāre, also, had porticoes or līwān arches.[170]

It may be said that the mosque of the pre-Salsūq period (A.H.23-391/A.D.643-1000) were marked by the survival of Sasanian features.[171] In the earliest mosques in Persia built at Bam by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amīr, is found the Sasanian blind arcading and attached half-round pilasters,[172] which anticipate similar elements at Damghan and Sār-o-Tār (late Sasanian or early Islamic) in Seistān.[173] The Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Kāj built in A.H.80/A.D.700)(Pl.XVIa), embodies the Sasanian types of barrel vault, as well as the voussoir arch, the panelled wall surfaces and half-round shafts at the corners of the dome-bearing walls.[174]

The early mosques at Khurasān, built by Faẓl ibn Yaḥyā in A.H.179/A.D.795 and also the mosques at Fāsa,

Turshīz, Nīshapur, Marv, Shīrāz, Dāmghān and Nāyīn were all of the early columnar and courtyard type.[175] Indeed, the Tārīk Khāna at Dāmghān (Fig.27 & Pl. IXa) dated between A.H.130 and 170/A.D.750 and 780 had been described as a Sasanian building upon a conservative Arab mosque plan. It has rīwāqs on all sides formed by massive round free-standing piers of burnt bricks, carrying a mud-brick tunnel-vault of elliptical shape, the līwān side being deeper than the rest. The large size and the vertical placing of the brickwork of the Tārīk Khāna forcibly recall the Sasanian methods of the Palace of Tepe Hisār at Dāmghān.[176]

However, the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Nāyīn dated A.H.350/A.D.960 (Fig.28 & Pl. IXb) replaces the Sasanian catenary (elliptical) vault, of the Tārīk Khāna at Dāmghān by the Persian pointed vault and also the Sasanian vertical placing of the bricks, also seen at Dāmghān by normal horizontal courses. An attenuation of the piers is, also, noticed at Nāyīn. Although the mihrāb is somewhat subordinate, this is, however, compensated for by the rich stucco encrustation of the qibla niche, itself, providing a distinct link between Sasanian and 'Abbāsid decoration and the later Saljūq

style of surface decoration.[177] The Nāyīn Mosque, also, has one of the earliest tapering attached minarets. This is three tiered and has a round shaft, resting on a square base leading to the upper octagonal part.[178]

The Jāmi' 'Atik, built by 'Amr bin Layth in Shīrāz, dated A.H.281/A.D.894, exhibits the curious feature of clearstorey windows in the vaulted roof of the prayer hall.[179] In ground plan it recalls the Īvan-i-Kharkha, and in the foliated scrolls of its stucco decoration it provides the artistic transition between the work at the Dome of the Rock and the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Nāyīn.[180]

The importance of the Masjid-i-Jami' at Nayrīz (Fig. 30 & Pl. XVIIa), dated A.H.363/A.D.973-4, rests in the introduction of the Īvān type of mosque which, has been observed, is a survival of Sasanian architecture.[181] The eighth century Mosque of Nīshāpūr built by Abū Muslim recalls the 'Abbāsid Mosques in their wooden roofs,[182] but also provided the prototypes for the 3rd or the 4th century A.H./A.D.9th or 10th century mosques in West Turkistan and the 8th Century A.H./14th century A.D. mosque of Manama at Bahrayn.[183] The Mosque of Nīshāpūr as reconstructed in the 9th or 10th century had a gable roof, reminiscent of the tent-like dome of the 5th century A.H./

11th century A.D., Tomb of Gunbad-i-Qābūs at Astārābād.[184] In its turn, this recalls the tomb of Cyrus II at Pasargadae (B.C.559-529) the earliest surviving gabled monument in Persia.

In contradistinction to these gabled buildings and the Īvān type of mosque, in eastern Persia single-domed buildings were revived on a dramatically large scale, which anticipate similar monuments in Gaud and Hazrat Pandua in Bengal (Figs. 105, 107, 108 & Pls. XCVII, CXXIII, CXV, XCIII, XCIV, LXXXIXa, b.). This spectacular building achievement is typified by the mosque of Hazarā, near Bukhāra and the splendid mausoleum of Ismā'īl the Sāmānid (Fig.29 & Pl. VIb) also at Bukhāra.[185] Of the latter Pope says, "the oldest extant building of the Islamic period that is conserved in both structure and ornament practically in its entirety is the Tomb of Ismā'īl, the Sāmānid (d.A.H.295/A.D.907) in Bukhārā, which represents both a summation of inherited factors and an announcement of new principles".[186] This tomb is a square domed building of burnt bricks, embellished with carved terracotta inset panels. It includes older features, such as the squinched ovoid arches of the gallery and the attached columns in the

angles of the octagon, supporting the dome.[187] The method of transition from square to circle by what Upham Pope calls "tripod", namely, a squinched arch with a central rib leading up to its crown which anticipates a similar arrangement in the side walls of the vault over the central nave in the Adīna Masjid, Hazrat, Pandua in Bengal.

Besides illustrating a variety of techniques and decorative designs, such as the chevron bond, the Turanian bond, as well as bonding in vertical and horizontal courses, the Tomb of Ismā'īl recalls the Mosque of Hazāra near Bukhāra in its external gallery, which surrounds the octagon of the dome. This striking feature reappears in the Mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sulṭānīya in North Eastern Persia, as well as in the Mausoleum of Humāyūn at Delhi. Another conspicuous and often repeated feature is the steep battering of the walls, which is also found in the Tomb of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq at Tughlāqābād in Delhi. In pre-Saljūq architecture, therefore, ornament was integrally linked with construction.[188]

After a period during which heterodoxy made itself manifest, the ascendancy of the Saljūq Sunnī Central Asiatic Turks (A.H.447-700/A.D.1055-1300) brought

about the rejuvenation of Islam and reestablished the traditional links of Islam with the ancient Arabo-Persian traditions. The Saljūqs developed "naked brick" architecture,[189] as it has been described by Upham Pope and so, according to him, achieved "the fulfilment of the Iranian architectural genius".[190] Creswell observes, "The twelfth and thirteen centuries witnessed the development of faience decoration, in the form of both tiles and mosaics, which attained a degree of beauty and splendour never seen before".[191] Lustrous polychromy in tilework and gilded and painted stucco are lavishly used. Lofty minarets, superb domes, ribbed vaults, complex squinches or stalactites are the fundamental characteristics of Saljūq architecture. These are all found in the admirable monuments at Shīrāz, Yazd (Pl. XIIIa) Nāyīn, Isfahān and Nīshāpūr.[192] Wilber rightly points out, "Seljūq efforts were largely concentrated on the mosque type, which, evolving through the formative centuries of Islam in the several occupied lands, had in Iran been combined with traditional elements of the local pre-Islamic Sāsānian architecture to emerge in distinctly Iranian forms".[193]

The Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Isfahān[194] (Fig.31 & Pl. Xa, b)

is an epitome of the Persian Mosque style.[195] According to Diez, the Īvān and mihrāb court became established in Persia in the Fifth century A.H./Eleventh century A.D. In the Jāmi' Masjid of Isfahān it was combined with the pillared court. This combination reappears in the Great Mosque of Harāt (A.H.832/A.D.1428-9).[196] The Mosque of Isfahān in many of its architectural details recalls the 'Abbāsid mosque at Samarrā. There was no break in the building tradition.

One of the most remarkable features of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Isfahān is its ribbed vaulting, which anticipates the late Saljūq dome of Sanjar (A.H.515/A.D. 1222) at Marv. The wide range of this great architectural contribution is striking;[197] ribbed vaulting does not, however, occur in Europe until the 12th century at Durham.

Ghaznavid architecture is not so much represented by Mosques as by its minars. However, Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna is said to have created an elegant Mosque, known as "the Celestial Bride" in Ghazna, besides his famous Mīnār. His son Masūd Shāh also erected a Mīnār in Ghazna (Pl. XXa.) which anticipates in many respects the Qutb Mīnār at Delhi.[198]

However, the splendid mosques of Shīrāz, Yazd, Isfahān, Gulpaygān and Zavāra demonstrate the super skill of the Saljūq architects as compared with their Ghaznavid contemporaries.[199] The Saljūq mosques illustrate many new architectural features, such as the horse-shoe arch in the Mosque of Qa'la-i-Bist, built by the Ghorids (A.H. late 7th century/A.D.late 13th century), which reappear in the 'Alā'ī Darwāza (Pl. XXb) in the Masjid Quwwat al-Islām at Delhi.[200] It is interesting, that the Mosque of Zavāra near Ardistān dating from A.H.530/A.D.1135-36, recalls the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Isfahān, being based on the old four-īvān plan, long ago employed at Parthian Ashur, with tunnel-vaulted rīwāqs running parallel to the transverse axis.[201]

Persia offers another type of Mosque planning, that is, the enclosed and completely roofed Mosques found at Khargird and Yazd.[202] They recall the Mosque of Fustāt, built by 'Amr, and provided the prototype for the Jāmi' Mosque at Gulbargā (A.H.769/A.D.1367)(Fig.55 & Pl. XXXIXa, c.), the Chāmkattī Masjid, (Fig.107) the Lattan Masjid (Fig.108 & Pl. CXXIII), the Chhoto Sonā Masjid (A.H.899-925/A.D.1493-1519) (Fig.124 & Pl.CXXXI), the Barā Sonā Masjid (A.H.932/A.D.1524) (Fig.118 & Pl.CXXXIXa),

all built at Gaud in Bengal.

This "pavilion" type of Persian Mosque is represented in the Mosques at Burūjird and Gulpaygān (Fig.32)[203] - But curiously enough, the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Natanz (A.H.704-9/A.D.1304-9) (Fig.37 & Pl.VIIa), exhibits a domed octagonal sanctuary. The Saljūq Mosques introduced characteristic elements which dominated Persian Islamic architecture from this time onward.[204] The Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Qazvīn (A.H.500-9/A.D.1106-15) (Pl.XIb, XIIIb) has a prominent portal which formed the dominating feature of the Persian mosque of the future.[205] The Saljūq craftsmen exhibited great technical skill in their use of groined vaulting as well as the construction of small domes, as seen at Isfahān, Ardistān and Natanz.[206] But the introduction of the double dome as it appears in the Jabal-i-Sang (A.H.582/A.D.1186) at Kirmān is probably the most significant achievement of this whole period.

The double dome reappears in the Mausoleum at Tūs (A.H.8th/A.D.Early 14th century) and the Qūr-i-Mīr, the Tomb of Amīr Tīmūr at Samarqand (A.H.838/A.D.1434) and later still in the Mausoleum of Humāyūn at Delhi (A.H.973/A.D.1565) and the Tāj Mahal (A.H.1044/A.D.1634) at Āgra.[207]

Assessing these contributions, Schoeder is undoubtedly correct in his judgment, though somewhat obscure in his words: "it was the lucky greatness of the Saljūq period that it restored that talent to circulation and until it trespassed too far upon the talent for construction, as we see it doing already in the Mausoleum of Khwaja Atābek and the Gunbad-i-Kabūd at Marāgha, it gave to Persian architects a classical Age".[208]

In the middle of the 13th century, the Il-Khānids created a style of architecture which stood in the same relation to the Saljūq architecture as that of the Gothic to the Romanesque. Utilizing the Saljūq domed and vaulting systems, the Il-Khānid builders created a new manner of treatment of both construction and decoration.[209] A refined attenuation is apparent in both their construction and ornament. This delicate and refined taste is displayed in the precise harmonious compositional use of stucco and glazed tiles in their mihrābs, lofty portals, soaring minarets and sharply pointed domes, the four-centred pointed arch and the double-dome, being features of the style.[210]

However, Il-Khanīd architecture is displayed in two characteristic forms each with its own features,

namely, the domed type raised on a square plan and the īvān type. The interesting rock-cut Masjid-i-Sang at Dārāb dated A.H.652/A.D.1254 is square in plan, the colonnades within the square being cruciform.[211] The Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Marand dated A.H.730-40/A.D.1330-39 has a square domed chamber with portals on three sides.[212] This enclosed type of Mosque was, perhaps, adopted owing to the severe cold of Āzarbāyjān, just as the incessant rainfall in Bengal led to the erection of similar monuments in Gaud in Bengal.

The early fourteenth century Masjid-i-Jāmi' (Fig.34) at Ardabīl is also, a square domed building. According to Wilber, the decoration of this mosque recalls those at the Mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sultāniya[213] (A.H.705-13/ A.D.1305-13) and the tomb tower at Abarqūh (A.H.448/A.D. 1056), but the patterns are more delicate and refined at Ardabīl.[214] The coat of hard white plaster applied to the building bears a close relationship with the plaster finish of the Tughlaq buildings in Delhi and the plastered domes of the Bengali monuments of the 15th century, A.D. at Gaud. However, this use of plaster is an old technique, going back to Sasanian times.

Other examples of the square domed type of Persian

mosque are the Mosques at Dashtī (Fig. 36), the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Kāj (Pl. XVIa) and the Mosque of Eziran near Iṣfahān. These three mosques, built in A.H.726/A.D.1325 have square domed chambers with flanking corridors, prominent portals and forecourts, and as the earliest dated examples of the double dome with pointed profile in Persian Islamic architecture.[215]

One of the earliest monuments manifesting the typical high portals of this period with a domed prayer hall is the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Naṭanz dated between A.H.704-9/A.D.1304-9 (Fig.37 & Pl.VIIa). Similar in plan is the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Ushtarjān, near Iṣfahān which was erected in the year A.H.715/A.D.1315-6. The most striking features of this elegantly designed Mosque are the pair of slender tapering cylindrical minarets flanking the northern portal, the tunnel-vaulted īvān leading to the prayer hall and its stucco and glazed tile decoration.[216]

The offset mouldings with slight projections, demonstrated by the Mosque of Farumad (Pl. XIVa), reconstructed in A.H.720/A.D.1320, are reminiscent of the ~~vertical~~ offsets and recesses of the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid at Gaud.[217] (Pl. XCVII)

The Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Varāmīn, dated A.H.722/ A.D.1322 (Pl. XIVb), anticipate the fully developed īvān mosques of the Timūrid and Ṣafavid periods. Its imposing portal gives the impression of an independent structure. The transition from the square substructure to the octagon and finally to the circle of the dome is attained by stalactite squinches, which carry a 16-sided intermediary polygonal drum. A similar technique, also, occurs in the Mausoleum of Tūs, dated early 14th century A.D., and the Mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sulṭānīya. The delicately designed ornamental pierced lattice above the central Miḥrāb in the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Yazd dated A.H.724-77/ A.D.1324-65 (Pl. XIIIa), recalls the lunette in the mihrāb wall of the central nave in the Adīnā Masjid at Hazrat Pandua.[218]

The Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Kirmān, dated A.H.750/ A.D.1349, resembles the Mosques of Abarqūh and Naṭanz in maintaining the traditional Iranian Mosque plan of four īvāns or porches in walls of the spacious courtyard with its dominating eastern portal.[219] The Masjid-i-Jāmi' of 'Alī Shāh at Tabrīz (Fig.35 & Pl. XVa), on the contrary, illustrates a highly individual adaptation of the older established traditions. Undoubtedly inspired by the colossal scale of the Achaemenid and Persepolitan buildings, the main prayer hall carries an overhanging tunnel vault.

This springs at a height of about 80 feet and was 100 feet in span. The Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua is reminiscent of the Mosque of Tabrīz in having a central vaulted hall and an exterior projecting mihrāb as well as a window opening above the central mihrāb.[220]

The beginning of the fifteenth century was marked by the Tīmūrid Rennaissance. Tīmūr, a great connoisseur of art and architecture, beautified his capital Samarqand within elegant monuments. As Byron puts it, "Domes and minarets protrude and multiply; portals īvāns and niche-façades attain extraordinary height; pattern and texts became exuberant in proportion to their intricacy (in the hands of the inept, this proportion is generally reversed), unbridled, fantastic; colour achieves a range, a depth, and a brilliance not equalled before or since."[221]

In the earliest phase of these building activities in Transoxiana, the Tīmūrids achieved a peak of florid ostentation in their architecture. The Mosque of Bībī Khānum (A.H.808/A.D.1405-6) at Samarqand is the supreme example in their works.[222] It demonstrates the integration of classical Persian architectural features in a highly individual, balanced and graceful style. This was, however, preceded by the mosque of Hazrat Ahmad Yasavī, (A.H.797/

A.D.1394-5), enclosed building covered by a pointed dome with an entrance portal with a magnificent four-centred pointed arch. The fluted dome in the Mosque of Yasavī in Turkestan anticipates the convex fluted ribbed domes of the Gūr-i-Mīr, namely the Mausoleum of Amīr Tīmūr in Samarqand and the Mausoleum of Gawhar Shad in Harāt (A.H.839/A.D.1435), as well as those of the later Indian Mosques, particularly of Bījāpur.

Besides the īvān type of Mosque, an example of the square domed mosque is found in the enclosure of the Madrasa of Bībī Khānum in Samarqand (A.H.808/A.D.1405-6).[223] The Mosque of Gawhar Shad at Mashhād provides new ideas of construction and decoration (Pl. XVIb). The Blue Mosque of Tabriz (A.H.870/A.D.1465) (Fig.38) combines the covered and courtyard types of mosque, imitated by the Mosque of Anau (A.H.848-50/A.D.1444-46).[224] The Tabriz Mosque is distinguished by its superb mosaic tile works and marks the zenith of the Tīmūrid style of architecture. The Mosque of Gawhar Shād at Harāt (A.H.841/A.D.1437-8) commonly known as Musallā has beautiful examples of the Central Asiatic form of slender and elegant minaret.

Byron says, "The most novel, and still the most triumphant, invention of Tīmūrid architecture was the tall

bulbous dome on the tall cylindrical drum".[225] According to Creswell, the double-dome appears first in the Tīmūrid mosque of Kaj dated A.H.738/A.D.1337 (Pl. XVIa). This distinctive architectural feature also exists in the Mausoleum at Tūs (A.H.700(?)/A.D.1300), in the Mausoleum of Amīr Tīmūr at Samarqand, and also later in the Mausoleum of Humāyūn at Delhi and the Tāj Mahal at Āgra.[226]

The sixteenth century A.D. marked the beginning of what may be really described as an architectural and artistic renaissance under the Ṣafavids. Pope says, "The solution of the dome and screen problem is one of the most interesting contributions of Ṣafavid architecture, solution happily anticipated on the Masjid-i-Jāmi', Vārāmīn, thereafter apparently neglected, and then most perfectly achieved in the Masjid-i-Shāh of Isfahān, just a hundred years later than the Sāva mosque".[227] The Masjid-i-Shāh of Isfahān (A.H.996-1037/A.D.1587-1628) (Fig.39 & Pl. XVIIIb) includes many of the typical features of classical Persian architecture: the half-domed portal with stalactites, flanked by a pair of slender minarets, rising from the side arcades: the bulbous domes, with its interior interlaced ribbed vaulting and sumptuous mosaic and hafl rangi or parti-coloured tiles.[228]

If the Masjid-i-Shāh in Isfahān marks the climax of Mosque architecture in Islamic Persia, the Masjid-i-Shaykh Lutf Allāh (A.H.1012-28/A.D.1603-18), which was not built earlier, may be considered an excellent example of the fully developed form of Persian mosque. The style endured and throughout the period high standard of workmanship was maintained.[229] The same is to be seen in India, where the Madrasa and Masjid of Safdar Jang at Delhi was built as late as A.D.1753.

Marshall says, "Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together".[230] As Holmes puts it, "The religion of Mahomet is realistic, positive and purely matter-of-fact concrete, whereas that of Brahmins is idealistic, abstract, visionary and metaphysical".[231]

The Muslim invaders (Fig.40) were necessarily impressed by Indian architecture and sculpture, expressing as they do foreign religious emotions in terms of images and emblems. What they saw at Delhi, and the other cities of India, which they attacked, was absolutely foreign to them. Yet when they came to raise their own religious

buildings, they were not averse to using the spoils of their temples.[232] Recent researches have put Havell's contention that Indo-Muslim architecture is a modified form of Hindu art out of court. It is simply not true that the early Muslim invaders of India were destitute of any architectural heritage of their own.[233] As Marshall puts it, "...they themselves were already possessed of a highly developed architecture of their own, as varied and magnificent as the contemporary architecture of Christian Europe;...."[234]

The ruthless desecration and makeshift conversion of Indian temples into Mosques has led many scholars to regard Indo-Muslim architecture as nothing more than a local variety of hybrid nature. In point of fact, these early Indian mosques which were compiled from Brahmanical fragments, such as the Deval Masjid at Bodhan near Hyderabad, have no direct bearing on the general development of Mosque architecture in India.[235]

On the other hand the use of the spoils of non-Muslim ruins was a widely recognised feature in early Muslim architecture. Curiously enough, the earliest surviving mosques in India at Bhanbhore (Pl.XIXa) and Mansura-Brahamanābād in Sind demonstrate little or no indigenous influence, nor are they built of the remains

of Hindu temples. They are, in fact, brick buildings with all the requisites necessary for congregational prayer. Indeed, they recall in their simplicity the mosques at Madīna, Kūfa, Basra and Wasīt.[236]

However, the evolution of Indo-Muslim architecture in the 12th and the 13th centuries may be described as a synthetic process: the impact of Islam on India was as overwhelming, but this does not negative the influence of Indian architectural skill on the formation of a truly distinctive style of Islamic architecture in India. The Muslims brought with them their own architectural skill and tradition. They, however, found a completely different environment in India, to which their traditions of architecture had to be accommodated. Racial discrimination did not stand in the way of creating a new imperial school of architecture, for the rulers enlisted the services of indigenous artisans trained in the ancient Indian art of stone carving.[237] As Codrington says, "throughout the centuries since Kutbu'd-din employed Hindu masons to raise up his great Strength of Islam Mosque upon the ruins of the oldest of the Delhis, there has been a free exchange of services and goods from the centres of population of the one faith to the centres of the other".[238]

Just as at a later date Mughal painting is a harmonious blend of Persian and Indian artistic traditions,[239] so the Indo-Muslim architecture of Delhi and Ajmer is a blend.[240] In the Quwwat al-Islām at Delhi (Figs. 41, 43 & Pls. XIXb, XXb, XXIa, b.) and the Arhāi din-kā-Jhoprā at Ajmer (Fig. 46 & Pl. XXIIa, b.), existing remains bear unmistakable evidence that they were not merely compilations, but the distinctive, planned works of professional architects. Havell says, "The characteristics of these so-called Pathān buildings are, as might be expected, a blend of Indian and Persian traditions adapted to the strict Sunni ritual, as dictated by the Ulamās of the Delhi court. The severity of their style must be attributed to the puritanical sentiment of the Sunni interpreters of Islamic law, and not to the racial temperament of the Pathān for Turkish fighting men or of their leaders".[241]

Hindu ritual prayer is fundamentally different from Muslim religious practice. The former is based on individual worship: the latter prescribes communal or congregational prayer. Consequently, the Hindu temple is relatively narrow and congested: the Mosque is broad and spacious. The former is dark and cell-like with a

close mysterious atmosphere: the latter was open to the sky, brightly lit and well ventilated. The Temple is the theatre of Indian religion: the Mosque is the centre of Muslim social, political and religious life.[242] The contrasting needs of Hindu and Muslim religious worship are naturally embodied in their respective architectural achievements. Hindu architecture is trabeate: Muslim arcuate. In contradistinction to the pyramidal roof of medieval Indian temples, the Muslims imported with them the highly developed constructional features of arch, dome and vault, which had already created magnificent architectural works in Persia.[243]

The Indian medieval temple is, we know, a museum of lush, exuberant sculpture: Islam on the other hand was aniconic. Yet it freely made use of the ancient decorative traditions which included many representional forms. Basically the mosque, unlike the temple, is stern and simple, but it did not reject ornament. Muslim decorative art, as stated by Marshall, is "inclined to colour and line or flat surface carving, and took the form of conventional arabesques or ingenious geometric patterning".[244] It is demonstrably true that Indo-Muslim architecture is deeply indebted to the prodigious wealth

of ornamental art in India. Thus indigenous flowers and foliage are apparent in the decoration of the buildings, raised by Muslims in India.[245] This new school of Muslim architecture in the Indian peninsula is far from being purely Islamic in origin: nor is it in essence Indian. It is a hybrid, the product of the interaction of two cultures.[246]

But Goetz points out, "The genesis of Indo-Muslim civilization, therefore, can hardly be explained as a simple intermingling of two different civilizations. It was rather a substitution of Indian elements of similar type for the original dominating ones of Turkish-Muslim origin, these first being selected from the stock of indigenous culture without regard to the Indian tradition, or, in other words, an Indian imitation or even falsification of Tīmūrid models".[247] But this exaggerates the position, for Indian construction and decoration was evident from the first.

The Muslim brought with them the technique of rubble and concrete construction, which was the basis of Roman architecture and the first development of the dome, but which was previously unknown in the Indian peninsula. This enlarged the scale of building by making it possible

to span large areas by voussoir arches, domes and tunnel vaults. Therefore, the most outstanding Muslim contribution to Indian architecture, as Marshall suggests, was the introduction of "breadth and spaciousness" as well as new form and colour in decoration.[248]

Goetz's reference to Tīmūrid models is chronologically pointless. The characteristic elements of early Muslim architecture in India were derived from the work of the Sāmānid, Saljūq and Il-Khānid periods. Pope says, "It is to the architects of Persia that we owe the solution that was subsequently adopted in all the true domes built in India".[249] The arched squinch with concentric semi-circular masonry courses observed in the 'Āla'i Darwāza (Pl.XXa) at Old Delhi (A.H.705/A.D.1305), in the Mosque at Badaon (Fig. 47) and in the tombs of Sarhind (A.H.9th/A.D.15th) recall those in the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Isfahān, the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Gulpaygān and the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Ardistān (Pl. XIa). These arched squinches, used for raising domes are clearly descended from the Sasanian Palaces at Sarvistān, built in the middle of the fourth century.[250] Indeed the squinches at Palermo must be discussed in the same way.

It has been said that the outstanding feature of

Persian Islamic architecture is the four centred pointed arch, which was introduced from Persia in the Indo-Muslim buildings at Mandū (the Hindola Mahal, A.H.808/A.D.1405), Gulbargā (the Jāmi' Masjid, A.H.771/A.D.1369) (Fig.55 & Pls. XXXIXa, c), Bīdar (Madrasa of Mahmūd Gāwān, A.H.877/A.D.1472) (Pl. La) and Old Delhi (Pl.XIXb).[251] The cusped arches of the Khalji edifices were first developed in Central Asia at Mashhad-i-Misrian in the tenth century. Arcades of cusped arches with large roundels filling the spandrels are apparent in the dome of the Safed Bulan in Turan (A.H.6th/A.D.12th), before they reappear in the Mausoleum of 'Alī Shahīd Pīr-kī-Masjid at Bījāpur (A.H.10th/A.D.16th century) in the Indian Deccan.[252] The transverse vaulting system of Persian origin, also, made its appearance in many Indo-Muslim buildings, for example, the Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbargā and the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua.[253] The ribbed vault observable in many Il-Khānid mosques such as the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Ardistān, also appears in the Langar kī Masjid at Gulbargā (A.H.7th century/A.D.15th century) (Pl.XXVIIIa, b) as well as the Adīna Masjid (Pl.XXXVIa) at Hazrat Pandua and the Gunmant Masjid (Pl.CXVIb) at Gaud.[254] The fluted, hemispherical stilted domes of many Indian mosques as well

as the bulbous pointed dome of Mughal architecture are also all derived from central Asian and Persian prototypes.[255]

Among the many notable Persian features introduced into Indo-Muslim architecture are half-domed portals, slender tapering minarets and honey-combed or stalactite pendentives, as well as the elaborate floral ornamentation and new developments and the use of calligraphy as part of the decorative scheme.[256] The use of coloured tile-work is also new, as may be seen at Multān (the tomb of Rukn-i-'Ālam, A.H.872-24/A.D.1320-24).[257] Bīdar (Madrasa of Mahmūd Gāwān, A.H.876/A.D.1472) (Pl.La),[258] Ṭhaṭṭhā (the Jāmi' Masjid, A.H.1054/A.D.16-44),[259] Gaud (the Lattan Masjid, A.H.899-25/A.D.1493-1519) (Pl.CXXII),[260] Āgra (Chīni kā Rauza, A.H.1068-1118/A.D.1658-1707), Lahore Fort (A.H.1055/A.D.1645) and Delhi (the so-called Jamālī Kamālī, Tomb and Mosque of Fazl Allāh "Jamālī", A.H.943/A.D.1536.[261]

But besides the persistence of these older Islamic features in the evolution of Indo-Muslim architecture, the indigenous artistic Indian contribution cannot be neglected. The employment of Hindu masons and artists led to the introduction of ancient Indian architectural

and decorative features, such as corbelled domes, bracketed pillars, the distinctive form of the doorways, and the use of finials of the kalaśa type. There is, therefore, proof positive that indigenous artistic traditions played a considerable part in the evolution of Indo-Muslim architecture.[262]

Actually before Islamic power in India was firmly established in the 12th century, the Arab invaders had demonstrated their need for buildings in Sind in the 2nd century A.H./8th century A.D. Recent excavations at Banbhore undertaken by the Department of Archaeology in Pakistan have uncovered a burnt-brick mosque dated A.H.109/ A.D.772, as well as fortifications. They are not only the earliest known examples of Indo-Muslim architecture, but they correspond in their details with the Mosques of Kūfa, Wāsit, Baghdād and Raqqā;[263] that is to say, they have oblong piers carrying flat timber roofs and an open courtyard, enclosed by colonnaded arcades. Another Mosque excavated at Mansūra - Brahmanābād in Sind is also probably of the 8th century A.D. This Mosque is also built of bricks, and had a flat timber roof.[264]

The eleventh century A.D. was marked by the cataclysmic series of invasions of India by Sultan Mahmūd

of Ghazni, who apart from being a conqueror, was a great patron of art and culture. Ghaznavid architecture, particularly the existing minarets of Mahmūd and Mas'ūd at Ghazni, which have already been mentioned, and the wood carving of the famous gates of Ghazni (Pl.XLb), all reflect the 9th and 10th century Sāmanid style of North Eastern Persia.[265] Indeed, the Sāmānid buildings served, in many of their features, as typological ancestors of the Delhi buildings of the twelfth century A.D.[266] notably of the Qutb Mīnār (Pl.XXb). Moreover, Sultan Mahmūd is said to have built not only a Mosque, known as "the Celestial Bride" in Ghazni, but also the Khishti Mosque and Mīnār in Lahore of which little remains.[267]

In point of fact, the buildings in Old Delhi embody the first manifestation and early development of Muslim architecture in India. As Marshall puts it, "Of the many and various groups into which the Islamic monuments of India are divided that of Delhi occupies the central and pre-eminent place".[268] Delhi was the source of artistic inspiration for all the later provincial schools of Indo-Muslim architecture. Codrington remarks, "At Delhi, the Kutb-ul-Islam marks the beginning of Islamic architecture in India".[269] This formative

phase of Mosque architecture in India began with the random utilization of temple spoils, Hindu architraves, corbelled ceilings, kumbha pillars with hanging bell-and-chain motifs, which were organised to fulfil the needs of congregational prayer. It is said that the columns of twenty-seven Hindu and Jaina templeswere utilized in the great Mosque, at Delhi, rightly called the "Might of Islam". (Figs. 41, 43 & Pls. XIXb, XXb, XXIa, b) It was built by Qutb al-Dīn Aybak in A.H.597/A.D.1191-2 on an ancient pre-Muslim plinth.[270]

The quadrangular court of the Mosque is enclosed on the east the north and the south by two colonnades. The western side, containing the līwān, is divided into five bays by four colonnades. The cloisters or rīwāqs are entered by porched gateways, placed in the middle of the north, the south and the east sides. Originally there were five domes in the līwān all compiled of Hindu fragments, as is evident from their corbelled interiors. The most striking features of this Mosque are the four entresol galleries (Pl. XXIb) at the four corners of the Mosque courtyard, instead of only one at the northern end, as in the līwāns of the Bengali and Mālwa mosques. At the back of the Mihrāb wall there is a Hindu false window

which anticipates similar but pierced window in the rear wall of the Central Mihrāb at Hazrat Pandua.[271]

The most interesting features of the Mosque are the screen and the detached Mīnār (Pls. XXb, XXIb). Burton-Page says, "The screen arches are corbelled, ogee at the top, some 2.5 metres thick, the central arch 13.7m. high with a span of 6.7m. The whole surface of this maksūra is covered with carving, Hindū floral motifs and arabesques, and vertical lines of naskh".[272]

To the south of the Mosque, Qutb al-Dīn commenced the Minaret, known as the Qutb Mīnār. This tall tapering Mīnār consists of four storeys, each demarcated by stalactite balconies, and is some 225 feet in height. It is formed by alternate angular and rounded flutes. The lower storey served as the prototype of the turrets above the screens and the corner bastions of the Arhāi Din-kā-Jhomprā Mosque at Ajmer (Pl.XXIIb). Fergusson considers it to be one of the most beautiful examples of its kind known to exist anywhere.[273] J. A. Page compares it with the Ghazni Mīnārs of Sultans Mahmūd and Māsūd. He writes, "The ultimate origin of these towers is probably to be found in such Sasanian structures as the towers of Jur and Firozabad in Persia, the Chaldean ziggurat

observatories, as at Khorsabad, and the Tower of Babel".[274]

The great dignity of the Quwwat-al-Islām mosque is largely due to its immense scale. To Qutb-al-Din's work was added to and improved by Iletmish (A.H.607-633/A.D.1211-36) and 'Alāuddin Khaljī (A.H.695-715/A.D.1296-1316). (Figs. 41,43) To Iletmish we owe some of the finest Muslim work in India. The Arhai Din-kā-Jhomprā (Fig. 46 & Pl. XXIIa, b), began by Qutb al-Din in A.D.1198-9, was also completed by him. Tod had said of it that it was "one of the most perfect as well as the most ancient monuments of Hindu architecture".[275] On the evidence of certain four-armed figures to be seen on the pillars, Cunningham rejects this view and treats the Arhāi-Din-kā-Jhomprā as an essential Muslim work.[276]

The Ajmer Mosque resembles the Delhi Mosque in its use of pre-Muslim materials as well as in its courtyard plan, arched screen, columnar līwān and rīwāqs and use of reconstructed Hindu corbelled domes. All these features, except the fragments of Hindu and Jain carvings used in the work are essentially Islamic. The Ajmer Mosque indicates a further improvement in Mosque design. The height of the līwān roof is greatly increased and there is a semi-circular marble mihrāb - a new feature. As

Sardar puts it, "These pillars have a greater height than those at the Kutub, and are more elegant in their sculpture and general appearance than the converted Mosques in Malwa and Ahmedabad".[277]

Although constructed of destroyed Hindu temples, the Mosques at Old Delhi and Ajmer once and for all set the fashion to be followed by later mosques in Muslim India. As Cunningham says, "In boldness of design, and grandeur of conception, which are perhaps due to the genius of the Islamite architect, these two splendid mosques of the first Indian Muhammadans are only surpassed by the soaring sublimity of the Christian Cathedrals. But in gorgeous prodigality of ornament, in beautiful richness of tracery, and endless variety of detail, in delicate sharpness of finish, and laborious accuracy of workmanship, all of which are due to the Hindu masons, I think that these two grand Indian Mosques may justify vie with the noblest buildings which the world has yet produced. In attributing the design to the Musulmān architect, and all the constructive details of the Hindu, I am chiefly influenced by the fact that the arch has never formed part of Hindu structural architecture, although it is found in many specimens of their rock-hewn temples. The design, therefore, I take to

be Muhammadan, but as the arches of the Ajmer Mosque are formed by overlapping stones, I conclude that the actual construction was the work of Hindu masons, who were ignorant of the art of forming an arch by radiating voussoirs".[278] Marshall regards the arched screen of the Ajmer Mosque rather as a tour de force of technical excellence, than an artistic triumph.

Iletmish built a small Mosque at the tomb of his son Nāsir al-Dīn Mahmūd "Sulṭān Ghārī" (A.H.629/A.D.1231) at Delhi, a square 'Īdgāh (A.H.599-606/A.D.1202-09) and a Jāmi' Masjid at Badaun (A.H.620/A.D.1223) (Fig.47). Cunningham says of the 'Īdgāh, "a massive brick wall, 302 feet in length, with lines of ornament near the top, which most probably were originally covered with blue glaze".[279]

The Jāmi' Masjid of Badaun, also built by Iletmish is one of the largest mosques in India. Following the traditional courtyard plan, it also utilizes Hindu temple pillars. The entrance arches of the gateways leading into the courtyard of the Mosque were similar to those in the great Mosques at Delhi and Ajmer. The walls are encrusted with blue glazed tiles. Cunningham says, "Although the Jāmi' Masjid of Badaun cannot be compared

with the magnificent Masjids of Delhi and Ajmer, yet its great size and the massiveness of its walls give a certain dignity to its ruined aisles which a smaller building would not possess".[280]

That the practice of utilizing the spoils of Hindu temples continued throughout the reign of Sultan Iletmish is proved by the Mosque of Ukha in Bayānā (Uttar Pradesh) (Fig.45), which is also on the site of a Hindu temple.[281] A departure from this practice of the early Indo-Muslim architects is found in the Jamā'at Khāna Masjid (Fig.44) at the Dargāh of Nizām al-Dīn in Old Delhi, which was built by 'Alā 'al-Dīn Khaljī. Burton-Page regards this as "the first example in India of a Mosque built with specially quarried materials, not improvised from Hindu material".[282] It marks a new stage in the development of Indo-Muslim architecture. As at the 'Alā'ī Darwāza and the tomb of Iletmish at Delhi, the Dargāh demonstrates domes on squinches, arches with spearhead fringes, horse-shoe arches and flat mihrābs.

Unlike the florid and ornate Khaljī architecture, the Tughluq buildings are robust and stern. As Marshall puts it, "The days of its first youthful splendour and prodigal luxuriance were over. Lavish display of ornament

and richness of detail now began to give place to a chaste sobriety which, as time went on, developed into a severe and puritanical simplicity. At first the change was due to the urgent need for economy and to the general revulsion of feeling against the excesses of the Khaljī régime".[283] This change may also be caused by the migration of the skilled Dehlī artisans to Daulatābād in the Deccan in the time of Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughluq (A.H.725/A.D.1325-51). Yet in the words of Marshall "the brain which conceived the whole was working in obedience to Indian precept".[284] This is demonstrated by Hindu features such as the multi-domed roofing and tapered minaret-like buttresses. All these features appear in the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua.[285]

Burton Page says, "The Mosque style of the period is better shown by half a dozen mosques of approximately the decade 766-76/1364-75: all are rubble-and-plaster, presumably originally white-washed, with pillars and Hindū style brackets and eaves in local grey granite, with prominent gateways, many-domed roofs, and tapering ornamental pillars flanking the gateways. The simplest is the Mosque in the dargāh of Shāh 'Ālam at Wazīrābād (Tīmūrpur)(A.H.777/A.D.1375), a simple west līwān of

five bays, with three domes, within which is the earliest example in Dihlī of a zanāna gallery in the rear corner of the līwān; the large (courtyard 68.0 by 75.3 metres) Begampur mosque in the north of Djahānpanāh (A.H.772/A.D. 1370) has the Sahn surrounded on all sides by a domed arcade, and the west līwān has a tall arched pylon in the centre of its façade which completely masks the large central dome; the Sandjar mosque (also called Kālī [black] Masdjid) at Nizamuddin (A.H.772/A.D.1376) has the central courtyard divided into four smaller courts each 13.1 by 10.1 metres by a cruciform arcade one bay in depth, as well as the domed arcading on all sides; the Khirkī Mosque (Pl. LXa), at Khirkī village in the south of Djahānpanāh close to the Sāt Pulāh, has a similar arrangement, but the crossing arcades are of three ranks of arches, as are the side līwāns: hence only the four courts, each 9.8 metres square, are open in the total area of about 52m. square; the Kalān (this also sometimes miscalled Kālī) Masdjid (A.H.777/A.D.1375 (Pl.XXIIIa), within the walls of the later Shāhdjahānābād, is smaller with a single open court and surrounding domed arcades. This, the Khirkī Mosque, and the Djāmi Masdjid in the Kōtlā (Fig. 48 & Pl. XCVIa), are all built on a high

plinth over a tahkhāna storey, and the mosques themselves are approached by high flights of steps. The Kalān Masdjid was no doubt the main mosque of the new Fīrūzābād suburbs, but the size of the Begampur and Khirkī mosques implies that the older cities still maintained a considerable population".[286]

The further development of Muslim architecture in the Indian provinces was stimulated by the formation of independent Sultanates, such as those in Bengal (A.H.738-945/A.D.1338-1538), Gujarāt (A.H.803-980/A.D.1400-1572), Jaunpur (A.H.762-885/A.D.1360-1480), Gulbargā (A.H.748-826/A.D.1347-1422), Bīdar (A.H.826-918/A.D.1422-1512), and Mālwa (A.H.808-977/A.D.1405-1569).[287]

Cunningham writes, "For nearly a century (A.H.762-885/A.D.1360-1480) the city of Jaunpur was the capital of an independent Muhammadan kingdom, perhaps the richest in Northern India".[288] Hügel suggests the Hindu origin of Jaunpur architecture.[289] According to him the Jaunpur buildings were nothing more than adaptations of contemporary Hindu styles, fulfilling the needs for a Muslim place of prayer. The free use of the Hindu trabeate form of construction speaks for itself. Indeed, short square pillars with bracket capitals, horizontal architraves, flat

roofs formed of flat stone slabs, etc., were all taken over from Hindu temple architecture. These Muslim buildings also share certain outstanding features of Hindu workmanship, for instance, the sculptured fragments with masons marks.[290] As Fergusson says, "The truth of the matter appears to be, that the greater part of the Mahammadans in the province at the time the Mosques were built were Hindūs converted to that religion, who still clung to their native forms when these did not clash with their new faith".[291]

It is, therefore, clear that indigenous art did play a certain role in the development of Jaunpur architecture. Yet, the Jaunpur monuments reflect the spirit of Tughluq architecture, especially in the domes over the prayer chamber, its engaged and sharply tapered minarets, its parapets, cornices and string courses. But the school of Jaunpur architecture, also introduced several strikingly new features, such as, the prominent central <u>līwān</u> arch (the so-called Propylon), the depressed four-centred points or "Tudor arch" with its fringe of spear-heads.[292]

The prominent <u>līwān</u> arch is the dominant feature of Jaunpur architecture. Codrington points out that the development of the prominent central arch may be traced

in later times at Delhi and especially at Jaunpur.[293] It has, of course, Persian origins and is found in the Jāmi' Masjid at Cambay (A.H.725/A.D.1324-25) (Fig.57 & Pl. XXXIa) and the Begampur Masjid in Delhi (A.H.771/A.D.1370) (Pl. XLIXa). It appears, also, in the imposing central archways of the Arhāī Kanjura Masjid at Benaras (A.H.796-881/A.D.1394-1477) and the Jāmi' Masjids at Iṭāwā (A.H.796-88/A.D.1394-1477) and Kanauj (A.H.809/A.D.1406).[294] As Terry writes, "Whatever their origins, these Jaunpur portals are clearly forerunners of the great Mughal gateways of which the Buland Darwaza at Fathpur Sikri is the most successful".[295] At the same time as Marshall says, "...the mosques of the Tughluqs are lessornate than the Atala Masjid or its successors at Jaunpur, nor is there anything in them to match the imposing propylon screens which adorn the latter".[296]

The earliest of the Jaunpur mosques is the Masjid built by Shaikh Barha in the suburb of Ẓafarābād in A.H.711/A.D.1311. Although insignificant in scale, it reflects future developments, such as, the frontal portion, ten feet thick, which is the prototype of the characteristic Jaunpur prominent <u>līwān</u> arch. The Mosque of Ibrāhīm Nāib Bārbak (Fig.42a) in the Fort is dated

A.H.778/A.D.1377.[297] According to Cunningham, "it is a long narrow building of the early Bengāli type, that is, a simple arcade supported on carved Hindu pillars, with three low domes in the middle".[298] It has a detached minar in the courtyard which corresponds with that of the Adīna Masjid to the West of the qibla wall.[299]

Fergusson considers the Aṭāla mosque (Fig.49 & Pls. XXIVa, XXVa, XLVIa), built on the site of a Hindu Temple dedicated to ʿAṭalā Devi (hence the appellation) in the years A.H.778-811/A.D.1376-1408, as "the most ornate and the most beautiful" at Jaunpur.[300] Its outstanding features, as stated by Burton-Page, are, "the central bay of the west liwān, covered by a large dome which is concealed from the courtyard by a tall pyramidal gateway resembling the Egyptian propylon, is the special characteristic of the Djawnpur style under the Sharkī Sultans. The ʿAṭalā Mosque is the largest (78.7m. square) and most ornate: the liwāns on the north, east and south are composed of five pillared aisles in two storeys, the two outer aisles at ground level being formed into a range of pillared cells facing the street; in the middle of each side is an archway, with a smaller propylon on the outside, and with domes over the north and south gates;

a dome covers the central bay of each līwān on the north and south of the main dome, each with its propylon facing the courtyard. Within each propylon is a large arched recess, with a fringe of stylized spear-heads similar to those of the Khaldjī buildings at Dihlī, in which are pierced arched openings in front of the dome, and the main entrances beneath.... The dome is supported on a sixteen-sided arched triforium, on corner brackets over an octagon with pierced windows, supported on squinch arches. The kibla wall is relieved on its exterior by square projections behind each dome, the corners of each supported by a tapering buttress; larger tapering buttresses support the main angles of the wall. There are no mīnārs, the top storeys of the propylon serving for the Mu'adhdhin".[301]

Fuhrer regards the plan of the ʿAṭalā Masjid as original, quickly perfected and hardly imitated elsewhere".[302] But like the ʿAṭalā Masjid, the zanāna gallery at the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua, has two raised apartments at the corners of the līwāns, separated from the rest of the building and entered from the outside. The ʿAṭalā Masjid also, has a perforated screen like that of the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua and many other mosques in Ahmadabād.

Indeed, it is obvious that the origin of many of the features of later Mosques can be traced to Jaunpur.[303]

The Khālis-Mukhlis Mosque (Fig. 42c) at Jaunpur, which is dated A.H. 820/A.D. 1417, recalls the Aṭalā Devī Mosque in its central līwān arch and its general trabeate form of structure. But it is far surpassed by the Jhānjhrī (or perforated) Mosque (Pl. VLVIIIa) which is striking for its richness and beauty of ornamentation. Burton-Page considers the screen of the existing central līwān arch as "the finest stone tracery in Djawnpur".[304]

The smallest of the Jaunpur Mosques is the Lāl Darwāza (Fig. 51 & Pl. XXVb), so called because it was painted with vermilion. It was built by Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī (A.H. 840-62/A.D. 1436-58) in A.H. 849/A.D. 1445. Although on a smaller scale it is not as Führer considers it as an edition of the ʿAṭalā,[305] for it is almost entirely free from Hindu features. On the other hand it, also, marks a striking step towards architectural refinement and elegance.[306]

Curiously enough, unlike the common mihrāb with semi-circular niches in the Bengali mosques, the Jaunpur Masjids had richly carved oblong mihrābs encased by broad elegant rectilinear frames. The flat background of

the mihrāb is very often filled with rectangular panels decorated with hanging chain-and-bell motif a common motive in Gujrāt.[307] Like the 'Aṭalā Devī Masjid, the Lāl Darwāza Mosque (Fig. 51 & Pl. XXVb) is also provided with a zanāna gallery which is also a very common feature in the Gujarāt Mosques.[308] Of all the Jaunpur Mosques, the Jāmi' Masjid (Fig. 50 & Pl. XXIVb) is the largest as well as the most splendid. Started in A.H.842/A.D.1438 and completed in A.H.863-85/A.D.1458-80 by Husain Shāh Shaqī, A.H.862-81/A.D.1458-77, this congregational Friday Mosque displays great originality in general plan and arrangement.[309] Cunningham says, "The plan of the Jāmi' Masjid is essentially the same as that of the Aṭāla Mosque".[310] But unlike all the other Mosques of Jaunpur, the Jāmi' Masjid stands on a raised terrace, recalling the high plinth on which the buildings of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq at Delhi are raised.[311] Once again the most prominent feature in the Mosque is the single līwān arch, which from the courtyard almost masks the lofty dome covering the central square prayer-hall. On the two sides of this hall are placed low pillared zanāna galleries overlooking the central līwān. Beyond the zanāna galleries are two rectangular chambers, roofed with barrel vaults.[312]

Cunningham and Marshall seem to think that these later Jaunpur mosques are merely copies of the Aṭāla Devī Masjid, dull and unimaginative.[313] In point of fact, each of the Jaunpur Mosques demonstrates new principles of planning and decoration. Marshall thinks that the unbalanced juxtaposition of the flat abruptly square propylons and the domes is one of the glaring defects of the Jaunpur school of architecture. On the contrary Fergusson points out, "....these Jaunpur examples possess a simplicity and grandeur not often met with in this style. An appearance of strength, moreover, is imparted to them by their sloping walls, which is foreign to our general conception of Saracenic art, though at Tughlaqābād and elsewhere it is carried even further than at Jaunpur. Among the Afghāns of India the expression of strength is as characteristic of the style as massiveness is of that of the Normans in England. In India it is found conjoined with a degree of refinement seldom met with elsewhere, and totally free from the coarseness which in other countries usually besets vigour and boldness of design."[314]

As in Jaunpur and Bengal, the provincial seat of Government Mālwa was an ancient city, once the capital of the Paramāra dynasty. Independent Muslim rule began in

Mālwa with the reign of Dilāwar Khān, who is said by some authorities to have assumed the title Shāh in A.H.804/ A.D.1401, about the same time as the Sharqīs of Jaunpur.[315] Among the great builders of Mālwa, Hūshang Shāh and Mahmūd Shāh stand unrivalled for their architectural works.

The early formative phase of Indo-Muslim architecture, marked by the adaptation of Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina temples, is illustrated by the oldest Mosques at Delhi, Bengal, Jaunpur Daulatābād, Pāṭan, etc. In Mālwa, also, spoils of Hindu temples were used. Yet, as Marshall puts it, "Considering how effectually local tradition dominated the Indo-Islamic architecture of Gujarāt, it is surprising how relatively little it affected the architecture of Māndū which is not 200 miles distant".[316] Mālwa looks northward; the source of architecture is, therefore, the imperial school of Delhi. The barbarous invasions of Timūr drove many Delhi masons and builders to the south of India and they brought with them the basic structural principles of Tughlaq architecture. Among these are included battered walls, narrow lofty archways and the pointed arch with spear-head fringe.[317]

It is, therefore, clear that the monuments of Dhār and Māndū are not merely plagiarized versions of the

indigenous local architecture. They are acknowledged to be distinctive and original, especially in the use of glazed tiles and of semi-precious stones, a new departure upon which the Mughal architects were to seize upon and develop. Marshall says, these monuments "were truly living and full of purpose, as instinct with creative genius as the models themselves from which they took their inspiration".[318] Their strength rests in their balanced proportions and subtle ornamental refinements. The subtle colour scheme was achieved by the profuse employment of multi-coloured stones and marbles, as well as of encaustic tiles. Besides using semi-precious stones, agates, jaspers, cornelians, etc., the 15th century Mālwa monuments were clothed in glazed tiles, recalling the similar treatments of the Lattan Masjid and the Tāntīpārā Masjid at Gaud. The work is intrinsically Persian in inspiration. Turquoise blue predominates.[319]

The oldest of the Mosques in Mālwa is the Kamāl Maulā Masjid which was built in Dhār in A.H.803/A.D.1400. Both this Mosque and the slightly later Jāmi' or Lāt Masjid are clearly adaptations of ruined Hindu temple material. As Burton-Page says,"...The outer portico of the Djāmi' Masdjid shows an attempt to integrate the trabeate façade by the interposing of pointed arches, of no structural

significance, between the columns, the forerunner of the arrangement in the Mosque of Malik Mughīth at Māndū".[320]

The transfer of the capital from Dhār to Māndū by Dilāwar Khān in A.H.794/A.D.1392 (Fig.52), marks a new phase in the development of Mosque architecture in Mālwa.[321] The Mosque built by him in c. A.H.808/A.D.1405-6 is oblong in ground plan, the western side being formed by the līwān. Its roof is supported by Hindu pillars. The concave mihrāb is lined with a black igneous stone which takes a beautiful polish and recalls the similar treatment of the niches in zanāna gallery as well as the central mihrāb of the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua.[322]

The Mosque of Malik Mughīs, dated A.H.836/A.D.1432-33 (Fig. 53), marks a sharp departure from the earlier examples by the introduction of arches in place of the earlier trabeate form. Built out of freshly quarried materials, it stands on a high plinth. Arched squinches are used to raise domes of "boat-keel" design, as Brown calls it.[323] The outstanding feature, however, is the principal mihrāb which is brilliantly decorated with blue tiles and exquisite floral designs of decidedly Persian origin.[324]

The largest and most elegantly built Mosque in

Mālwa is the Jāmi' Masjid (Figs. 54 & Pl. XXVI, LIV) which was completed by Mahmūd Shāh in A.H.844/A.D.1440. Marshall says that all the ornamental adjuncts that it possesses are intrinsically good in themselves and worthy of the places they occupy; but they are wholly subordinate to the structural unity of the fabric, and might, indeed be stripped away without greatly impairing its majesty. Like many of its predecessors at Delhi, the Masjid is raised on a lofty plinth, fronted at ground level with ranges of arcaded chambers. From east to west it measures 288 feet, from north to south - some 20 feet less, but projecting from the middle of the eastern side is an imposing entrance porch with ascending steps which adds another 100 feet and more in this direction, while outside the northern wall are two other entrance porches of smaller dimensions. The interior court a square of 162 feet, is bounded on all four sides by eleven arched bays, each identical in form with its neighbour and each surmounted by an identical small dome. But there is this difference between the four sides; that which the eastern riwāqs have only two aisles, the northern and southern have three, and the prayer chamber on the west five. The prayer chamber, moreover, is further distinguished from the other sides by

the presence of three large domes, one in the centre covering the principal mihrāb and minbar, and one over each of the royal galleries which occupy the rear corners.[325]

Marshall writes, "Compared with Ahmad Shāh's Great Mosque at Ahmadābād with which it was contemporary, the Jāmi' Masjid of Māndū is lacking in poetry and creative inspiration. It is too cold and formal and calculated to take rank among the really great architectural creations of India. On the other hand it is far from being open to the charge of dull monotony in the sense the Ādīna Masjid at Pāndua is open to that charge. Even within its courtyard the heroical simplicity of its arcades, its spaciousness and perspicuity of detail produce an effect not of barren vacuity like the Ādīna Masjid but of impressive solemnity; and if we contemplate the exterior with its arcaded façade, and harmoniously proportioned porticos aglow with weathering tints of pink and orange, it is impossible not to feel the eloquence of its forceful, silent appeal".[326]

In many respects, particularly in the five-aisle domed līwān the canopied pulpit, the zanāna gallery, the arcaded rīwāqs and the interior courtyard, the Jāmi' Masjid of Māndū corresponds with the Adīna Masjid at

Hazrat Pandua. The Māndū mosque is not as cold and formal as Marshall suggests nor does the Adīna Masjid display "barren vacuity" or "dull monotony". Fergusson considers the Jāmi' Masjid of Māndū as ranking high among the monuments of its class.[327] As against Marshall's opinion, it should be remembered that the Adīna Masjid was built almost a century before the Māndū mosque, was original in plan and creative in its architectural idiom, antedating later works in many ways.[328]

Yazdani expressed the opinion that the plan of the Jāmi' Masjid (Fig.54 & Pl. XXVI) was based upon the Mosque of Damascus. However, he says elsewhere, "The Mandu mosque, like the Adina mosque of Bengal is reported to have been copied from the Great Mosque at Damascus which is not correct, for the plans of the two Mosques differ...."[329] He, also, compares the Māndū mosque with the Qairawān Masjid with which, however, it has little resemblance.[330] To sum up, it may be said that Malwa Mosque architecture is distinguished by boldness of design and characteristic decorative devices, derived from Tughlaq architecture. Unmistakable Persian influences are also to be observed in the polychrome designs,

transverse ribbed arches and the use of rectangular mihrāb niches.[331]

Codrington says, "In the study of Indian architecture, the geographical distribution is as important as the historical conspectus, for, being largely the product of guild-work, the monuments fall naturally into the well-defined provinces of Indian social development. Above all, from the great pre-Islamic, Mediaeval shrines to the domestic architecture of the recent centuries, Gujarat has been noteworthy for its manipulation of the purely decorative".[332] Of all the provincial schools of Indo-Muslim architecture the superb Gujarat works are most clearly rooted in the old indigenous style of the region.

It is true that Mosque architecture in Gujarāt only began in the 14th century. When 'Alā-al-Dīn Khaljī conquered and annexed the country to the Delhi Sultanate in the latter part of the 13th century, there still flourished a singularly beautiful indigenous style of architecture. The early monuments of Gujarāt, notably at Pāṭan (Aṇhilvāḍa) tell the same story of the demolition of local temples and the reconstruction of their fragments.[333] They also echo the main features of

the imperial architecture of Delhi. It is quite plain that Delhi masons, driven from the north into the distant provinces of India by the devastating Mongol inroads took an active part in the construction of various building projects.[334] As Marshall puts it "It meant that the sense for symmetry and proportion and the almost faultless taste which had characterised Khaljī architecture became, from the outset, the key-notes of the Gujarāt style also".[335]

The earliest recorded building in Gujarāt is the Adīna Masjid at Pāṭan (Anhilvāḍa), as stated above. This bears the same unusual name as that of the Mosque built by Sikandar Shāh at Hazrat Pandua about fifty years later.[336] The tomb of Sheikh Farīd and the Adīna Masjid at Pāṭan, which are dated c. A.H.700/A.D.1300, corresponds in their utilization of Hindu building material with the tomb and the mosque of Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī at Tribeni (Pl.LIIa) in Hooghly, Bengal, which are dated c. A.H.705/A.D.1305.[337] The now demolished Adīna Masjid at Pāṭan, is said to have had one thousand and fifty pillars of marble and other stone taken from destroyed temples. Erected by Ulugh Khān, 'Alā'-al-Din Khalji's Governor, it measures 400 feet by 300 feet.[338] Unlike the Pāṭan Mosque, the Jāmi' Masjid

of Bharoch (Fig.56 & Pl. XXXIIb), which is also dated c. A.H.700/A.D.1300 is a new creation. Although it does incorporate Hindu pillars, it is built on the usual Mosque plan with which we are familiar in earlier works. The brackets of the incorporated pillars and the carved interior of the corbelled domes are particularly fine. They, of course, necessarily recall the much earlier work of the Quwwat al-Islām at Delhi. It is important to realize that these primitive methods were still being used in the Indian provinces two hundred years after they were fully developed at Delhi. The use of Jālī or pierced windows is an interesting feature, recalling similar motifs in the 'Alā'i Darwāza at Delhi (Pl.XXb). Here, however, the feature acquires added importance.[339]

The next important building at Cambay of the year A.H.726/A.D.1325, marks a further step in the development of Mosque architecture in Gujarāt by replacing, in Brown's words, "the open pillared variety" of mosque design with the arched screen type. The Mosque of Cambay (Fig.57 & Pl. XXXIa) demonstrates the imposition of Khaljī features, such as the arched screen of the Jamā'at Khāna Masjid at the Dargāh of Nizām-al-Dīn Auliyā in Delhi (Fig.44), upon the local trabeate forms of Gujarāt

Hindu architecture.[340] Codrington writes, "The Jami Masjid at Cambay was finished in 1325, and is typical of these earlier buildings. It has all the appurtenances that Islam demands - cloisters, open courtyard, the covered place for prayer, mimbar and mihrab - but only the west end is in any sense Islamic. As at Delhi and Ajmīr, the pillars of the cloisters, and notably the entrance porches as a whole, are the relics of sacked Hindu shrines. The synthetic process, however, was manifestly distinct. In the beginning, at the Qutb, the Hindu element was confined architecturally to the trabeate constructive method, and to part of the decoration, Islam contributing the plan and the embellishment of the Arabic lettering. In Gujarat, notably in the entrance porches of the Jami Masjid at Cambay, much may fairly be described as literal reconstruction of Hindu work, as units in the established plan of a Muslim place of worship. These entrances have their parallels in the pavilions and mandapas of Hindu and Jaina temples still standing, for instance, at Modhera and Mount Abu. On the other hand, the West end, the mosque proper, shows a new development not to be found at Delhi - the prominent central arch which has Persian origins".[341]

Although these Gujarātī entrance porches resemble earlier Hindu and Jaina workmanship it is clear that impressive porches of this kind are not at all rare in Delhi. They are to be found as well at the Jāmi' Masjid at Māndū. The zanāna gallery appears for the first time in Gujarāt in the Masjid of Cambay. It was, however, repeated in Hilāl Khān Qāzī's Mosque (A.H.734/A.D.1333) (Fig.58) and the Ṭānkā Masjid (A.H.763/A.D.1361) (Fig.59 & Pl. XXXIIb) at Dholkā as well as in Sayyid 'Ālam's Mosque (Fig.63) and the Jāmi' Masjid at Ahmadābād. In plan, the Mosque of Hilāl Khan and the Ṭānkā Masjid recall the Mosque of Cambay, the former being distinguished by Minarets on either side of the central līwān arch. Henceforth, minarets became an integral part of Gujarāt Mosques.[342]

Ahmadābād, the newly founded capital of the Ahmad Shāhīs, was beautified with many splendid mosques. The Mosque in the Fort, dated A.H.817/A.D.1414 is closely similar to the Mosque of Cambay, that is to say, it is laid out on the orthodox plan, and has perforated windows, central līwān arch and zanāna gallery.[343]

Smaller in dimension than the Mosque in the Fort, the Mosque of Haibat Khān at Ahmadābād, dated A.H.815/ A.D.1412, has tapered turrets on either side of the līwān

arch, which recall those of the Kalān Mosque at Delhi.[344] The Jāmi' Mosque at Aḥmadābād, is, as Marshall says, ".... one of the most imposing structures of its class, in the world".[345] He continues, "the prayer chamber is 210 feet in width by 95 feet in depth, but its façade is so admirably composed, so broken up and diversified, and so well-proportioned in its parts, that its vastness only serves to enhance the beauty and impressiveness of the whole. The low flanking wings on either side with their pseudo-arched fronts are unusual adjuncts, but the other features of the façade - its shapely expansive arches, its engaged minars blended more harmoniously than in the foregoing example [the Tīn Darwāza] with the rest of the design, its carved mouldings and string courses and battlements - all these are familiar characteristics of the Gujarātī style".[345]

Fergusson compares the Jāmi' Masjid at Aḥmadābād (Fig. 62 & Pl. XXXIb) with the Jaina temple at Sadri (before A.D. 1450), a view which is, however, doubtful. There are points of similarity, but in point of fact, the Jaina temple seems to imitate the Jāmi' Masjid at Aḥmadābād in its pillared upper compartment.[346] In any case, the Jaina temple is later than the Jāmi' Masjid.

As in the Mosque of Hilāl Khān at Dholkā, the most striking features of this mosque are the minarets on each side of the central līwān archway. They were known as the "shaking minarets", (Jhultā) because they sway in the wind. It is interesting to note that the same name Jhultā of shaking minar is given to the Minarets of the Īvān at Gārlādān near Iṣfahān, dated A.H.715/A.D.1315 (Pl.XII).[347]

Marshall considers the mode of lighting and ventilating the interior of this Mosque as an invention of the Gujarāt architects, and thinks that it "is a specially happy solution of a well-known problem but one, strangely enough, that has never found favour in other parts of India".[348] These clerestory galleries along with sumptuous arabesque decoration, Hindu corbelled domes, perforated screens, elegantly ornamented and buttressed minars are certainly the outstanding features of the Jāmi' Masjid at Ahmadābād. Understandably they were repeated in the later Mosques of Gujarāt, built in the later half of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The Dargāh Masjid of Shaikh Khattarī at Sarkhej, dated A.H.747-52/A.D.1446-51, marks in the words of Burgess, "the perfection of elegant simplicity, and may

fairly be considered an improvement on the plan of the Jāmi' Masjid."[349]

In contrast with the stone masonry architecture of Gujarāt, the Mosque of Alif Khān (Fig.65) (A.H.857/A.D.1453) at Sarkhej is entirely built of bricks. Here brick piers replace stone columns and arches predominate over trabeate roof.[350] Brown says that it is evident that the earliest builders of Gujarāt were Persians who settled down at Dholkā before they moved to Ahmedabad. He further states that the brick builders of Dholkā were deeply inspired by the brick building traditions of Persia.[351] It is certainly easy to find confrontations with the building style developed in Gulbargā, particularly in the Jāmi' Masjid.[352]

Marshall writes, "With the accession of Mahmūd Begarha, (A.H.864-917/A.D.1459-1511) the architecture of Gujarāt entered upon its most magnificent stage".[353] The early Mosques of Malik 'Ālam at Dām Limdi (c. A.H.865/A.D.1460), the Masjid of Dastūr Khān (c. A.H.868/A.D.1460) the Mosque of Miyān Khān Chishtī (A.H.870/A.D.1465), Mosque of Bībī Achut Kūkī (A.H.877/A.D.1472) are all based on the same plan.[354] But they show many developments in the face of the <u>līwān</u> arch and the general plan.

The outstanding building erected by Mahmūd Begarā is undoubtedly the Mosque of Chāmpāner (Fig.61 & Pl.XXIIIb). Burton-Page writes, "The Djāmi' Masdjid, c.929/A.D.1523, is inspired in plan by that of Ahmadābād, 100 years older; but here there is a double clerestorey in the līwān in the space of one dome only, the arcuate maksūra screen and the trabeate hypostyle līwān are well integrated: the side wings of the līwān are proportioned as a double square (8.5 by 17.0 metres); a zenāna enclosure is formed by screening off the northernmost mihrāb; and the external surfaces, as in all the Campānēr buildings, are the subject of rich plastic decoration - particularly the buttresses supporting each of the 7 sumptuous mihrābs".[355]

The small elegant Mosque at Chāmpānēr, known as the Nagīna Masjid (c. A.H.932/A.D.1525) (Pl.XXXb), has exquisitely carved marble tracery in the blind niches of the Mīnārs.[356] This work is only excelled by that of the Sidī Sayyid Mosque in Ahmadābād (A.H.916/A.D.1510), the delicately pierced windows of which served as prototype for later Mughal work, such as the screens of the tomb of Salīm Chishtī at Fathpur Sīkrī.[357]

According to Marshall, the Gujarāt architects were unable to handle the building of minarets successfully.

He writes, "Even at the Jami' Masjid at Ahmedabad the Minarets, when they existed, were in doubtful taste, and half a century later these features had become still heavier and more cumbersome in relation to the rest of the structure. This is a blemish that we have already noticed at Mahmud Bagarha's great Masjid at Champanir but it is just as conspicuous in contemporary Mosques at Ahmedabad, such as those of Miyān Khān Chīshtī (1465), Bībī Achut Kūkī (1472) or Bāī Harīr (1500)".[358] Marshall thinks that the minarets are disproportionate to the central līwān arch and impair the symmetry of the façade. From this point of view, it is important to note that Muhafiz Khān's mosque appears to have solved the problem by reducing the scale of the minarets and integrating them with the height of the prayer-hall. In the Mosque of Rānī Sabrai (A.H.920/A.D.1514) at Ahmadābād, the minarets are merely "ornamental and symbolic appendage[s]", as Marshall calls them.[359]

Fergusson regards the "Rani Sipari" Mosque as "the most exquisite gem at Ahmedabad, both in plan and detail. Its distinguishing features are its jewel-like carving, which may be accepted as typically Gujarātī.[360]

The Mosque built by Sidi Sayyid (A.H. 980 /A.D. 1572-3) (Fig.64 & Pl.XXVIIa) is one of the latest but most

important of the buildings at Ahmadābād. Marshall describes it; "In form this mosque is unusually plain and chaste: merely an inarched chamber, five bays wide and three bays deep, its arches supported on squared pillars, or pilasters; plain octagonal minarets (now level with the roof) at the two fore corners; and the interior lighted by demilune windows of pierced stone work".[361] This building has been made famous by these delicate pierced window-panels in which the palm and foliage motif is conspicuous. As Brown says, "This particular motif... also appears in a mosque in Bengal, suggesting some transference of thought across the sub-continent, from one mind intimately attuned to another".[362] Actually this motif appears in the tympanum over the 2nd mihrab niche in the zenana gallery of the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua as well as over the Central mihrāb of the Darasbārī Masjid at Gaud.[363]

Like all other provinces of India, the Deccan, also, witnessed the growth of a distinguished school of Muslim architecture. Its early phase is here, also, characterized by the adaptation of local temples, for the purpose of Muslim congregational prayer, as exemplified by the Deval Mosque of Bodhan in Nizāmābād, near Hyderabad, dated A.D.1318, which was formerly a Hindu shrine.[364] Marshall says,

"Nowhere else in India did the assimilation of indigenous art proceed so slowly as in the south. From 1347, when their independence was established, down to the close of the fourteenth century, the Bahmanīs based their architecture almost exclusively on that of the Imperial capital, and during the following century also they drew much of their inspiration from the same fountain-head. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, other and remote influences began to make themselves felt. At all times the Bahmanī dynasts were generous patrons of art and science and learning and their court was as attractive to poets, scholars and artists as their army was to soldiers of fortune. Thus it came about that much of their military architecture was introduced directly from Europe, and that Persia played a more important part in the development of their civil architecture than in that of any other contemporary Indian style. Some of the monuments erected by the Bahmanis, such as the Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbargā, are definitely known to have been erected by Persian architects; others, such as the Chānd Minar at Daulatābād (1435) and the College of Mahmūd Gāwān at Bidar (Pl.La) (1472) are so predominantly Persian in character as to leave no room for doubt that they were

largely the work of architects and craftsmen from that country; others, again, exhibit obvious Persian inspiration, but in a more partial and indirect form".[365]

The Mosque of Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldjī, dated at Daulatabad A.H. 718/A.D. 1318, is probably the earliest surviving Muslim structure in the Deccan. It is a square, 260 feet each way, assembled into the usual orthodox plan out of destroyed Hindu pillars, brackets, and beams. The Mosque with its five-aisled līwān and entrances in the middle of its east, north and south sides, lacks all originality in composition. It is said that the star-shaped Jaina Temple built in the Chalukya style at Bodhan in the 9th or 10th century was, also, transformed into a Mosque during the reign of Maḥmūd Tughlaq (A.H. 726-52/A.D. 1325-51).[366]

The foundation of Gulbargā as capital of the Bahmanī dynasty marks the beginning of Persian architectural influence in the Muslim buildings in the Deccan. The celebrated Jāmi' Masjid, according to the foundation inscription, was built by Rafī', the son of Shams, the son of Manṣūr of Qazwīn, in the Fort of Gulbargā in A.H. 769/A.D. 1367 (Fig. 55 & Pl. XXXIXa, c), almost at the same time as the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat

Pandua.[367] Fergusson regards the Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbargā as "one of the most remarkable of its class in India".[368] It is an oblong structure which measures 216 feet by 176 feet. There are four stilted domes, while a fifth and larger one is raised on a square clerestory above the prayer hall. The two most distinguishing features of the mosque, which had a profound impact on the development of Muslim architecture in India, are, the broad squat arches, carrying transverse barrel structure without the usual open courtyard. So far as the latter is concerned, it is curious to note that it appears in the Kalī and Khirkī mosques at Delhi, built a few years after the construction of the Gulbargā Masjid. As Marshall says, "... it is not unlikely therefore that Jauna Shāh's architect may have been acquainted with the design of this Gulbarga prototype and sought to improve upon it by introducing open aisles across the closed court and thus obviating the need for the admission of light and air through the surrounding cloisters".[369]

In the Masjid at Gulbargā the extensive central area, which in most cases is open to the sky, is entirely roofed over. This area is divided into small squares by

rows of pillars, each covered by a cupola.[370] Fergusson observes, "On the Kulbarga plan,.... the solid roof covering the whole space afforded protection from the sun's rays to all worshippers, and every aisle being open at one or both ends, prevented anything like gloom, and admitted of far freer ventilation than was attainable in the enclosed courts, while the requisite privacy could easily have been obtained by a low enclosing wall at some distance from the mosque itself. On the whole, my impression is that the Kulbarga plan is the preferable one of the two, both for convenience and for architectural effect, so much so indeed, that it is very difficult to understand why, when once tried, it was never afterwards repeated".[371] This was probably owing to the conservative attachment of the Muslim planners to the orthodox mosque plan initiated by the Prophet's Mosque. Strange to say, many Bengali Mosques, namely, the Chāmkattī Masjid, the Tāntīpārā Masjid, the Lattan Masjid have no courtyard,[372] and are in that sense enclosed.

The four-centred squat arches with low imposts also appear in the Audience Hall of Shitāb Khān in the Fort of Warangal (A.H.9th/A.D.late 15th) (Pl.LB).[373]

Like the Fort Masjid of Gulbargā, (Fig.55 & Pl.

XXXIXa, c.), the Shāh Bāzār Mosque was built by Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī (A.H.759-776/A.D.1358-1375). Yazdani writes, "The extraneous elements having been in favour at the Deccan court, the architecture of the place began to be influenced by them and, in the later buildings of the Deccan, an unmistakable imitation of certain Persian and Turkish architectural features may be noticed".[374]

With the transfer of the capital from Gulbargā to Bīdar the Persianizing tendency still continued, as demonstrated by the Madrasa of Mahmūd Gāwān (A.H.886/A.D. 1481) (Pl.La).[375] But in the plan of the later Deccani Mosques, the old early Islamic court-yard type reappeared, as shown by the Jāmi' Masjid of Bīdar (A.H.827/A.D.1423-4) and the "Sola Khambā" or sixteen-pillar Mosque (A.H.826-9/A.D.1422-26.[376]

The trend and tendencies described above are in general terms applicable to Indo-Muslim architecture as a whole in the period in question, and the major areas of development have been examined, except only Bengal. This, as our area of special study, must necessarily be treated in greater detail, and accordingly is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III : NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Clenahan, R. S., The Moslem mosque and the Christian Church, in Muslim World, Vol.XXXIII, 1942, p.260.
2. Wilber, D. B., The Religious edifice and community life, in Muslim World, vol. XXVI, July, 1936, No.3, p.250.
3. Thomas, B., The Arabs, New York, 1937, p.155; See also Grand-Pierre, C., The Religious background of Islamic Art and Persian art, New York, 1938, p.15.
4. EMA, vol. I, pp.2-3. See also Pedersen, Johs, Masdjid in EI, vol. III, Part I, 1913, p.316.
5. EMA, I, pp.3-4; See also Gertrude Bell, L., Palace and Mosque of Ukhaidir, Oxford, 1914, p.145.
6. EMA, vol. I, p.9: 100 cubits = 56 yards; 7 cubits = 10'-11' high wall had a foundation of stone rising upon 3 cubits, the rest made of crude and unplastered bricks (Pedersen, pp.16-17). They were laid in alternate courses, lengthwise and across, generally known as Flemish bond (Rhys, E., Arabian Architecture in Lane, E. W., The Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians, London, 1923, Appendix, E, p.586. See also Dhirā in EI.

7. Hughes, T. P., Mosque in DI, London, 1885, p.138. He observes that in a populous place, it is convenient although not essential to enclose the space by erecting a wall so as to form a court-yard called 'īdgah.

8. Muir, W., op. cit., p.182.

9. EMA, vol. I, p.4.

10. Huart, C. I., Līwān, in EI, vol. III, 1936, p.30. It is interesting to compare līwān with īvān, a vaulting hall or apadāna of Persian origin. Īvān forms a typical example of Persian Islamic mosques (SPA, vol. II, p.918). Doughty refers to the Diwan of Madain Salih as a rock-cut līwān or hall or council of chamber. It has flat ceiling, cornice, pilasters and is non-sepulchral (Travels in Arabia Deserta, vol. I, London, 1923, pp.119-21)

11. EMA, vol. I. p.4.

12. EMA, vol. I, p.4. n.1, 2, 3. Margoliouth, depending on an authority which he did not quote observes that the houses of the wives of the Prophet were not buildings but huts belonging to a certain Harithah, son of Al-Nu'man who retired from each as soon as the Prophet required it. (Mahommed and the Rise of Islam, 3rd Edition, London, 1905, p.221.) Historical account as well as modern research in the field prove

12. Cont...
incorrectness of the statement of Margoliouth. The Hujra, measuring 6 - 7 cubits square, as stated earlier, had only two houses at the beginning for Sawda and 'Aisha. The number rose to nine, four of which were built with unburnt bricks. Four rooms were partitioned off by palm branches, the rest made of palm twigs and leaves plastered with mud and without any separate apartment. A curtain of black hair cloth used to hang on the door for privacy.

13. Briggs, M. S., Moslem Architecture in Egypt and Palestine, Oxford, 1924.

14. EMA, vol. I, pp.3, 5.

15. Briggs, p.21; Margoliouth states that the direction of prayer was the unconscious revival by Islam of the old example practised by the Jews by opening their windows to the city of Daniel. (Muir, p.198.)

16. The Qur'ān, Sūrah: ii, 144.

17. EMA, vol. I, pp.8, n.7; 9, n.1.

18. Arnold, T. W., The Preaching of Islam, Oxford, 1935, p.8.

19. EMA, vol. I, p.4. The Prophet's Mosque is also known as "Masjid al-Qiblatayn", meaning mosque of two qiblas, which was caused by the transfer of the

19. Cont....
qibla from the north to the south. The southern entrance was closed to accommodate the mihrāb. The entrances, namely, Bāb-i-Atika or Rahma on the west and Bāb-i-Nisa on the east were left undisturbed.

20. Richard, Burton, F., Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madīnah and Mecca, London, MDCCCXCIII (1893) vol. I, pp.361-62. See also Hughes, p.348.

21. Diez, E., Mihrāb in EI. vol.III, Part I, p.486. He says that the qibla was originally indicated not by a niche but by some mark such as a strip of paint or a flat stone marked in some way. The Arabian use of the slabs to indicate the qibla instead of a niche survived alongside the mihrāb and in spite of it for several centuries within and without Arabia. Modern examples of similar mihrābs are to be found at Mosul.

22. Hughes, T. P., 'Azān, in DI, p.28. Referring to Bingham (Antiquities, vol.II, Book viii, ch.vii, p.) Hughes relates that in the monastery of Virgins which Paula, the Roman lady of fame set up and governed at Jerusalem, the signal for prayer was given by one going about and singing Hallelujah, for that was the call to Church, as

22. Cont...
Jersome informs us. The Christian bell is often termed nakus, derived from nagosha, employed by the Mesopotamian Christians. (EMA, vol. I, p.11). The Muslims heard the Jews blowing a horn, a device to attract people for religious communion (Gotheil, R. J. H., The origin of and History of the Minaret, in JAOS, 1909, pp.133-134)

23. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.5. Creswell rightly says that in the time of Muhammad no such thing as a minaret was known.

24. Muir, pp.204-348. The 'Āzān was suggested to the Prophet by 'Umar Ibn Khattāb or by Abdullāh ibn Zubayr, according to another tradition. (Creswell, K. A. C., The Evolution of the minaret with special reference to Egypt, in Burlington Magazine, vol.XLVIII, March, 1926, Part I, p.737. The Umayyad poet Farazdak speaks of the āzān, as being chanted from the wall of every city, referring to 'Irāq and Syria (EMA, vol. I, p.38.)

25. Gotheil, p.137; See also Diez, E., Manāra, in EI, vol. III, Part I, 1936, p.229.

26. Richard Burton, p.362; See also Muir, p.205. A branch of a date tree was planted on the spot from where the

26. Cont...
Prophet delivered the Sermon before the introduction of minbar. They are described as weeping or moaning post (ustawanat al-Hannanabi) for it was said to be moaning loudly at its replacement by the stepped minbar.

27. EMA, vol. I, p.9. See also Strzygowski, J., Art (Muhammadan) in ERE, vol.I, 1908, p.875.

28. Becker, C., Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam, Grieszen, 1906, p.343. (Hereafter cited as Kanzel).

29. Lammens, H., Mo'awiya in Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Beyrouth, II, pp.95, 100. (Hereafter cited as Mo'awiyah) See also his Ziād ibn Abihī, in Estratto della Rivista degli studi Orientali, IV Roma, 1912, pp. 31, 33, 36. (Hereafter cited as Ziād).
He considers the batons of common stated by Procopins to be the prototypes of minbar. He supports his views by the fact that immediately after the conquest of 'Irāq and Basra, the military head-quarters had their minbars. It is important to note here that had there been any minbar in the early mosques of Kūfa, Basra, they would have been mentioned by historians. (A Short Account of EMA, pp.15-18.)

30. Horovitz, J., Bemer Kungen zur Geschichte und

30. Cont...
Terminologie des Islamischen Kultus, in Der Islam, XVI, 1927, pp.256-60. Elucidating the points of Becker, Rhodokanakis and Lammens, he states that the Prophet received embassies seated on the throne-like Minbar. The main purpose of the minbar has best been borne out by Muir in these words: "with a view of being better seen and heard at Public Worship", the Prophet, a middle sized man, chose a pulpit. (op. cit., p.205.)

31. Schwally, F., Lexikalische Studien, in ZDMG, L.II (1898), p.147. Quoting the Kitāb al-Aghānī, he traces the minbar back to pre-Islamic days, when it was used as a magistrate's seat. The throne idea of the minbar came from the East, specially Persia, as exemplified by the ornamental thrones in the sculptures, paintings and architectural styles (Becker, p.343.) The raised platform was also known in Greece by the term Bema, made of either wood or stone. Glaser observed an altar at Marib which looked like a single stepped minbar (Nielsen, D., Handbuck Der Altarabischen Altertumskunde, I Band, Kopenhagen, 1927, Abb. 65; p.170). It was found also in the early Christian Churches as well as in synagogues such as Beth Alpha

31. Cont...
(Fletcher, B., A History of Architecture, London, 1961, pp. 966, 219. Figs. C, E, I; Sukenik, E.L., The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha, such an elevated Stoa meant for the priest was found in the 6th century mosque at Aleppo.

32. A Short Account of E.M.A., vol. I, p. 9. Farazdak, the illustrious Umayyad poet, says, "And he who has inherited the two woods (minbar and staff) and the signet ring". (Becker, p. 342), meaning minbar and sutra.

33. Miles, G.C., Mihrāb and 'Anāzah in Archaeological Orientalia, in memoriam, Ernst Herzfeld, New York, 1952, pp. 165, n. 28. Kanzel, pp. 332, 336, 343, 348-9.

34. Muir, p. 205.

35. Richmond, Moslem Architecture, London, 1928, pp. 11-12. See also Richard Burton, p. 31.

36. E.M.A., I, p. 32. Creswell, K.A.C., Coptic influences on Early Muslim architecture, in Bulletin de la Societé D'archéologie Copte, Tome V, 1935, Cairo, p. 29.

37. Hughes, pp. 3-4. The Qur'ān says, "Believers! when ye prepare yourselves for prayer, wash your faces and hands and your feet to the ankles". The Prophet regarded ablution as the half of the Faith and the key to Paradise. Fountain was built in the court-yards of the Mosque of Damascus (A.H. 86-96/A.D. 705-715)

37. Cont...
and the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn at Cairo.

38. E.M.A., vol. I, pp.1-19.

39. Caetani, vol. I, pp.437-39. Quoting profusely from the traditions, he discusses the secular aspects of the Prophet's Mosque at Madīna, such as, sheltering refugees (ahl al-Suffa) accommodating his family members (hujra), resting place, prison-house, asylum for sick and wounded, stable, dancing hall, spitting on the ground, lack of sanctity by allowing dogs to enter the courtyard and absence of any reference to it in the Qur'ān. Incidentally, there is a reference in the Qur'ān in Sūra ix, 108: "Never stand in it: certainly a mosque founded on piety from the very first day is more deserving that you should stand in it". Some commentators regard this as the 'Quba Mosque, while others the Prophet's Mosque at Madīna. Muhammad Ali observes, "the words are so general that every mosque raised for the service of Allāh may be included in this description".

40. EMA, I, pp.3-9; Mo'āwiya, p.8. n.5; Ziad, p.30ff.

41. Margoliouth, D. S., Mohammed and the Rise of Islam, 3rd Edition, London, 1905, p.220-4.

42. Muir, p.182.

43. Caetani, pp.437-439.

44. A Short Account of E. M. A., p.45.

45. Richmond, pp.1-15. Against the generally accepted view, Diez thinks that the Prophet's house in Madīna was a dār of the usual local type quite unsuitable as a model for the future mosque. (Masdjid, in EI, vol.III, Part I, p.936. See also Saladin, J., Architecture (Muhammadan), in ERE, vol.I, p.746.)

46. E.M.A., vol.I, p.3. Ahl al-Madr or house of mud consists of a series of small rooms arranged quite irregularly around an open court, serving as the rendezvous and workshop of the family. They are enclosed by a wall for seclusion and privacy and entered by only one door (Gertrude Bell, p.145-47; Kasdorff, R., Haus und Hauswesen im alten Arabien Bis zur zeit des chalifen Othman, Halle, 1914, pp. 10, 66.)

47. E.M.A., vol. I, p.19. See also Rivoira, p.3. The existing mosque was enlarged to 140 cubits from North to South and 120 cubits from East to West from 100 cubits square. Moreover three more doors were added to the three already existing. The roof-supporting palm trunks were replaced by wooden columns.

48. EMA, vol. I, p.20.

49. Richard Burton, p.363.

50. EMA, vol.II, pp.73-74. Ṭabarī refers to it by the term Manqusha, employed as columns as well as in the wall. See also

51. EMA, vol. I, pp.31-32, n.35.

52. Mosque in DA, vol. V-VI, p.133.

53. Richmond, pp.14-15.

54. EMA, vol. I, pp.12-14. See also Le Strange, pp.354:

55. EMA, vol.II, p.15.

56. EMA, vol.II, p.15-16.

57. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.9.

58. EMA, vol. I, p.15. See also Hitti, P. K., History of the Arabs, London, 1961, p.260.

59. EMA, vol. I, p.15.

60. Richmond, p.10. The site was occupied by the sellers of soap and dates, like the palm grove of the Prophet's Mosque. From an elevated spot a bowman threw arrows to the north, west, east and south. This is known as gowla or bow-cast, reckoned to be from 200 to 300 cubits.

61. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.9.

62. Gertrude Bell, pp.59-60.

63. Ziad, pp.247-48. Lammens wrongly thinks that the roof was supported by colonnades like the roofs of Greek churches.

64. EMA, vol.I, p.18. The building materials were procured from the castle of al-Hirah belonging to the Family of Mundhir of the Lakhmid dynasty, at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. with the intervention of Khusrau Parvez.

65. Butler, A. J., The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion, Oxford, 1902, pp.343-44; see also Corbett, K, History of the Mosque of 'Amr, in JRAS, 1890, pp.771-2.

66. See n.65.

67. EMA, I, p.28.

68. Gertrude Bell, Intro, VII.

69. EMA, I, p.33.

70. ibid, p.33, n. 1, 2, 3.

71. Creswell, K. A. C., Architecture in EI, vol. I, NE, 1960, p.610.

72. Ziad, p.249.

73. Diez, E., Mosque in EI, vol.III, Part 1, 1936, p.380. The columns were quarried under the superintendence of al-Hajjāj ibn 'Alīk ath Thaqafī.

74. EMA, vol. I, p.35.

75. See n. 69. Pedersen, Johs., Masdjid, in EI, vol.III, Part I, p.336. Maqsūra includes the mihrāb and its neighbourhood. The first maqsūra was probably established by Muāwiya after he was wounded by a Khārijite rebel. According to others, it was introduced by Marwān, after having been stabbed by a Yemenite. Creswell, however, ascribes this feature to Mu'āwiyah. (A Short Account of E.M.A., p.11.).

76. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.13.

77. EMA, vol. I, pp.15-18. The existence of a communicating door between the Līwān of a mosque and an adjoining building is also to be found in the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua. See Infra.

78. Streck, M., Al-Mada'in, in EI, vol.III, Part I, pp.76-80.

79. Khan, F. A., Banbhore, Department of Archaeology and Museums [Pakistan], 1963, pp.18-22.

80. EMA, vol. I, pp.36-37.

81. ibid, I, p.38.

82. Creswell, K. A. C., The evolution of the (minaret) with special reference to Egypt, Burlington Magazine,

82. Cont...
No. CCCLXXVI, vol.XLVIII, March, 1926, pp.137-252. He criticizes Thirsch's theory about the origin of the minaret from the Ptolemic lighthouse or Pharos of Alexandria.

83. EMA, vol.I, p.38. See also Corbet, pp.771-72.

84. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.7. See Creswell's plan showing the different stages of reconstruction.

85. Conder, C. R., The City of Jerusalem, London, 1909, p.237; see also Briggs, p.32. EMA, I, pp.42-90; Pls. 1-32. Figs. 10, 11.

86. Briggs, pp.32-38. Many historians have wrongly described the Dome of the Rock as the so-called Mosque of 'Umar-Alculph, a Gaulish pilgrim describes the Mosque in A.H.18-21/A.D.639-42 "Also in that famous place where before, the temple had been magnificently built, the Saracens frequent a square house of prayer placed near the east wall, building it themselves - a poor work with upright beams and great planks on certain remains of ruins, which house is said to hold as many as three thousand men together."

87. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.10.

88. Briggs, p.37. See also Richmond, p.20; Rivoira, M.A., pp.11-23; Figs. 5, 7, 8, 9.

89. Richmond, p.24.

90. Richmond, E. T., The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, Oxford, 1924, pp.1-22, Figs. 1, 14-36. (Hereafter cited as the Rock).

91. SPA, II, 1107-18, 1162-3. It was a model for the octagonal buildings in Persia as well as India. namely the Mausoleum of Sultan Öljeitü at Sultāniya (A.H.703-16/A.D.1304-16) and the tomb of Khān-i-Jahān Tilangānī at Delhi, (A.H.770/A.D.1368-9) and also the Lodī tombs at Delhi (A.H.855-932/A.D.1451-26). The double-dome is also to be seen in central Asia and India, such as the Gur-i-Mīr in Samarqand (A.H. 807/A.D.1404-5) and the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi (d. A.H.963/A.D.1556). Brown, P., Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), Bombay, p.25.

92. Richmond, p.47.

93. A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.40-42; see also Safar, F., Wasit, Le Caire, 1945, pp.24-25.

94. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.44.

95. E.M.A., I, pp.98-99; 287-88, Figs. 336-37.

96. Rivoira, pp.72-73; A Short Account of E.M.A., p.50.

97. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.72.

98. Richmond, pp.28-29. The Aphrodito Papyri preserved in the British Museum reveals the fact that Coptic

98. Cont..
artisans were engaged by al-Walid (Beb, H. I., Greek Papyri in the British Museum, IV, The Aphrodito Papyri, pp.75-76.)

99. A Short Account of EMA, p.51.

100. EMA, vol. I, p.114, Pl.42(a).

101. Richmond, p.29. See also Rivoira, pp.95-96.

102. A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.115-118, 106-7, 154, 190, 226, 283; E.M.A. I, p.284-7, Fig.331, 334.

103. Richmond, p.29. See also Rivoira, pp.96-97.

104. A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.151-52; EMA, I. 406-409, Pl.81.

105. ASR, XV, pp.55-65.

106. Berchem, M. Van., Architecture (Muhammadan), in ERE, vol. I, 1908, p.757.

107. Jackson, A. V. W., Art (Persian), in ERE, vol. I, 1908, p.883.

108. Strzygowski, J., Art (Muhammadan), in ERE, vol.I, 1908, p.876, see also Marçais, G., 'Abbasid Art, in EWA, vol. I, 1958, pp.6-10.

109. Thomas, pp.158-59.

110. A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.318-22.

111. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.179. The Bull Mosque at Qazwīn in A.H.91/A.D.711. The Friday Mosque of Istakhr is dated A.H. 29 /A.D.649-50; Le Strange, p.463.

112. ibid, p.178; see also Creswell, K. A. C., The Great Mosque of Al-Mansur at Baghdad in Irāq, vol. I, 1934, pp.105-6.

113. ibid, p.179; E.M.A., II, pp.30-38. Fig. 26.

114. Gertrude Bell, p.153.

115. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.190.

116. ibid, pp.321, 102-3. Creswell traces the origin of the pointed arch to the pre-Islamic-Syrian building at Qasr ibn Wardān dated A.D.561-64. Pope says, 'From Persia the pointed arch spread through Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean.'

117. Gertrude Bell, p.160; Ukhaidir, pp.143-60.

118. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.196; see also E.M.A.,II, pp.50-100. Figs. 64. Pl. 20, Figs. 1, 2.

119. Creswell, Architecture, op. cit., p.620.

120. Gertrude Bell, L., Amurath to Amurath, London, 1911, pp.231-35; Fikry, A., La Grande Mosquée de Kairovan, Paris, 1934, Fig. 1.

121. ibid, pp.156-58; Briggs, M. A., op. cit., p.54.

122. A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.187-89, 309. EMA. II pp.47-48. See also Fehérvári, G., Development of the Mihrāb down to the XIVth century, vol. I, Text, unpublished. Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1961, p.146.

123. SPA, II, pp.934-9.

124. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.277. It may be recalled that Bell considers the 'broken-through' Mihrābs to be openings on the qibla side as doors. On the contrary, both Herzfeld and Creswell regard those as forming mihrābs. See Palace, p.155; Samarra, pp.83-4. Fehérvári, p.153, 147-54. Figs. 4-9.

125. ibid, pp.278-79; See also Page, J. A., Guide to the Qutb, Delhi, Calcutta, 1927, pp.23-24. EMA, II, Pls. 70.

126. ibid, pp.280-85.

127. Gertrude Bell, pp.153-54; EMA, II, Pl.71 a-e.

128. A Short Account of E.M.A., pp.315; EMA, II, Pl.96-114; pp.332-36.

129. Fergusson, J., A History of Architecture, London, p.512.

130. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.310. See EMA, II, Figs. 250, 251.

131. Lane Poole, S., The Art of the Saracens in Egypt, London, 1888, p.54. See also Creswell, K. A. C., Some newly discovered Tulunid ornament in BM, 1919, Nov. vol. XXXV, p.180.

132. Briggs, p.53; Spiers, R. P., Arch, in EB, vol.II, p.343. Writes about the pointed arch "it was not

132. Cont...
used systematically as an architectural feature till the 9th century, in the mosque of Tulun at Cairo."

133. Lane Poole, p. 54.

134. Ware, W. R., Saracenic Architecture in Harvard Engineering Journal, vol.IV, April, 1905, No. 1, p.1.

135. Grousset, R., The civilization of the East, vol. I, The Near and Middle East, Eng. Tr. by C. A. Phillips, London, 1931, p.202; See also Browne, E. G., A Literary History of Persia, vol. 1, London, 1951, p.210.

136. A Short Account of E. M. A., pp.184, 321.

137. ibid, p.321; See also Creswell, K. A. C., Architecture in Denison Ross Persian Art, London, 1930, p.52. (Hereafter cited as Architecture). In connection with stalactite, Ware says that tomb of Zubaida and the so-called tomb of Ezekiel, near Baghdād, built during the reign of Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd (A.H.170-193/A.D.786-809), are formed of little niches piled one above another in an endless variety of fantastic combinations.

138. A Short Account of E.M.A., p.179; See also Pope, A.U., Persian Architecture. The gorgeous background of all

138. Cont...
Persian Art in Country Life, Jan, vol.CL, 1931, p.12. (Hereafter cited as 'Persian').

139. Anon, The Builders, vol.CL, 1936, pp.112-13, 116.

140. Pope, A. U., An Introduction to Persian Art, London, 1930, p.18. (Hereafter cited as Introduction).

141. Grousset, vol. I, pp.187-88.

142. Fry, R., Some Aspects of Persian Art, in an illustrated souvenir of the exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931, Intro, XVII; Diez, SPA, II, p.920.

143. Fry, Intro, XVII.

144. Diez, SPA, II, p.920.

145. Pope, SPA, II, pp.899, 901-4. Strabo reports that the scarcity of wood and stone which inevitably led to brick architecture. There are, however, a few stone buildings, such as the 11th century stone caravanserai between Firūz Kūh and Simnah at Alvand, and 14th century stone caravanserai at 'Ali-Ābād between Sāva and Rāyy. Creswell mentions about the sun-baked clay domes, 20 feet in diameter and 30 feet high in the territory, formerly in German cameroons which are possible only due to the relative scarcity of brick. (Creswell, K. A. C., Persian domes before A.D.1400, in BM, vol.XXVI, 1915, p.155.

146. Diez, SPA, II, p.916; cf. Pope, SPA, II.
The archaeological finds confirm the historical and hagiological references to the employment of mud and burnt bricks. The Bible refers to the tower of Babel, built of burnt bricks (Genesis, xi, 3.). Burnt bricks have been traced back to the third millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and Persia. In these brick building regions, both square and oblong bricks were used. The reduction of the size of pre-Islamic bricks (4th century B.C. Mesopotamian bricks measure 16 inches x 18 inches x 2 inches: the Mosque of Sāmarrā dated A.H. 246 /A.D.860-61, bricks measure $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches x $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches), led to structural and decorative inventiveness. (Smith, M. B., Persian Islamic brickwork, in AF, vol.LVII, New York, 1932, pp.5-7; Diez, E., Islamische Baukunst in Churasan, Hagen (West phalia), 1923, p.165.

147. Persian, p.16; Clark and Lewis point out, "The Persians held us under debt for the mode of lightning by small star-like holes through the domes or vaults". (Clarke, C. P., & Lewis, T. H., Persian Architecture and Construction in RIBA, Trans, vol.XXXI, 1880-1, p.164; see also Pope, A. U., Some features of Persian

147. Cont...
Architecture, in JRIBA, 1931, vol. XXXVIII, p.216. (Hereafter cited as Features). According to Pope and Creswell the squinch was a fundamental discovery in architecture credited to the Persian Architecture, p.50.)

148. Persian, p.16; Features, p.219: Introduction, pp.19-20.

149. Fergusson, J., History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1876, pp.491-513.

150. Briggs, M. S., Gothic Architecture and Persian origins, in BM, vol.LXII, 1933, pp.183-4. (Hereafter cited as Gothic); see also Introduction, p.16; Pope says that pointed arch was carried from Egypt (Ibn Tulūn's Mosque, 869A.D.) and Sicily (bridge of Admiral Don Grorgio of Antioch in Palermo) to the Isle de France and England by the Normans. According to Briggs, the 15th and 16th century Tudor arch of England was a direct copy of the Cairo and Isfāhan arches as observed in Oxford and Hampton Court, London (Gothic, p.184).

151. Introduction, p.25.

152. Briggs, M. S., Gothic, p.76.

153. Briggs, M. S., Mosques and Minarets, in JRSA, LXXIX, 1931, p.263, p.247. (Hereafter cited as Mosques).

154. Diez, SPA, II, pp.918-9. Dome existed for thousands of years in different parts of Europe e.g. Mycenae, which are corbelled. (Introduction, p.27.) In ancient Egypt domestic buildings were probably roofed with domes. Representations of domes are to be seen in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, as observed in the wall slab at Nineveh. Fletcher, B., p.86, regards the dome as "a traditional feature of the East". (op. cit., p.38). Creswell points out that the Roman dome is basically different from the Persian dome found at Sarvistān and Fīrūzābād, depending on the method of transition, since the latter always used the squinch.

155. Schroeder, SPA, II, pp.933-38.

156. Architecture, p.50. The hemispherical and pointed domes of Sasanian buildings at Sarvistān and Fīrūzābād.

157. Islamic, p.76; The arched squinch was used in raising domes quite early in Indo-Muslim architecture, for example, the tomb of Iletmish (d. A.H.633/A.D.1236).

158. Brown, p.28.

159. Schroeder, SPA, II, pp.934-38, 946-49.

160. Mosques, p.263. See also Ricardo, H., The Architects' use of enamelled tiles : Their qualities and technique,

160. Cont...
in AR, vol.XI(ii), 1902, p.92. The technique of stucco designs went as far back as Pre-Achaemenian. However, Sasanian stucco designs came to light after the German exploration of 1929 conducted by Reuther and Kühnel. They are dated from the fourth or even third century A.D. (Introduction, p.38). A relationship between the 'Abbāsid examples at Sāmarrā and the old Mesopotamian tradition has been established. (Edmann, K., Partho-Sasanian Art: Oriental stucco decoration in Apollo, vol.12, 1930, p.425, Fig.12; Wilber, D. N., The Development of Mosaic faience in Islamic Architecture, in AI, VI, 1938, pp.16-17. (Hereafter cited as Development).

161. Ricardo, pp.124-25.

162. Smith, M. B., p.58. See also Stubbs-Wisner, B., Persian Brick and tile Architecture, in Art and Archaeology, vol.XXXIV. Jan-Dec. 1933, pp.99-102. The technique of glazed tile was known to the ancient Egypt as the excavations by Petrie at Tell-el-Yahoudi and Ku-en-aten prove. Yet they are surpassed by Achaemenian tile works, the finest example of which is to be seen in the Louvre, Paris, e.g. the Archer from Susa. (Ricardo, p.118).

163. Architecture, p.53. See also Smith, M. B., p.58; Stubbs-Wisner, p.100; Development, p.16. Calvert, A. F., The Alhambra, London/Liverpool, p.1904. Intro. XXVII-XXVIII.

164. Diez, E., A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art, in AI, Vol.V, p.41. (Hereafter cited as Analysis); cf. Pope, SPA, II, p.907.

165. Godard, M. A., Les Anciennes Mosquées de l'Irān. Communications at the third international congress on Iranian Art and Archaeology, Leningrad, Sept. 1935, Reprinted in Āthār-i-Irān, vol. I, 1936, pp.187-210. See also his L'Art de l'Islam, Paris, 1962, p.343. (Hereafter cited as Anciennes).

166. Pope, SPA, II, p.910; see also Diez, SPA, II, p.918. Islamic, p.76. Scholars have derived the Persian Īvān from the ancient apadāna or large vaulted hall, such as at Fīrūzābād, Sarvistān, Tāq-i-Kisra; Ghirshmann, R., Iran, Parthians and Sassanians, Tr. by S. Gilbert, London, 1962, pp.125, 181. 354.

167. Pope, SPA, II, pp.910, 935.

168. Islamic, p.76; Diez, SPA, II, Pl.IV, pp.149-52.

169. Anciennes, pp.187-210; see also Pope, SPA, II, p.919; Diez, SPA, II, p.920. (n.2 by Pope).

170. Godard, M. A., L'Art de l'Iran, Paris, 1962, p.344; See also his Ancienne, pp.187-212, Figs. 132, 141, 143.

171. Pope, SPA, II, p.912.

172. Sykes, P. M., Ten Thousand Miles in Persia, London 1902, p.216; Meynard, C. B. de., also refers to a mosque at Harat said to have been built also by Ibn 'Amīr (Tr. Journal Asiatique, 5ème Série, XIX, 1861, p.478.

173. Schroeder, E., Standing monuments of the first Period in SPA, II, p.930. Fig. 312. Blind arcading is to be seen in the ornamental panelling in the façade of the Tāq-i-Kisra. Diez, E., Iranische Kunst, Wien, 1944, p.74. Abb. 40; Die Kunst der Islamische Völker, Berlin-Nevbabelsburg, 1915, p.62, Abb. 80. (Hereafter cited as Kunst).

174. Schroeder, SPA, II, p.931-2. Fig.313.

175. Pope, SPA, II, p.975.

176. Schroeder, SPA, II, pp.933-34. Fig. 314, Pl.258. See also Reuther, O., SPA, II, p.423. Fig.99, a, b.; SPA, vol. I, p.442 and Fig.99a, b. Date of the Sasanian Palace at Tepe Hisār is uncertain.

177. ibid, pp.934-36.

178. ibid, pp.936-37. Figs. 315; Pls. 265B, 266B, 267, 268A, D.

179. Kunst, p.47. Fig. 60.

180. Schroeder, SPA, II, pp.939-43. Figs. 319, 320, 320. Pl. 259A, D.

181. Wilber, D. N., Research Program, in BAIIAA, vol. IV/2, 1935 p.88; Ancienne, pp.187-210.

182. Schroeder, SPA, II, p.945, Pl.263A, Fig.319; Masdjid, p.387.

183. Denikĕ, P. B., Quelques monuments de bois sculpté au Turkestân occidental in Ars Islamica, II, 1935, pp.68-77, Fig. 1, 3, 5.

184. Schroeder, SPA, II, pp.944-45, Fig. 323.

185. ibid, pp.945-49. Pls. 264A, C. Figs. 324a-d. See also Rampel, L., The Mausoleum of Isma'îl the Samanid, in BAIIAA, IV/ , 1936, pp.199-204.

186. Pope, A. U., Architectural Ornament in SPA, II, p.1267.

187. Rampel, pp.199-209.

188. Schroeder, SPA, II, p.948.

189. Grousset, pp.248-249. See also SPA, II, p.913.

190. SPA, II, p.913.

191. Architecture, p.53.

192. Pope, A. U., Contemporary Documents in SPA, II, p.979.

193. Wilber, D. N., The Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il-Khanid Period, Princeton, 1955, p.32. (Hereafter cited as Il-Khanid).

194. Schroeder, pp.950-54; See also Pope, Survey, p.26.

195. Gabriel, A., Le Masdjid-i-Djum'a d'l Isfahān in Ars Islamica, II, 1935, pp.41-44.

196. Diez, E., Mosque Architecture, in EI, III, 1913, p.387; SPA, II, pp.1125-26. The Mosque of Gawhar Shād is commonly known as Musallā.

197. Schroeder, pp.957-61; See also Briggs, M. S., Islamic Architecture, p.76; Diez, SPA, II, p.53; Creswell, K. A. C., Polemics in Islamic Architecture in Art Bulletin, March, 1953, p.5.

198. Pope, SPA, II, pp.975-979; See also Schroeder, E., SPA, II, pp.981-989.

199. Schroeder, SPA, II, p.982.

200. Schroeder, SPA, II, p.989. Fig. 338.

201. Schroeder, pp.990-91. See also Godard, A., Historique du Masdjid-e-Djum'a d'Isfahān, in Athār-e-Irān - Tome I, 1936, pp.213-282. Fig.176.

202. Diez, E., Churasanische Baudenkmaler, pp.71-2; See also Smith, M. B., Masdjid-i-Djum'a, Demā Wend, in Ars Islamica, II, 1935, pp.153-73; Schroeder, pp.993-94.

203. Ancienne, pp.187-210. See also Schroeder, p.994.

204. Godard, A. A., Natanz, Athār-é-Īrān, Tome I, 1936, pp.83-106.

205. Schroeder, pp.996-97.

206. ibid, pp.1029-35.

207. ibid, pp.1018-19.

208. ibid, p.1045.

209. Il-Khanid, p.9.

210. Il-Khanid, p.77.

211. Stein, A., An Archaeological Tour, in Iraq, pp.196-99. Pl.15; See also Il-Khanid, 107.

212. Pope, SPA, II, pp.1096-98; See also Il-Khanid, p.172.

213. Il-Khanid, p.128, 139-40, Pls. 86,94,96, 21.

214. Il-Khanid, pp.134-35, Pls. 58-60.

215. Il-Khanid, pp.69, 162-66.

216. Il-Khanid, pp.133-34, 41, 145; Pope, SPA, II, pp.1086-1067, 1079-80.

217. Il-Khanid, pp.156-57, Pls. 124-27, Fig.39.

218. Il-Khanid, pp.158-59. See also Pope, SPA, II, pp.1093-6.

219. Pope, SPA, II, p.1100; See also Il-Khanid, pp.182-83.

220. Pope, SPA, II, pp.1061, 1058-59; Il-Khanid, pp.146-49, Pls. 106-112, Fig.30.

221. Byron, R., Timurid Architecture, in SPA, II, p.1122; See also Introduction, p.913.

222. Byron, p.1124.

223. ibid, pp.1124-25.

224. ibid, pp.1125-31.

225. ibid, pp.1132.

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233. Cont...
Indian Mosque was the Hindu temple adapted to Muhammadan ritual". (Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India, London, 1915, p.218). Goetz, H., contradicts the view of Havell (The genesis of Indo-Muslim Civilization - some Archaeological notes in Ars Islamica, vol. I, Part 1, 1934, p.50. (Hereafter cited as Genesis).

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245. Codrington, p.6.

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271. ibid, pp.2-6; See also Burton-Page, Dihlī, pp.259-60.

272. Burton-Page, Dihlī, p.260.

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291. Fergusson, II, (1910), p.223.

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293. Introduction, pp.8, 12.

294. Brown, p.47; ASR, 1, pp.287-8.

295. Terry, J., The Charms of Indo-Islamic Architecture, London, 1955, p.13. See also Burton-Page, J. BSOAS, XIX(2), 1957, pp.393-4.

296. Marshall, p.626.

297. Führer, p.25; See also Cunningham, ASR, XI, Pl.XXXI, pp.105-10. His plate does not show any detached mīnār which stands in the courtyard.

298. ASR, XI, p.105. For illustrations of the Fort Masjid at Jaunpur see Kittoe, M., Illustrations of Indian Architecture, Pl.II. (reproduced in EI^2, ii: Djawnpur).

299. ASR, IV, 1874, p.

300. Fergusson, pp.524.

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302. Sharqi, p.29.

303. Briggs, M. S., Muslim Architecture in India in the Legacy of India, Ed. by Garret, G. T., Oxford, 1937, p.243; See also Smith, V. A., p.153.

304. Burton-Page, Djawnpur...., p.499; See also Führer, p.411, ASR, vol.XI, pp.102-26. 112-13.

305. Führer, p.43-51. Pls. XXVI-XL. This Mosque is popularly known as that of Bibi Raji, wife of Mahmūd Sharqī, built in the royal palace, destroyed later by Sikandar Lodi. Curiously enough, mosques were built by ladies of the Haram in other parts of India, such as the Lattan Masjid at Guad.

306. ibid, p.43.

307. ibid, Pl.XXXVI.

308. Führer, pp.32; See also Marshall, pp.627-28.

309. Cunningham, A., ASR, XI, p.114-16.

310. ibid, p.114.

311. Fergusson, II, p.225.

312. Führer, pp.52-58, Pl.XLIX, LII.

313. Marshall, pp.627-628.

314. Fergusson, II, p.(1910) 227.

315. Fergusson, p.246. See also Yazdani, G., Mandu, the City of Joy, OUP, 1929, pp.12-13. (Hereafter cited as Mandu).

316. Marshall, p.617.

317. Brown, pp.62-63. See also Goetz, H., An irruption of Gothic style forms into Indo-Islamic Architecture, in Artibus Asiae, vol.XXII, MCMLIX, p.54. (Hereafter cited as Style).

318. Marshall, p.617.

319. Brown, pp.62-63.

320. Burton-Page, J., Dhar in EI, NE, 1960, vol,I. p.219. See also Barnes, E., AR, ASI, 1903-4. Calcutta, 1906, p.44; Fergusson, p.247.

321. Campbell, J. M., Mandu, in JRAS Bombay Branch, vol. XIX, 1895-97, p.156.

322. Mandu, p.75, Pl.XXXVIIIa.

323. Brown, p.64.

324. Mandu, pp.83-84. See also Brown.

325. Marshall, pp.619-620.

326. Marshall, p.620.

327. Fergusson, pp.541-2; See also Mandu, pp.50-56, Pls. VII-X.

329. Yazdani, G., Preliminary Survey: Mandu: in Marg, June, 1959, No.3, vol.XII, p.6; See also Mandu, pp.50-2.

330. ibid, p.6.

331. Goetz, H., Style, pp.53-57.

332. Codrington, Introduction, p.7.

333. Burgess, J., The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat., ASWI, vol.IX, London, 1903, pp.53-55. (Hereafter cited as Antiquities).

334. Fergusson, pp.526-34; See also Marshall, pp.608-11.

335. Marshall, p.609.

336. Antiquities, pp.53-55; See also Brown, pp.48-49.

337. See pl. LXXII

338. Antiquities, p.53, n.2, 3. See also Harris, Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1774, vol.I, p.765.

339. Burgess, J., On the Muhammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champanir and Mahmudabad in Gujarat, ASWI, vol.VI, London, 1896, pp.20-22, Pls. II-VI. See also Brown, pp.49-50. (Hereafter cited as Gujarat).

340. Brown, p.50.

341. Codrington, Introduction p. 8.

342. Burgess, Gujarat, pp.30-34. Pl.XXV-XLII, Brown, pp.50-51. See n.338.

343. Burgess, J., The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad, Pt. 1, 1412-1520, ASWI, vol.VII, London, 1900, pp.17-20, Pls. III, XI. (Hereafter cited as Ahmadabad).

344. Burgess, Ahmadabad, I, pp.20-24.

345. Marshall, p.610. See also Fergusson, J., The Architecture of Ahmadabad.

346. Fergusson, History of Indian...., pp.240-1, 527. Woodent, Nos. 293, 133.

347. Burgess, Ahmadabad, I, pp.30-38. Pls. I, XXXII-XXXVII. Fig. 9 showing the Jāmi' Masjid at Ahmadabad was drawn by Forbes, J., in 1781; Il-Khanid, pp.152-54, Pls. 117-20. Figs, 32. 33.

348. Marshall, pp.610-11.

349. Burgess, Ahmadabad, I, p.49.

350. Burgess, Gujarat, pp.34-36. Pls. XLIV-XLV; See also Burgess, Ahmadabad, I, pp.58-59.

351. Brown, p.54. He regards the brick architecture of Dholka as probably "a provincial form of the architecture of southern Persia, with which country India had close commercial relations;' but this view does not seem to be tenable.

352. See pl. XXXIX a,c.

353. Marshall, p.612.

354. Burgess, Ahmadabad, I, pp.26-29, Pls. XXIX-XXXI; pp.75-85. Pls. XCIII-XCVIa; pp.67-71, Pls.LXXXII-LXXXVI.

355. Burton-Page, J., Čāmpānēr, in EI, NE, vol. I, 1961, p.11.

356. ibid, p.11.

357. Smith, E. W., The Mughul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri, Part III, Allahabad, 1897, pp.9-22.

358. Marshall, p.615.

359. ibid, p.615.

360. Fergusson, History of India...., p.534.

361. Marshall, p.616.

362. Brown, p.58.

363. See, pls. LXVII, CI

364. Brown, p.71.

365. Marshall, p.629.

366. See n. 363.

367. Yazdani, G., Bidar, p.24. He writes, "The monarchs of the former dynasty [Bahmani], therefore, drew inspiration in cultural matters from Persian and western Asiatic countries, and their courts were thronged by poets divines, artists from those countries. The influence of Persia on the development

367. Cont...
of the Muslim Architecture of the Deccan is thus more prominent than her influence on contemporary architecture in Northern India."

368. Fergusson, History of Indian...., II (1910), p.263.

369. Marshall, p.635. See also Codrington, Introduction, pp.14-15.

370. Yazdani, G., Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1915-16, Calcutta, 1917, Pl.I(a), IIa, b, (Hereafter cited as AR, ADND).

371. Fergusson, II, (1910), p.266.

372. See, pls. XCIXb, CIIa, CXXI

373. Yazdani, G., AR, ADND.

374. ibid, 1925-26, p.3.

375. Codrington, Introduction, p.15.

376. Yazdani, Bidar... pp.54-59.

CHAPTER IV

MOSQUES OF PRE-MUGHAL BENGAL

(THE VAULT-AND-DOME TYPE)

A/ THE ADĪNA MASJID AT HAZRAT PANDUA

(A.H. Rajab, 776-86/ A.D. December-January, 1374-84)

Gaud[1] and Hazrat Pandua,[2] the two capital cities of Medieval Muslim Bengal, are situated in Barind,[3] an elevated tract watered by the Ganges, the Mahānandā and the Pūrnabhava[4] (Figs. 67, 68, 69). Situated in a comparatively new alluvial plain, still subject to fluvial action, the region around Gaud (Fig. 71), consists of sandy clays and sands deposited on either side of the river Bhāgīrathī[5], which receded three miles from its original bed as recently as the time of Colebrooke.[6] Geologically Hazrat Pandua belongs to the older alluvial formation which is composed of red clay banks, forming a high undulating surface broken up by deep stream beds or nullahs.[7] Throughout the region, the older upland alluvial tracts are known as Bārind, the lower, more recent alluvium being known as BHANGAR.

Formerly known as Lakhnauti, as stated by Minhāj-ud-Dīn Sirāj, who visited the city in A.H. 641/A.D. 1243-44, Gaud has been described by Faria y Souza as follows: "Gour, the principal city of Bengal is seated on the banks of the Ganges, three leagues in length, containing one million and two hundred thousand families, and is well fortified. Along the streets which are wide and straight, are rows of trees to shade the people who are so numerous that sometimes they are trod to death".[8]

Like Gaud, Hazrat Pandua (Fig. 71), in the District of Malda, which includes the Bārind, is an ancient city of historic fame,[9] being referred to in the Vedic Literature,[10] and the Epics as well as the Persian chronicles[11] and the accounts of the Chinese travellers.[12] The term Pandua may be said to have been derived from Pundra, signifying sugar cane of a particular species, called Punri Akh in Bengal, implying that it is a country of sugar cane. However, it has also been derived from Pandubis or water fowl with which, according to Cunningham, the place abounds.[13] However, the former interpretation is analogous with that of Gaud, which is presumably derived from Guda or molasses, manufactured from sugar-cane.

Ma Huan writes, concerning the Kingdom of Pang-ko-la (Bengal): "It is a kingdom with walled cities and (in the capital) the king, and officials of all ranks have their

residences. It is an extensive country".[14] Considering the fact that he was the interpreter attached to the Chinese embassy which visited Bengal about 1406 during the reign of Sultan Ghiyās-ud-Dīn A'zam Shāh (A.H. 795-813/A.D. 1392-1410), his descriptions of the city may reasonably be taken to be those of the then capital of Bengal, Hazrat Pandua. As Bhattasali puts it, "There is little doubt that the Chinese interpreter is speaking of the kingdom of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn to whom the embassy was sent and who sent one in return".[15]

Hazrat Pandua was made the capital of Bengal by the founder of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty, Shams-ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh in A.H. 743/A.D. 1342, after wresting the sovereignty from the Tughlaq Sultans of Delhi.[16] It remained the metropolis until the time of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh I, the founder of the Restored Ilyās Shāhī dynasty (A.H. 841-93/A.D. 1437-87), who transferred it to Gaud.[17]

Remarking on the topography of the region of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua, Pemberton says, "The main road from Maldah to Dinajpur passes through the South east part of the Pergunnah. On both sides of the road lie the ruins of Purroa which are very extensive",[18] (Fig. 71). A long ancient road, paved with wedge-shaped bricks of great solidity traverse the city. It is from 12 to 15 feet wide and passes through the entire length of the city and was presumably lined with rows of brick houses on its two sides.[19] Striking in both its length and

spaciousness, the road which provided a connecting link between Gaud on the south and Devikōṭ in Dināǰpur to the North,[20] was probably built by Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Iwāz (A.H. 610-24/A.D. 1213-27).[21]

Want of exploration has considerably impeded the archaeological study of both the important sites of Gaud and Haẓrat Paṇḍua. Haẓrat Paṇḍua is situated 11 miles from English Bazar and 20 miles from Gaud in a north-easterly direction.[22] Rennell thought that the metropolitan city of Haẓrat Paṇḍua exceeded the enormous area of 24 square miles.[23] Lying along the bank of the Mahānandā river, it is narrow in plan and is divided from north to south into almost equal halves by the ancient road. A map based on an aerial survey prepared by Pemberton and revised by Stapleton in 1930 shows the original rampart walls of the city and a passage through them at the north end of the road which is identified with the gate of the fortress (Gardwar).[24] The locality known as Burjpur on the north of the embankment suggests that a Castle or Burj, a fortified stronghold, must have existed somewhere in the area. There was also a gate at the south end of which the remains of the foundations still survive.[25] Encircled by large suburbs towards the east and north for at least 12 miles, the city was beautified with noble edifices. The celebrated Adīna Masjid (Fig. 73), stands on the right side of the ancient road leading to Devikōṭ from Gaud.[26]

Shyam Prasad[27] points out the central situation of the Adīna Masjid in the ancient city of Hazrat Pandua. The Bengali Mosque is, therefore, analogous in its position to the Medieval Mosques at Kūfa, Basra, Fusṭāṭ and Damascus (Figs. 11, 13, 17), which formed the nuclei of growing Muslim societies.[28]

The Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua, Bengal is one of the most ambitious architectural projects ever essayed in the sub-continent of India. Considered to be "one of the wonders of the world by the Bengalis", as Cunningham puts it,[29] this magnificent building[30] represents a marked development of Mosque architecture. Experimental as it is, in many ways, it demonstrates new architectural elements which were afterwards developed and elaborated elsewhere. Indeed, the Adīna Masjid ushered in a brilliant era of architecture. Yet all these works are directly founded upon the traditions of Persian Islamic Architecture, reworked in pre-Mughal India.

The most revealing fact about the Adīna Masjid is its Persian appellation.[31] Wollaston gives three terms when translating the Persian word for Friday, namely, rūz-i-Jum'ah, روز جمعه ; adīnah, ادینه ; and yaumu 'l-Jum'ah, يوم الجمعه The Persian adīnah is, therefore, equivalent to the Christian Sunday or Jewish Sabbath.[33] However, the employment of the term Adīnah for a congregational mosque is not unprecedented, for there is an Adīna Masjid at Pāṭan, Gujarāt.[34] The term

is, however, somewhat obscure, and in any case seems to have purely Persian connections.[35] Curiously enough, the builder of this mosque, Sultan Sikandar Shāh, entitled himself as "the great King, the most Learned, the most Just, the most exalted, and Perfect among the Kings of Arabia and Persia".[36] This recalls the lavish terms of the Praśasti of the Sanscrit inscriptions. Sultan Ghiāṣ-ud-dīn 'Azam Shāh, son of Sultan Sikandar Shāh, once sent an incomplete Persian verse to the celebrated Persian poet, Hāfiẓ, who supplied the appropriate missing lines of the distich.[37]

Beglar traces the origin of the Adīna Masjid to pre-Muslim sources. He observes that the name itself is reminiscent of Aditya Sena Deva, the supposed progenitor of the Senas of Bengal, otherwise known as Adisur. He writes, "was it then that his capital was at what is now known as Paṇḍua, but whose ancient name was some derivative of Adisur, of which a reminiscence is preserved in the name of Adīna, of the Masjid, which stands, where his capital once stood?"[38] He bases his arguments on the point that if the Adīna Masjid occupies the site of a pre-Muslim Hindu temple, the name may be a reminiscent of Adisur, the so-called founder of the hitherto unidentified temple dating from the 7th. century A.D.;[39] however, he does not know that there is a mosque at Pāṭan, called Adīna, and that it is a Persian term for Friday. The use of fragments of Hindu or Buddhist architect-

ural works in the Masjid do not prove that the site was pre-Muslim. They may have been brought there. As he himself says, the excavations carried out in two places on the site as deep as 5 feet did not uncover any foundations of an ancient Hindu temple.[40] Incidentally, it may be recalled that Beglar carried out excavations at the Quwwat-al-Islām Mosque at Old Delhi under the supervision of Cunningham and found the foundation of pre-Muslim temples there.[41] He himself admits that this was not so at the Adīna Mosque. In his map, Beglar also sketched the circular basement of a supposed Buddhist Stūpa to the west of the Mosque, but failed to uncover and reconstruct any kind of Hindu or Buddhist temple there.[42] It was presumably the foundation of a detached minar, which is discussed afterwards.[43]

The date of the construction of the Adīna Masjid (Pl. XXXVIb, Figs. 87b) is a matter of controversy among the scholars.[44] Cunningham saw the foundation stone, bearing the inscription "placed on the outside of the back wall, facing towards the high road".[45]

According to Horn, this interesting specimen of Bengal Calligraphy in Arabic single line inscription with the usual flourishes and overlapped lettering measures 58″ by 11″. The inscribed area measures 57″ by 9″.

The epigraphical record is as follows:

امر ببناء [ال]عمارة هذا المسجد الجامع ٧ فى ايام ٧ [ال]دولة السلطان
السلطان الاعظم الاعلم الاعدل الاكرم اكمل [ال]سلاطين العرب والعجم الواثق بتائيد
الرحمن ابو المجاهد سلطان سكندر شاه بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته
الى اليوم الموعود كتبه فى التاريخ رجب سنة ست ده ٧ سبعين وسبعمائة .

Translation: "This Jāmi' Masjid was ordered to be built in the days of the reign of the great Sultān, the Wisest, the most perfect of the Sultāns of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abūl Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, ~~the Sultān~~ son of Riyās Shāh, the Sultān, may his reign be continued till the Day of Promise (i.e., Resurrection). Written in Rajab in the year seven hundred seventy six (776) (December-January, 1374-75).[46]

Certain elements in this inscription have led to controversy concerning its date. The inaccurate grammatical construction of the inscription is also apparent. Salim says, "And in the year 766 A.H. he [Sikandar Shāh] built the Adīna Mosque, but before he could finish it, death overtook him, and the mosque remained half-finished".[47] Besides being inconsistent with the epigraphical record, Salim's statement cannot be relied upon from the historical point of view. Considering A.H. 766 as the date of the beginning of the project, it would seem too long a time for Sikandar Shāh who ruled from A.H. 758-92/A.D. 1357-89 to

leave the Mosque incomplete.[48] His death in A.H. 792 which is confirmed in both numismatic and epigraphical records, would allow a period of 26 years for the construction of the Adīna Masjid, and we know mosques of gigantic size were built in a much shorter period.[49]

Horn observes, "We do not know in which year the Adīna mosque was finished; the Riyaz mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 A.H. It is very probable that the actual building required a space of ten years, e.g., the Jāmi' Masjid at Koṭila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that "gigantic barn", as Cunningham calls the Adīna Mosque.[50] Horn, therefore, accepts A.H. 766, given by Riyāẓ, as the date of the beginning of the project and suggest A.H. 776 as the date of its completion.

It would, therefore, appear that the mosque was started in the month of Rajab A.H. 766, corresponding to December-January, A.D. 1374, as the inscription states, but it should be noted that this date differs from those given by Salim,[51] Stewart,[52] and Hamilton,[53] who prefer A.H. 766, 763 and 763 and 704 respectively.

Creighton, who paid due attention to the monuments of Gauḍ, did not mention the Adīna Masjid. But it was described in detail by both Francklin[54] and Shyam Prasad.[55] Prasad's copy of the foundation inscription is identical

with that of Francklin which has, however, a few inaccuracies: there is no كتبة after الموعود and before فى التاريخ ; moreover, he reads هذا العمارة as هى العمارة . Depending on eye-copies, both Prasad and Francklin are doubtful of the date of the Adīna Masjid as " سنه سبعه (سبعين) و سبعمايه " rendering it as Hijra 707 or 770, corresponding to A.D. 1308 or 1369.[56] Prasad reads the month of Rajab before the year, ست رجب سنه سبعه و سبعمايه, 6th Rajab, A.H. 707, corresponding to 1st January, A.D. 1308.[57] Blochmann re-published this inscription, after intensive study of the rubbing sent him by Cunningham and Heeley. As against Prasad's date of 6 Rajab, A.H. 707, Blochmann reads the date as 6 Rajab 770, corresponding to 14 February, A.H. 1369.[58]

In his edition of the Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā, Beveridge writes regarding this date, "I am unable to come to any conclusion. Buchanan had it read to him as 704, and this is no doubt what is on the stone. That is, the Arabic word for the numeral is Sab'a (7) and not Sab'ain (70) as the facsimile in Ravenshaw, p. 70, shows. Ilāhī Bakhsh admitted this to me when I saw him at Māldah, but remarked with truth that the date 707 was quite inconsistent with the chronology of Sikandar's reign. There is certainly a six in the inscription, but Blochmann has taken this to refer to the month, and in this he seems supported by the word fīl-tārīkh, which would lead us to expect to find the day, and

not merely the month of erection. On the other hand Ghulām Husain must have read the six as relating to the year, for he gives the date as 766. He was obliged to make it 766 instead of 776, because his idea was that Sikandar died in 769. It may be remarked, too, that 776 is more consistent with Sikandar's not having been able to complete the mosque earlier than 770, for it seems that he reigned upto 792, though his later years were troubled by his son Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn. As the word in the inscription is Sab'a, i.e., 7, and not 70, might it not be that the engraver wrote six, seven and seventy hundred, i.e., 776? I suppose it would be a grammatical error to write the date in this way, but then Mr. Blochmann tells us that there are numerous such errors in the Bengal Arabic inscriptions. They often consist, he says, of "wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals". He does not say that they mis-spell them".[59]

Horn supports Ilāhī Bakhsh's date of A.H. 776. Discarding the alleged readings of A.H. 707 or A.H. 770, he says, "The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if with Blochmann we read rajab sitt, besides the succession of the words should be sitt rajab. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions but the construction of rajab sitt instead of sitt rajab would be too faulty even for them. I, therefore, prefer to support va (and) before Sab'in or to read the va standing before Sab'miat twice, a case that

occurs not at all infrequently". He, therefore, reads the رجب سنه ست (و) سبعين و سبعمائة, Rajab, A.H. 776, corresponding to 6 December, A.D. 1374.[60] However, while Horn makes out the date as A.H. 776 by inserting va (و) between sitt (ست) and sab'ain (سبعين),[61] Beveridge rejects it as grammatically unacceptable.[62]

Curiously enough, 'Ābid 'Alī gives another version of the reading of the date of the Adīna Masjid. He reads sitt (ست) twice, once for the month and the other for the year, making 6 Rajab, A.H. 776, corresponding to 14 February, A.D. 1374. His transcription and his translation do not agree. In the translation he mentions 6 Rajab A.H. 770, corresponding to 14 February, A.D. 1369, while his text gives the date ست رجب سنه ست سبعين و سبعمائة 6 Rajab, A.H. 776 by reading sitt, ست, twice as stated above and by supplying va (و) between sab'ain and sab'amiat.[63]

Buchanan's date of A.H. 704 is not corroborated by historical and numismatic evidence. The date mentioned by both Francklin and Prasad does not agree with that of Buchanan, nor does the date of construction A.H. 763, given by Stewart.[64] As the early phase of Sikandar Shāh's reign was convulsed by the second military expedition of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq in A.H. 760,[65] it is probable that the ambitious project was not started either in A.H. 763, as stated by Stewart or A.H. 766, as mentioned by Ghulām Husain Salim.

The controversial reading of the date is due to its ungrammatical construction. If the sanat سنة is placed before sitt ست , the date would be Rajab A.H. 776, if after sitt, ست , it would make 6 Rajab A.H. 776. It is however, customary to place at-tarikh, التاريخ before the month or the days of the month, whereas the year is preceeded by sanat, سنة . The words are placed vertically above one another and they clearly give the date:

في التاريخ رجب سنة ست (و) سبعين و سبعمائة

i.e., dated Rajab in the year A.H. 776, corresponding to December-January, A.D. 1374. It is given below as it appears in the facsimile

و سبعمائة
سبعين
ست
رجب

This reading of the date is strengthened by the insertion of va (و) between sitt (ست) and sab'ain, سبعين , which the engraver must have dropped inadvertently. Dani supports this view, when he says, "the photograph of the inscription clearly shows ست after رجب , and not before".[66]

Ghulām Husain Salim says, "Some trace of the Mosque [Adīna] still exists in the jungles of Panduah, at a distance of one karoh from the town. The Author of this history has seen it. In truth, it is beautiful Mosque, and an enormous sum must have been expended on its erection".[67] Taking into account the space of time required for such an

imposing and awe-inspiring monument as the Adīna Masjid and the expenses incurred, it is presumed that the most probable period for such a construction would be between the invasion of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq in A.H. 760-1/A.D. 1358-59 and the deadly encounter of Sikandar Shāh with his rebellious son Ghīyaṣ-ud-dīn 'Āzam Shāh in A.H. 795/A.D. 1392. As Salim reports, Sultan Sikandar Shāh breathed his last on the battlefield of Goālpārā in the deadly contest with his own son - a parallel example of which is found in the Persian story of Rustam and Sohrab, so picturesquely depicted by Firdausī in his Shahnama.

Therefore, if following Horn we allow a period of ten years, for the completion of this ambitious project, we may say that the Adīna Masjid was probably started in A.H. 776/A.D. 1474-5 and completed in A.H. 786/A.D. 1484-5. In other words, Sikandar Shāh lived only six years after the completion of his gigantic architectural project, itself a landmark of Mosque architecture in India.[68]

It is obvious that the traditional square lay-out of the Prophet's Mosque at Madīna, the Mosque of Kūfa, the Mosque of Wāsit (Figs. 10, 11), was not followed in the Adīna Masjid, although some buildings in Gauḍ including the Eklākhī Mausoleum (Fig. 105), (A.H. 818-36/A.D. 1514-32), the Rājbībī Masjid (Fig. 109), (A.H. 841-92/A.D. 1437-80) and the Lattan Masjid (Fig. 108), (A.H. 899-925/A.D. 1493-1519) are

built on the same plan.[69] The Adīna Masjid conforms to the time-honoured rectangular planning demonstrated by the Great Mosque of Damascus (Fig. 17),[70] the Mosque of Sāmarrā (Fig. 26), the Mosque of Abū Dulāf, and the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn,[71] all of which have been referred to earlier.[72]

Marshall attempts to reconstruct the Masjid visually (Pl. XXXIV). He writes, "Imagine an immense open quadrangle, more than twice as long as it was broad, bounded on its four sides by arched screens, every archway (and there were 88 in all visible from the court) identical with its fellows and every one surmounted by an identical dome, with nothing to relieve the monotony of the whole save a single archway which, rising higher and wider than the rest, fronted the vaulted līwān in the middle of the western side".[73]

Externally, the Adīna Masjid measures a total area (ABCD of Fig. 74) of 516 feet north and south and 313 east and west,[74] (Pl. XXXIIIa, Figs. 72, 74). Internally it is defined by the four great pillared aisles, which surround the inner wide court on all four sides. As Fergusson puts it, "In the centre it contains a courtyard nearly 400 ft. by 154 ft., surrounded on all the sides by a thick wall of brick, divided by eighty-nine similar arched openings, only one of which, that in the centre of the west side facing Mecca, is wider and more dignified than the rest".[75] In point of fact the arched openings around the wide open court-yard

which give the impression of a forum or a big caravanserai, according to Cunningham are 94 in all, and are distributed in the following manner:- the central lofty līwān arch; 15 openings on each side of the central līwān arch, 15 on each of the northern and the southern rīwāqs; and 33 in the eastern rīwāq.[76]

As shown in the plan given in Fig. 74, the līwān of the prayer hall stretched right across the full width of the Mosque, that is right across the central court-yard and the side aisles. The depth of the līwān is about one fifth of the total depth of the Mosque. It measures, therefore, 516 feet in width and 75 feet 5 inches in depth. As Fergusson points out, the līwān consists of two wings, supported on pillars, divided by an oblong vaulted nave.[77] According to Buchanan, the central vaulted hall measures about 64 feet from the east to the west, 32 feet from the north to the south, and 62 feet from the floor to the centre of the līwān arch.[78]

The central vaulted nave, (Pls. XXXIIIb, XXXV; Figs. 75, 77), (IJKL of Fig.74) in the centre of the western wall of which is placed the mihrāb, had a central arched opening, set high up in the wall. The easternmost opening of the central hall, the façade of which has been severely damaged, can be reconstructed with reference to the blind arches on either side. It consists of a large central arch on the lines of

the surviving arch above the central mihrāb. As Cunningham states, "Both arch and vault have now fallen down, but the outline of the vaulted roof is distinctly marked against the top of the back wall."[79]

The origin of the impressive līwān arch in Indo-Muslim architecture may be conveniently traced to Persian antecedents. Indeed, this līwān archway may be compared with the Tāq-i-Kisra, at Ctesiphon, which is pre-Muslim. The construction of the Tāq-i-Kisra, however, differs entirely from any Islamic examples for it is based upon the principle of successive receding layers of brick, producing a catenary arch.[80]

Creswell has used the term 'Pīshtāq', meaning front-piece in connection with the screen arch on the south side of the Court of Honour at Ukhaidir. He writes, "We have here the first example of that ubiquitous feature of later Persian architecture, the Pīshṭāq or frontpiece".[81] Some of the earliest existing specimens of arched screens, masking the central vaulted nave or hall are to be met with in the Takht-i-Sulaimān (Pl. XLVIIb) (A.H. 673/A.D. 1275), the Mausoleum of Pīr-i-Bakrān (Pl. XLVIIa) (A.H. 703/A.D. 1303), at Linjān, near Iṣfahān (Pl. XLIa), rebuilt in A.H. 710/A.D. 1310 and Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Astarjān, near Iṣfahān (A.H. 715/A.D. 1315-16). It also appears in the Madrasa of Ulugh Beg (A.H. 838/A.D. 1434) in Samarqand and the Muṣalla of Gawhar Shād in

Mashhad (A.H. 808/A.D. 1405-6).[82]

Notable examples of Indian counterparts of Persian arched screen in front of the central prayer-hall are to be found at the Quwwat-al-Islām Mosque (Pls. XIXb, XXIa, Fig, 41, 43), and the Arhaī-din-kā-Jhoprā (Pls. XXIIa-b, Fig. 46).[83] Indeed, as Brown puts it, "In its Indian form it was derived from the arcaded fronts of the brick-built mosques of the Persians, but these builders of the Caliphate had themselves drawn their inspiration from such structures as those at Ukaider and Samarra of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., now crumbling into dust. In their turn the Arabs borrowed the arched motif from the vaulted palace at Ctesiphon (Pl. XLVIb), the pride of the Sasanian kings of the third century, who again had acquired it from the palace of the Parthians at Hatra - built near Mosul in the second century A.D."[84]

The Persian type of arched screen appears not only in Delhi and Ajmer but also in the Buildings of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq and the monuments of Jaunpur. These served as the prototypes of the lofty arched façade, often referred to as Maqṣūra found in the Jāmi' Masjid at Badaun (A.H. 607-33/ A.D. 1211-36), the Jāmi' Masjid (Pl. XXXIa), at Cambay (A.H. 725/A.D. 1325) and the Begampurī Masjid (Pl. XLIXa) at Delhi (c. A.H. 772/A.D. 1370).[85] The process of integrating the arched screen with the līwān started in the Begampurī Masjid and was perfected in the Aṭalā Devī Masjid (Pl. XXVa)

and the Jhanjrī Masjid (Pl. XLVIIIa) at Jaunpur. As Marshall puts it, "The idea of giving increased height and importance to the prayer chamber by throwing an arched screen across its façade had been, as we have already seen, initiated, three centuries before, in the Quwwat-ul-Islām Mosque at Delhi, and since then had frequently found favour and been repeated in various forms. It was left, however, for the architect of the Aṭalā Masjid to make of the screen a feature so massive and imposing as to overshadow all else in the quadrangle. This he did by devising the screen in the form of a gigantic propylon, uncommonly like the propylons of ancient Egyptian temples, set in front of the central līwān of the prayer chamber and sufficiently lofty (75 feet) to hide from view the great dome behind it. The propylon consisted of two square and battering minarets with an immense arch between, the whole relieved by tier upon tier of smaller arched recesses or trellised windows".[86]

Following the Persian type of arched screen, as reworked in Indo-Muslim monuments in general and the Jaunpur mosques in particular, which date from the 15th century A.D. it seems quite probably that the Adīna Masjid had a līwān arched façade, adorned with blind arches, supported on either side by rectilinear towers, placed to the right and the left of the central līwān arch with tiers of smaller arched recesses.[87]

The Adīna screen (Fig. 80) does not imitate the inclination or batter of the Begampurī mosque, built by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, which became one of the most distinguishing features of Jaunpur Architecture.[88] The Adīna screen has not got the triple-arched entrance to the central vaulted hall, as observed in the Mosque of Damascus, (Pl. Vb), the Begampurī Masjid (Pl. XLIXa) at Delhi and the Aṭalā Devī Masjid (Pl. XXVa) at Jaunpur.[89]

The most conspicuous feature of the Adīna Masjid is, therefore, the central oblong hall or nave, with its great arched opening, leading to the central mihrāb. The remains of the roofing prove that the nave was vaulted (Figs.77-79), the contour of the vault being determined by the pointed līwān arch. This vault was carried by two flanking massive walls, 14 feet 1 inch in thickness. They are pierced by five pointed arches, springing from four rectangular brick piers, oblong in plan, their wider sides transverse to the nave wall. These rectangular piers are strengthened by central rectangular attached pilasters from the top of which runs a stone stringcourse along each side of the nave. The pilasters of the nave piers facing the prayer halls on either side form the base for the springing of the arches.[90]

The vault over the nave of the Adīna Masjid is probably one of the earliest attempted in Indo-Muslim architecture and as such it undoubtedly demonstrates the

skill and ingenuity of the Bengali architects.[91] Whatever may be the source of their inspiration, the brick pointed vault is integrally connected with the towering līwān arch. Beglar asserts that the arch was built without centering. This is unlikely. In any case, these arches are voussoired, the necessary thrust of the vault being carried by five superimposed blind arches, placed directly upon the arches of the piers below. These transverse pointed arches are formed by five courses of small red bricks. Traces of over-hanging brick ribs are still extant above the northern wall of the nave, as may be seen in Plate XXXVIb & Figs. 77-79. Presumably there were 9 such ribs, 5 of which rose like pilasters through the crown of the blind arches and the rest are placed above the stone pilasters between the nave arches.[92] Two horizontal stringcourses of stone intervene above which there is a wide band of incised brick ornamentation.

The bricks of the vault are laid flat, except for those of the superimposed arches, which are placed on edges. From the remains of the ribs, it is evident that the tunnel vault was carried by brick transverse arches. In spite of the ribs and superimposed arches, the vault of the Adīna Masjid has long since disappeared. Beglar suggests that the reasons for the collapse of the vault are the decomposition of wooden wall plates and the destruction of the pilasters which

supported the ribs of the vault. The want of proper bonding between the brick work and the stone facing, as well as damp climate, luxurious vegetations and earthquakes all contributed to the destruction of the building.[93] Beglar says that the mortar used was clay with some lime.

Beglar thought it necessary to set out an explanation of the presence of ribbed vaulting in the Adīna Masjid. His English is obscure, but his passage is given as being the only description of the Adīna Masjid vault hitherto available. He says, "the vault, however, was by no means a plain sheet vaulting.... the vault sheeting was strengthened at frequent intervals by projecting arched ribs of the same shape; these arched ribs appear to have projected inwards about 8 inches, (there is not sufficient material available to fix with absolute accuracy the exact number of inches...). The ribs appear to me to have been of stone, not only because a number of large stones which would suit the ribs, were actually found among the debris on the floor of the vault, and must have fallen from the vault, the sheeting of which was wholly of brick, but because in support of this, the only rational explanation of their presence in the debris of the vault, there is the further circumstance, that the marks still existing on the portion of the vault, the possibility of doubt, that the extrados of these ribs extend beyond the intrados of the brick sheet

vaulting by as much as 4 inches as they have in every instances where they occured left distinct depressed sharply defined channels and in no single instance is any single portion of these channels interrupted by projecting adhering fragments of brick work, which had the ribs been of bricks would have unavoidably been left in some one or more portions, even if the existing brickwork of the vault, had not shewn that had the ribs been of brick they would have been carefully bonded into the superimposed vault sheeting, and therefore would not, and could not, have left the clear, sharply defined depressed channels, which now exist and were for a long time a puzzle to me".[94]

Beglar's lengthy arguments do not sound very convincing; firstly: since the nave and the mihrāb wall are faced with stone, it is, indeed, far-fetched to assume that all large cut-stones found in the debris formed part of the ribs alone. Secondly: "the sharply defined depressed channels", which, Beglar says, are the remains of stone ribs, are in fact the remains of the horizontal stringcourse of ashlar masonry surmounted by two courses of decoration in stone.

The collapse of the vault has rendered the task of determining the method of building almost impossible. Nevertheless, some sort of scaffolding and shuttering must have been used for the construction of the vault. Beglar

describes the wooden wall plate from which it rose as follows: "Broken and dismantled though it is, enough of the lowest portions of the vault remain to shew, that it sprang from a rectangular beam about 12 X 10 inches laid in a channel in the masonry in which it was imbedded. The wood has decayed and disappeared long ago, but the empty channel near the springing (with in places a crumbling woody powder now in it) as well as the hole into which the beam end was inserted in the inner face of the West wall of the nave still exists".[95]

Experimental in conception as well as in execution, the imposing pointed tunnel vault of the oblong nave of the Adīna Masjid is one of the earliest surviving examples in India. It is indeed, very rare in pre-Mughal architecture, though the Langar Khāna Masjid at Gulbargā is another example.

Of all the structural devices to cover wide spaces, the vault is perhaps the most ingenious. Employed in Egypt and Mesopotamia as early as the second and third millenium B.C., vaulting was greatly developed by the skilled Persian builders. Reuther says, "The barrel vault must certainly be of Babylonian origin, for as numerous examples found in the excavations show, it was used there from a very early date to cover graves and canals, and it can also be seen in the round arches of the portals of the temples, palaces, town

gates".[96] There is little doubt that ribbed pointed vaults were a Persian invention, though in India a limitation of scaffolding restricted its use.

It is clear that the vaulted nave of the Adīna Masjid has its counterparts in the early Muslim building. Tunnel vaults as well as ribbed vaults are demonstrated by the monuments, cited below.

Date	Provenance	Monument	Type
A.D. 707-9	Qusayr al-Hallabat	Mosque	Masonry tunnel vault
712-15	Qusayr 'Amra	Audience Hall in the Bath	Cross, tunnel and ribbed masonry vault (Pl. XXXIXb)
725-30	Ḥammām as-Sarākh	Bath rooms	Cross and tunnel masonry vault
728-29	Qasr al-Hair	Palace and Mosque	Brick tunnel vault
744	Mshattā	Palace	Brick tunnel vault
744	Qasr at-Tūba	Palace	Brick tunnel vault (Pl. XLVb)
762-63	Baghdad	The Round City of al-Manṣūr, Taqat between the main wall and the inner wall	Brick transverse vault
772	Raqqā	The Baghdad Gate	Brick tunnel vault
778	Ukhaidir	Palace	Brick tunnel (Pls. VIa, XLIIa)

Date	Provenance	Monument	Type
A.D. 778	Atsan	Palace	Brick tunnel vault
789	Ramla	Cistern	Rubble tunnel vault on transverse arches (Pl.XLIIb)
821-22	Ribāṭ of Sūsa	Mosque and palace	Masonry tunnel vault on transverse arches
836	Sāmarrā	Jausaq al-Khāqānī	Brick tunnel vault (Pl. XLIVa)
836-49	Sūsa	The Mosque of Bū Fatata	Masonry tunnel vault
850-51	Sūsa	The Great Mosque	Masonry tunnel vault
862	Sāmarrā	Qubbat as-Sulaibiya	Masonry tunnel vault
Before 876	Basātīn	The Aqueduct	tunnel vault

Persian examples earlier than the Adīna Masjid are:

750-86	Dāmghān	Tārīk Khāna (Masjid)	Mud brick tunnel vault, elliptical (Pl. IXa)
9th Cent.	Kaj	Mosque	Brick tunnel vault of (Pl. XVIa)
973-4	Nāyīn	Mosque	Brick tunnel vault pointed (Pl. IXb)
1158-60	Ardistān	Mosque	Ivan tunnel vault (Pl. XVIIIa)

Date	Provenance	Monument	Type
A.D. 11th century	Isfahān	Mosque	Ribbed tunnel vault (Pl. Xa-b)
1121-22	Marv	Tomb of Sanjar	Ribbed tunnel vault
1135-36	Zawara	Mosque	Brick tunnel vault
1304	Natanz	Mosque	Brick vault (Pl. VIIa)
1299-1312	Linjan near Isfahān	Mausoleum of Pīr-i-Bakrān	Brick ribbed tunnel vault (Pl. XLVIIa)
1308	Astarjān	Mosque	Stalactite and pointed brick vault, both tunnel and cross (Plate XL I b)
1310-20	Tabriz	Mosque	Tunnel vault (Pl. XVa)
Early 14th century	Baghdād	Khan Ortma	Ribbed tunnel vault
1320	Ferumad	Mosque	Vaulted Ivan (Pl. XIVa)
1322	Varāmin	Mosque	Vaulted Ivan (Pl. XIVb)
1324-65	Yazd	L Mosque	Vaulted Ivan (Pl. XIIIa)
1324-65	Kirmān	Mosque	Stalactite vaulting in the Portal

Indian examples of the ribbed tunnel vault include the Langar-kī-Masjid, dating from the middle of the 14th

century and the Jāmi' Masjid of Gulbargā (Pl. XXXIXa,c, Fig. 55), which is dated A.H. 769/A.D. 1367, which are practically contemporary with the Adīna Masjid, and the following three later examples; namely, the Gunmant Masjid (Pl. CXVIIIb, Fig. 106) at Gaud (A.H. 889/A.D. 1484), the Katra or the caravanserai at Old Mālda (A.H. 974/A.D. 1596) and the passage between the Naubat Khāna and the Lahore Gate (A.H. 1068/A.D. 1658).

Tracing the origin of the transverse arches of the tunnel vault, Creswell points to the Nabataean monuments in the Hauran (late A.D. 105), where because of the absence of wood, masonry arcades formed the chief medium of architectural expression. However, the transition from flat stone roofing on transverse arches to the tunnel vault on a series of evenly placed ribs, is attained in the Parthian Palace of Hatra (late A.D. 226).[97] The Sasanian Persians are credited with the integration of the barrel catenary vault with the transverse entrance arch as found in Tāq-i-Īvān at Kharkha (Pl. XLIIIb), founded by Shahpur II (d. 379), but the catenary arch was not widely used in Islamic architecture, the example at the Tārīk Khāna at Dāmghāh (Pl. IXa) being the only example, quoted above.[98]

On the other hand, the practice of roofing by parallel vaults, resting on transverse arches which spring from very low pilasters, is demonstrated in the Qusayr al-

Hallabat, the Qasr-i-Kharana, (Pl. XLIIIb), Qusayr 'Amra (Pl. XXXIXb), and Hammam as-Sarkh as listed above. Unlike the parallel vaulting system observed in these Umayyad monuments, the 'Abbāsid Palace of Ukhaidir (Pls. XLIb, XLIIa) marks a definite departure, the creation of a continuous tunnel vault carried on cross arches. Another earlier striking example of this method also occurs in the Cistern of Ramla (Pl. XLIIb).

Among the earliest surviving examples of ribbed tunnel vaults in Islamic architecture in Persia are the mosque of Iṣfahān dated in the 11th century and the tomb of Sanjar at Marv (1121-22). In the Il-khānid period, the Īvān of the Mosque at Naṭanz (Pl. VIIa), the Īvān below the shaking minarets at Gārlādān, (Pl. XII), and, also, those in the Madrasa Imāmī at Iṣfahān and in the Pīr-i-Bakrān Mausoleum at Linjān (Pl. XLVIIa) near Iṣfahān all have ribbed vaulting of the kind observed in the early Persian monuments. In the development of the Persian type of vaulting Īvān, the 'Jāmi' Masjid (Pl. XVa) at Tabrīz (c.A.D. 1310-20) plays a leading role.[99] It surpasses the Tāq-i-Īvān (Pl. XLVIb) at Ctesiphon in dimensions, it measuring 80 feet in height and 100 feet in span. Upham Pope says: "This is the largest brick vault ever built, exceeding the widest medieval cathedrals in Europe, that of the Cathedral of Gerona, by more than 25 feet (7.6m) and even surpassing the span of the Tāq-i-Kisra

by 16 feet (4.8m)".[100] The vaulted nave with a central niche and a mihrāb buttress of the Tabrīz mosque resembles the Adīna Masjid, which also has its mihrāb niche constructed in an external buttress.

In conclusion, it may be said that the tunnel vaulted nave of the Adīna Masjid is a striking innovation in Indo-Muslim architecture. It was obviously inspired by early Islamic and Persian antecedents, as discussed above. That the Persian influence was overwhelming is proved not only by the vault, but also by the five blind arches on either side of the nave which have ribs running up to their crown, forming a sort of "tripod" (Upham Pope), probably modelled after those in the arched squinches of the Tomb of Ismāīl the Samānid at Bukhāra, as referred to by Upham Pope.[101]

The tunnel vault carried on transverse arches is, of course, a feature of European Christian architecture (Pl. XLa). Fergusson in describing the Churches of Auvergny says, "the side aisles are always covered by intersecting vaults, but that of the nave is always a simple tunnel vault, as in the Southern styles, ornamented by occasional transverse ribs, and in the Church at Issoire slightly pointed".[102] Fergusson, writing of the Southern Churches of Fontifroide, points out that it has "a plain tunnel-vault unbroken by any intersection throughout the whole length of the nave".[103]

This does not seem to have been attempted in Islamic architecture. However, in the Langar-kī-Masjid and the Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbargā, the central nave is roofed by a series of transverse barrel vaults, i.e., the nave is spanned by a series of arches from which spring transverse barrel vaults. This construction is found at the famous Abbey of Tournus in Burgundy. Fergusson writes," The nave is separated from the aisles by plain cylindrical columns without bases, the capitals of which are joined by circular arches at the height of the vaults of the aisle. From the capitals rise dwarf columns supporting arches thrown across the nave. From one of these arches to the other is thrown a tunnel vault, which thus runs the cross way of the building; being, in fact, a series of arches like those of a bridge extending the whole length of the nave. This is, I believe, the only known instance of this arrangement, and is interesting as contrasting with the longitudial tunnel vaults so common both in this province and the south".[104] Tournus is usually dated early eleventh century. The Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbargā (A.H. 768/A.D. 1367) and the Langar-kī-Masjid is approximately the same date.

The sumptuously carved central mihrāb (Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 81) of fine-grained black basalt is a unique specimen of the stone carvers' art. Francklin regards it as "beautifully sculptured in black marble and adorned with a profusion of

flowers cut in the marble".[105] The black stone used in the central mihrāb is a basalt and not marble: it takes a high polish, giving it a superb effect as the central object of the vaulted nave. The mihrāb niche is framed by a recessed cinquefoil arch. It is enclosed by an elegantly designed trefoil arch supported on two ornate monolithic attached columns. Beglar suggests that the mihrāb of the Adīna Masjid was transferred from a Hindu temple. He says; "Of the Hindu sculpture, the most striking and superb is beyond question the trefoil arch and pillars of the main prayer niche".[106] But there are no grounds for his assertion. The Adīna Masjid mihrāb, forming a single work of art, must be accepted as contemporary with the fabric of the Masjid itself. But it must be admitted that the style is local. As at Old Delhi, the skill of Hindu craftsmen seems to have been enlisted in the carvings of the central mihrāb. The main trefoil arch of the mihrāb of the Adīna Masjid is derived from the mihrāb arches below the pulpit of the Mosque of Chhoto Pandua, (Pl. LVIIIa), dated c. 1300 as well as in the Mosque of 'Umariyya in Mosul and in an earlier example in the Dome of the Rock known as Solomon's mihrāb (Pl. IIIa)

Particular attention has been drawn to the curiously interesting designs of the archivolt of the niche. The conventional grotesque Lion's head at the crown and the Kinnara and Kinnari at the haunches, which appear in the

lintel of the Vaishnava temple from Gaud, dated , according to many scholars have been transformed into graceful foliage, palmette and sensuous tendrils.[107] The predominant motifs of ornamentation in the central mihrāb wall are interlocking designs, decorative frieze, lotus medallions and triangular tympana (Figs. 81-85).

In the same way, the concave mihrāb, semi-circular in outline, of the Adīna Masjid (Pls. XXVIII, LVIIb) corresponds with many earlier niches found in mosques throughout the Islamic world. Its origin has been traced by eminent scholars to the mosque of the Prophet at Madīna, rebuilt by 'Umar ibn 'Adb al-'Azīz, the Governor of the Hijāz under Caliph al-Walīd I in A.D. 706-7. But strikingly similar examples appear in the following monuments of Islam:[108]

Date	Provenance	Monument
A.D. 706-7	Madīna	Mosque of the Prophet, rebuilt by 'Umar ibn 'Abd-al Azīz
705-15	Damascus	The great Mosque of al-Walid I, known as "the Mihrāb of the Companions of the Prophet"
705-15	'Umm al-Walid	Mosque built in the reign of al-Walīd
705-15	Khān al-Zabib	Mosque built in the reign of al-Walīd
705-15	Palace of Khirbat al-Minya	Mosque by Walīd I
707-9	Qusayr al-Hallabat	Mosque

Date	Provenance	Monument
A.D. 715-16	Jerusalem	Mosque of Aqsa reconstructed by al-Walid [4]
717-20	Ramla	Miḥrāb called Jami' al-Abyad
724-43	Khirbat al-Mafjar	Mosque of Hishām
728-29	Qasr al-Hair	Mosque
743-44	Mshattā	Apsidal recesses which are not really miḥrābs
743-44	Qasr al-Tuba	Shapeless niches which according to Creswell may have well been intended for miḥrābs
744-45	Ḥarrān	Mosque
762-3--766-7	Baghdād	Mosque of al-Manṣūr, the Khassakī Miḥrāb
772-4	Qairawān	Mosque
838-41	Sūsa	Mosque
849-59	Sāmarrā	Palace of Balkuwara
850-1	Sūsa	Great Mosque
876-79	Cairo	Ibn Tulūn's Mosque
970-2	Cairo	Mosque of al-Azhar
1085	Cairo	Miḥrāb of Zawiyat al-Juyūshī

As against these long series of concave miḥrābs, flat rectangular mihrabs did dominate the early mosques of Persia, such as those at the Tārīk Khāna at Damghān, the Jami' Masjid at Nāyīn and the Masjid-i-Sang at Dārāb, etc. However, concave miḥrābs do exist in Persia, for instance the superbly executed stucco miḥrāb of the Masjid-i-Jāmi'

at Riẓā'iya (A.D. 1277) which is formed by a trefoil arch set in an immense rectangular frame and ornamented with rich stucco encrustration. Other examples of the semi-circular mihrāb are to be seen in the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of 'Alī Shāh at Tabrīz (A.D. 1310-20), the Gunbad-i-Alayivān at Hamadān (A.D. 1315), the Jāmi' Masjid at Varāmīn and the Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Marand.[109]

It may not be out of place to mention that flat rectangular mihrābs occur in a number of early Indian mosques, namely the Quwwat al-Islām Mosque at Delhi, the Tomb of Iletmish at Delhi, the "Jamā" at Khāna" Masjid at the Dargāh of Niẓāmuddīn Aulia, the tomb of Sulṭān Ghārī as well as the Jaunpur mosques. The earliest notable examples of a concave semi-circular mihrāb in Indian mosques is in the Arhāī din-kā Jhomprā at Ajmer (Pl. XLVIIIb). It is also found at the Mosque of Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī at Tribeni (Pls. LIIa, LXIIa) and the Chhoṭo Paṇḍua Mosque in Hughli. (Pls. LXIIIa, LXIIa).

Beglar's description of the pulpit (minbar) (Pl. LVIIa, Figs. 90, 94) is somewhat obscure: "of the other portions, obviously designed for stone, the most prominent and important, as well as graceful object, is the pulpit; the proportions of its parts, are too slender to be suited for brick work, it bears little internal or external stress and strain, has stood fairly well, and but for the falling in

of the vault, whose fall destroyed the roof and the handrail, and injured some other parts, it might have stood a thing of beauty, for an indefinite period".[110]

It is a double-storied structure, placed against the western wall, north of the central mihrāb. The lower part has two arched openings on either side ornamented with a fringe of spear-heads which are repeated on the upper part. This is supported by four square piers, carrying pointed arches on three sides: the fourth which is attached to the western wall is filled by a flat richly carved mihrāb with the hanging chain and lamp motif, which is common in India.[111] The design in the minbar has exactly the same kind of workmanship as the central mihrāb.

So far as the remains of the pendentives and the roof slabs allow us to hazard a reconstruction, it may be reasonably assumed that the pulpit was roofed over by a hemispherical cupola, probably resembling those of the prayer halls. Its destruction was probably caused by the fall of the vault.

The existence of octagonal sockets with elongated grooves in the two front pillars can be explained only by the fact that the staircase had balustrades, which have disappeared. This view gains further support by the discovery of small tenons on either side in the steps of the staircase. Obviously, these fitted into corresponding

mortices in the balustrades.[112] The pulpit staircase is built of large slabs of black basalt, placed one upon the other.

The discovery of an odd fragment of Hindu sculpture found built into the steps of the staircase has led many scholars to ascribe a pre-Muslim origin to the Adīna Masjid. As Cunningham puts it, "The steps leading up to the pulpit have fallen down, and, on turning over one of the steps I found a line of Hindu sculpture of very fine and bold execution. This stone is 4 feet in length and apparently formed part of a frieze. The main ornament is a line of circular panels 7¼ inches in diameter, formed by continuous intersecting lotus stalks. There are five complete panels, and two half-panels which have been cut through. These two contain portions of an elephant and a rhinoceros. In the complete panels are (1) cow and a calf; (2) human figures broken; (3) a goose; (4) a man and woman; and a crocodile; (5) two elephants. The carving is deep and the whole has been polished."[113] This sculpture is still visible. It is, therefore, clear that the exigencies of the circumstances led to the utilization of some Hindu materials available on the site. Nevertheless, such mutilated fragments hardly testify to the fact that the Adīna Masjid was built on the ruins of an ancient Indian temple.

It is interesting to note that in construction as

well as in its balustrades and canopied platform, the Adīna pulpit corresponds unmistakably with the minbar of the Masjid of Chhoṭo Paṇḍua (Pl. LVIIIa) in the District of Hughli (c. A.D. 1300). A later example of the similar type of minbar is also found in the Jāmi' Masjid (Pls. LIV, XXVI) at Māṇḍū (A.D. 1440).

The spearhead fringe in the soffit of the arches of the pulpit is reminiscent of the similar ornamental device in other early Indo-Muslim monuments. This device is prominent in the 'Alā'ī Darwāza at Delhi (Pl. XXb) and the Jamā' at Khāna Masjid at Nizāmuddīn's Dargāh at Delhi as well as in the Jaunpur mosques, the Ukha Masjid at Bayāna and the Jāmi' Masjid at Māṇḍū (Pls. LIV, LVIa, XXVI). It also occurs in the window panels of the Lattan Masjid, in the entrance gate of the tomb of 'Alā ul Haq, and in the Chhoṭo Sona masjid, all situated at Gauḍ.[114]

The risers of the stairs are carved with distinctive geometrical and floral patterns, recalling those in the pulpit of the Jāmi' Masjid at Aḥmadābād. The common motifs represented in these two pulpits are balustrades containing rosettes and quatrefoil designs. When the Adīna pulpit was intact, it must have been both elegant and decorative. In

any case, it hardly calls for Buchanan's remark that it is "a small ill-conceived stair".[115]

To the north and south of the central vaulted hall, and communicating with it by five arches (Fig. 75), there are the arcaded prayer halls. They are divided by four longitudinal rows of stone pillars into five broad aisles. Each row consists of 19 pointed brick arches carried on 18 stone pillars. All the pillars, excepting those supporting the zenana gallery to be described later, are slender and well-proportioned.

Facing the courtyard, these are 14 rectangular brick piers on each side of the nave (Pls. XXXIV, XXXVIIa, LXIb), carrying 15 two-centred pointed arches of 8 feet span. The lower portions of these are cased with ashlar masonry and form an impressive façade. The order of the voussoired arched of the īwān façade recall similar features in Islamic monuments in 'Irāq and Persia, such as the blind arches of the Bāghdād Gate of Raqqa, the eastern gate of the Palace at Ukhaidir and the Jausaq al-Khāqānī, known as Bab al-'Amma at Sāmarra (Pl. XLIVa). The Masjid-i-Jāmi' at Varāmīn provides one of the most interesting Persian examples of this feature (Pl. XIVb). Its Indian counterparts are to be seen in the 'Alā'ī Darwāza (Pl. XXb), both in the entrance archway as well as in the receeding arches of the squinch and in the mosque at Cambay, (Pl. XXXIa), in the

Tomb of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq at Delhi.

The western wall of the northern prayer hall is pierced by two openings on either side of the zenana gallery, which reduce the number of niches between the pilaster of the back walls from the 16 found in the southern prayer hall to 14 (Fig. 93). These postern gateways (Pls. LXXVb, LXXXVI) are built out of elements of Hindu door frames and, therefore, are unusual features, rarely found in Indian Mosques.[116] It is hard to believe that they were provided for the use of the general worshippers. Probably they were for the use of the attendants, palanquin-bearers and entourage of the King and his Ladies, who entered the Mosque through the adjoining Ladies' vestibule (Figs. 71-74).[117]

The niches below the pilasters of the western wall of the two prayer halls are filled by concave semi-circular mihrābs. These are all of identical workmanship, and must be contemporary. However, there is one exception shown in Plate LXXVIII, which differs from all the others. Here the trefoil arch corresponds generally with that of the central mihrābs. The arch itself has a superimposed ribbed roof, recalling Hindu architecture. The face of the trefoil is decorated with a lotus and diamond band, the pilasters on either side having kumbha bases and looped garlands on their shafts. All these details are different from the rest of the decorative motifs in the Adīna Masjid. But there are

no grounds for the suggestion that the work is Hindu or that it is built up of fragments of a destroyed Hindu temple. The space between the pilasters of this mihrāb and the stone-face of the brick wall is filled with fragmentary remains of Hindu sculpture.

The tympanum-like fillings of the pointed arches over the mihrābs in the northern prayer halls are exquisitely carved in brick displaying a variety of designs and bonding (Pl. LXXXV).

There are five trellis windows in the northern (Pls. LXXXa, LXXXIa) and southern ends of the prayer halls, corresponding with the arcading of the colonnades. There must have been trellises, though the work has been entirely destroyed. Pierced windows are found in the 'Alā'ī Darwaza (Pl. XXb), but the use of trellis or pierced screens was not common until the 14th century, when it appears to have been carried out to a great extent as proved by the Adīna Masjid screens.[118]

Ilāhī Bakhsh says that there is a masonry tomb in the prayer hall near the pulpit, this is, however, a modern interpolation.

The predominant feature of the northern prayer chamber (Pl. LIX) is the zenana gallery, (QRST of Fig. 74) (Pls. LXIa, LXIVb, LXVa, LXIXa-b, Fig. 95). This is a structure of great architectural importance. In the monumental effect of its

design, the solidity of its proportions, boldness of execution and refined elegance of workmanship, (Pls. LXIIb, LXIII), it surpasses most mosques. According to Westmacott, the Adīna Masjid gallery is unique,[119] but this is not so. Zenana Galleries are found in India. However they do not occur in Persia or Arabia. They are, therefore, eventually Indo-Islamic.

Francklin describes it as follows, although his placing of the gallery in the southern prayer hall is inaccurate: "In the south [north] west aisle is a raised platform of stone, 80 feet in length by 40 feet in breadth and 12 feet high: not only is the terrace of stone but the beams and arches are likewise of mafsys [massive stone] underneath the beams are roses carved with much taste. This Terrace which was entered by a door from east-wards [west-wards] was peculiarly appropriated as a place of devotion by the King, his nobility who set apart from the multitude below in the body of the mosque".[120]

The stone floor of the zenana gallery is supported by 21 massive piers of fine-grained black basalt.[121] The piers are squat and ponderous (Pls. LXIa, LXIIb, Fig. 97) unlike the 10 fluted columns (Pl. LXIII) of the gallery. Raising the gallery 8 feet from the paved floor of the northern prayer hall, these pillars have cruciform impost blocks, like those in the Quwwat al-Islām Mosque at Delhi

(Pl. XXIa-b). Unlike the slender circular shafts of the pillars in the outer parts of the Mosque which are hollow and filled in with rubble, these heavy pillars seem to be solid. When the patience and skill spent on the work are considered, these squat pillars are of considerable grace and elegance and, therefore, hardly call for Beglar's remarks as to their "slipshod style".[122] Earlier examples of such ponderous pillars are to be seen at the Mosque of Ẓafar Khān's Mosque at Tribenī (Pls. LIa, LXIIa) as well as the Gunmant Masjid at Gauḍ, the former being earlier than the Adīna Masjid, the latter later.

The zenana gallery is divided into 6 bays, running at right angles to the qibla wall, supported by 5 rows of slender fluted pillars of a remarkable design. Fluting as an ornamental device is found in the Mīnār (Pl. LXXXVIIb) at Chhoṭo Paṇḍua (c. A.D. 1300), in the corner towers of the Adīna Masjid (Pl. LXXVa, Fig. 101), the Gunti gate (A.D. 1512) and the Lattan Masjid (A.D. 1493-1519).

Considering the prevalence of purdah in Medieval Bengali society, it is presumed that the zenana gallery was enclosed by a perforated stone screen or "jālī" (Pl. LXXXIIIa). The original lattice screen of the zenana gallery must have been removed by vandals. Beglar writes: "The fact of my having actually found pieces of fish scale and quatrefoil pattern stone lattice work, in the debris

just under the edges of the platform, goes to prove, even, if no other traces of their use existed (and they do exist) that lattice screen certainly of the fish scale, and quatre-foil patterns, were used".[123]

It is interesting to note in this connection that 'Ābid 'Alī found a perforated screen and a pair of curiously carved pillars, in the Dargāh of Shāh Jalāl at Hazrat Pandua, a little south of the Adīna Masjid. He says, "in the shrine of Shāh Jalāl at Pandua several stone slabs can be seen in the cornice of the Chilla Khāna and at the entrance to the shrine. These were probably brought from the Bādshāh-kā Takht. [The zenana gallery of the Adīna Masjid]. There were railings on three sides of the Takht but no traces of them have been found. It is said that these railings originally belonged to a Buddhist temple".[124] But this is impossible. If the Dargāh lattices ever belonged to the Adīna Masjid, as 'Abīd 'Alī thinks, it is clear that they are the handiworks of Hindu artisans working under the supervision of a Muslim architectural overseer. Beglar admits that the screen in question conforms to the idea of a "Jālī" as used by Muslims in many mosques in India. The zenana gallery is a common feature and perforated screens are indispensable for it as can be seen at Delhi (Pl. XXIa), Jaunpur, Ahmadābād (Pl. LXXXIIa-b), Māndū (Pl. LIV) and elsewhere. The existence of a lattice screen may be established by the fact that

sockets at the base of the imposts placed over the outer rows of stumpy pillars are still visible.

The zenana gallery communicates with the zenana chamber (Pls. LXXIa-b, LXXIIIa), an adjacent square building outside the Mosque proper immediately to the west of the gallery, by two gateways (Pls. LXIVa, LXX), pierced in the thickness of the western qibla wall. To the south and the north of these gateways there are also two door frames (Pls. LXXVb, LXXXVI) in the western wall which open out to the interior of the mosque; the two postern gateways are marked in M and R and the two doors already mentioned marked N and O in Fig. 74.[125] Beglar pointed out that the door frames of all these four doorways are built up of fragments from some other buildings. He identifies the work as being Hindu but admits that he does not know any local source from their fragments. The work is more or less of the same kind as that to be seen in the postern gate. In all these doorways various Indian motifs attract undivided attention. These include pot and foliage, pilasters, door guardians and the intertwined nāgas on the lintel. The utilization of non-Muslim material in the Adīna Masjid as well as in later Mosques in Gaud and Hazrat Pandua is supported by two fragments in the British Museum. They are cut in basalt and the first shows finely cut Muslim diaper work on one side and the figure of Buddha on the other (Pl. CXLVIII, Fig. 126).

Another fragment has the image of probably the goddess Ushā on the other (Pl. CXLVII). The work indicates that these fragments came from Gaud or Hazrat Pandua.

The existing tomb and mosque of Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī's at Tribeni (Pls. LIIa, LXXII) is another example of Contemporary Hindu fragments being utilized in Muslim structure. The entrance gateway to the Mīnār (Pl. LIIb) at Chhoto Pandua as well as that of the Ekhlākhī Mausoleum at Hazrat Pandua (Pl. XCa) provide parallels for zenana gateways.[126] The floor of the zenana gallery with its worn basalt paving slabs is supported by the squat pillars of the prayer hall below (Pls. LXVa, LXXIXa, Fig. 92). These support bays roofed by a corbelled construction of plain slabs placed across the corners of the bays. At earlier mosques, such as the Quwwat al-Islām, internal domes constructed in this way were removed from Hindu temples. Here the old Indian method is still utilized with fresh material. Beglar's description is as usual somewhat obscure but he enters the measurements implicated which gives some idea of the scale of the work.[127]

Much of these finely conceived and constructed floor has been destroyed and the basalt slab used carried away. In 1902-3 the Archaeological Survey of India restored the platform with wooden planks.[128] Although much of the zenana gallery has been ruined, it is comparatively the

best preserved part of the Mosque to day. This is due to the supporting ponderous stone pillars, carrying the heavy weight of the superstructure above. The pointed brick arches spring from the fluted tapering columns of the zenana gallery as well as from heavy impost blocks, resting on those stumpy pillars.

The zenana gallery is carried by brick arches springing from the heavy impost blocks of its fluted columns. These arches carry 18 brick hemispherical domes, covering the 18 bays of the gallery. The transition from the square to the circular base of these domes is achieved by stalactite pendentives of brick (Pl. LXVIIIb, Fig. 91). It is interesting that the construction should be used to the exclusion of arched squinches, though small bricks are used and these are richly carved. It is true that carved brick work of 5th century Gupta origin is to be found in India but the carved brick work of the Bengal mosques derive indirectly from the work at the Tomb of Ismā'īl the Samānid at Bukhāra.

In discussing the origin of the squinch and the pendentive in early Muslim architecture, Creswell notes that the latter is earlier than the former, which is a Sasanian feature preserved in the Umayyad monuments.[129] He adds that the pendentive is a Byzantine feature developed in the Christian Syrian Churches. Triangular spherical

pendentives appear in the Qusayr 'Amra and Ḥammām al-Sarakh.[130] In the Islamic Persian monuments both the squinch and the pendentives were used. In India the earliest examples of the squinch are to be found in the Tomb of Iletmish, the Alā'ī Darwāza and the Jamā' at Khāna Masjid at Delhi, as well as later in the Aṭalā Devī Masjid at Jaunpur.

The characteristic brick pendentives found in the Adīna Masjid are copied at the Tāntīpārā Masjid, the Lattan Masjid, the Chhoto Sona Masjid and the Baṛā Sonā Masjid. They are, therefore, typical of the work of the whole region.

On the west qibla wall of the zenana gallery four mihrāb slabs appear filling the spaces.[131] To the south of the entrance doors one of these mihrābs to one side of the doors is flat marked I (Pl. LXVIIIb) and the carving with which it is embellished is of the same kind as that of the doorways. It would, therefore, seem that this mihrāb may have been derived from an earlier building. If this is so, there can be no doubt that it was a Muslim building for the cusped arched frame enclosing a finely cut chain and bell motif also bears in Tughra character Kalima Shahadat inscribed on a stone measuring 8" X 7".

Text: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Translation: "There is no God but God: Muhommad is his Prophet".

The remaining 3 mihrābs differ entirely in design, being concave and not flat, the spandrels of their cusped arches being filled by two projecting rosette medallions. They, also, bears the hanging bell-and-chain motifs and a long inscription.

The inscription in the mihrāb marked II (Pl. LXVIIIa) runs as follows:

Text:

قال الله تعالى عز من قائل وجل من متكلم - أعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم -
إن الله هو السميع العليم - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - الذين آمنوا وهاجروا
وجاهدوا في سبيل الله باموالهم وانفسهم اعظم درجة عند الله واولئك
هم الفائزون - يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوانا وجنات لهم فيها
نعيم مقيم خالدين فيها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم .

Translation: "Allāh the Great, greater than any Sayer and nobler than any speaker, said: Seek refuge with Allāh from the cursed Satan. Surely Allāh is the who hears most and knows best. In the name of Allāh, the Clement, the Merciful. They who have believed and fled from their homes, and striken with their substance and with their persons on the path of Allāh, are of the highest rank with Allāh: and these are they who shall enjoy felicity. Their Lord, by His Mercy and pleasure assures Paradise to them; therein they will abide in plenty for ever and in perpetuity. Verily with Allāh

is great recompense".

Round the rectangular frame of the zenana niche marked III (Pl. LXVII, Fig. 99) runs a broad rectangular frieze, measuring 160 inches by 15 inches. It contains a beautiful inscription in fine carving, intertwined with spiral tendrils. It runs as follows:

Text:

لقد صدق الله رسوله الرؤيا بالحق لتدخلن المسجد الحرام انشاء الله
آمنين محلقين رؤوسكم و مقصرين لاتخافون فعلم مالم تعلموا فجعل من
دون ذلك فتحا قريبا - هو الذى ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق
ليظهره على الدين كله وكفى بالله شهيدا محمد رسول الله والذين معه
اشداء على الكفار رحماء بينهم تراهم ركعا سجدا يبتغون فضلا من
الله و رضوانا .

Translation: Now hath Allāh in truth verified unto his Apostle the vision wherein He said, "Ye surely enter the sacred Mosque (of Mecca) if Allāh please, in full security, having your heads shaved, and your hair cut: ye shall not bear, for Allāh knoweth that which ye know not, and He hath appointed for you, besides this, a speedy Victory". It is He who hath sent His Apostle with "the Guidance" and religion of truth; that He may exalt the same above every religion: and Allāh is a sufficient witness hereof. Muhammad is the Apostle of Allāh; and those who are with him are most vehement against unbelievers but full of tenderness among

themselves. Thou mayest see them bowing down, prostrating themselves, imploring favours from Allāh and His good pleasure".

The inscription cut skilfully in elegant Naskh, set in spiral floral background contains the verses from the Qur'ān, namely Sūra XLVIII, verses 27, 28, 29. In the middle of the rectangular frame, beneath the broad horizontal frieze runs another short inscription taken from the Qur'ānic Verse 56 of the Sūra (Chapter) XXXIII. It runs as follows:

Text:

ان اللہ وملائکتہ یصلون علی النبی یا ایہا الذین اٰمنوا صلوا علیہ وسلموا تسلیما .

Translation: "Verily Allāh and His angels bless the Prophet. Bless ye him. O Believers, and salute him with salutations of peace".

To the south of the mihrāb no. VII in the zenana gallery, there exists another mihrāb, numbered IV (Pls. LXVb, LXVI). Unlike the flat mihrāb marked I it is a semi-circular niche with cinquefoil arch, forming an alcove. An intricate device of chiselling displays the rich texture to the surface, often mistaken for glazed tile work. Undoubtedly the surface of the concave mihrāb and its frame is polished smooth. Both the mihrābs nos. I and II are alike in various ornamental motifs. Like the other two concave mihrābs in the zenana

gallery, mihrāb no. I also contains verses of the Qur'an, exquisitly carved in black basalt. Horn says, "The intervals between the single letters and the words are always copiously ornamented with floral arabesques". Ravenshaw has incorporated this inscription but unfortunately reproduced it in reverse, creating confusion. (Plate LXVb). The verse of forming the inscription is taken from the Ayat al-Kursī or the Throne verse of the Qur'ān (being Sūra II, Verse. 256, 257, is similar to the first few lines of the epigraphical record over the gate of the enclosure of 'Alāul Haqq's tomb. It runs as follows:

اللہ لا إلٰہ إلا ھو الحی القیوم لا تأخذہ سنۃ ولا نوم لہ ما فی السموات وما فی الارض
من ذا الذی یشفع عندہ إلا باذنہ یعلم ما بین أیدیھم وما خلفھم ولا یحیطون بشیء
من علمہ إلا بما شاء - وسع کرسیہ السموات والارض ولا یؤودہ حفظھما وھو العلی
العظیم .

Translation: "Allāh! There is no god but He! the Living, the Self-subsisting, neither slumber seizeth Him nor sleep; His is whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the Earth! who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission? He knoweth what is present with his creatures, and what is yet to befall them; ye nought of His knowledge do they comprehend save what He willeth. His Throne reacheth over the Heavens

and the Earth, and the upholding of both burdeneth Him not: and He is the High, the Great".

Prasad has described the raised platform in the Northern prayer hall in the Adīna Masjid as "Takhtgāh-i-sang-i-Nimāzgāh-i-Bādshāhān wa shāhzādgān", or "stone platform of the place of worship by kings and princes".[132] The term Bādshāh-kā-Takht, used by many historians, is quite inappropriate, as it was primarily meant for the ladies of the Harem.[133] Beglar is quite logical in denying this term and describing it as the ladies gallery. The existence of such a secluded platform distinct from the congregation halls, is, however, proved by similar zenana galleries in the Tāntīpārā Masjid, the Gunmant Masjid, the Chhoto Sōnā Masjid and the Barā Sonā Masjid, all of which are situated at Gaud.[134] Moreover, as Beglar points out, the "close proximity of a covered and screened privy"[135] to the adjoining zenana Chamber as well as the existence of a sloping stone ramp in the open vestibule to the north of the chamber[136] indicate that they are all meant for use of the Harem ladies (Fig. 72). Therefore, as Marshall puts it, "it was primarily built for the zenana but which is now generally called Bādshāh-kā-Takht".[137] Fergusson regards it as the king's Throne or Royal Gallery,[138] Nizamuddin Ahmed who states, "Khizr Khan Turk had married the daughter of Mahmud Shah III Bengali and was behaving in his "sitting".

B. Dey, the translator of the Ṭabaqāt i-Akbarī of Niẓāmuddīn, explains the "sitting" after Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī as the Tokī or the upper place. The Tokī is referred to in the large raised platform in the Adīna Masjid, where the Sultan and his entourage sat and prayed.[139] Therefore, the raised platform, primarily meant for the purdah-observing ladies of the Royal Household, came to be also used by the King who naturally wanted segregation for probable political reasons from the congregation below in the body of the mosque. It, however, neither accomodated the mullāh, as Saraswati thinks,[140] nor the nobility, as stated by Francklin.

The concept of isolation in congregation practised by the Caliphs and his Governors of early Islam may be traced to the maqṣūra probably introduced by Muawiyah. But before it emerged, there was a type of square mosque with adjoining Dār al-Imāra, placed back to back against the qibla wall, which persisted for more than two centuries. Remarkable examples of the combination between the secular and the religious buildings are to be found not only in the earliest mosque of Islam at Madīna, but also at Kūfa, Baṣra, Fusṭāṭ, Wāsit, Bāghdād, Sāmarrā, Ibn, Ṭūlūn, and Qairawān, etc.

Curiously enough, the zenana gallery is conspicuous by its absence in the Persian Islamic architecture, presumably

because Shiism did not descriminate between the sexes in places of public worship. Nevertheless, the ancient practice did not become obsolete as it was revived in Spain on the one hand and India on the other.

The earliest surviving examples of the zenana gallery are to be seen on raised platformsto to the north of the Central miḥrāb in many Indian mosques. As Marshall puts it, "In the mosque of Shah Alam at Timurpur, there occurs the earliest Gallery in the rear corner of the prayer chamber, which henceforth was to become the orthodox position for these galleries".[141] Against Marshall's contention it may be pointed out that the Quwwat al-Islām Mosque at Delhi had four entresol galleries at the four corners of the Mosque, presumably meant for the ladies of the court.

A few striking examples of the zenana gallery are to be seen in the following mosques of India.

Date A.D.	Provenance	Monuments
1192	Delhi	Quwwat al-Islām Mosque (Pl. XXIb)
	Hiṣār	The Jāmi' Masjid
1333	Dholkā	Mosque of Hilāl Khān (Fig. 58)
1361	Dholkā	The Ṭankā Masjid (Fig. 59)
1405	Dhār	The Lāṭ Masjid
1408	Jaunpur	The Aṭalā Devī Masjid (Fig. 49)

Date A.D.	Provenance	Monuments
1411	Ahmadābād	Ahmad Shāh's Mosque (Fig. 62)
1325	Khambāyat (Cambay)	The Jāmi' Masjid (Fig. 57)
1440	Māndū	The Jāmi' Masjid (Fig. 54)
1453	Sarkhej	Mosque of Daryā Khān (Fig. 65)
1480	Gaud	The Tāntīpārā Masjid (Pl. cxv, Fig. 116)
16th century	Bījāpur	The Mosque of Afzal Khān
1493-1519	Gaud	The Chhoto Sonā Masjid (Pl. cxxii, Fig. 124)
1524	Gaud	The Barā Sonā Masjid (Pl. cxxiv, Fig. 118)
1523	Bagha, Rājshāhī	The Mosque
1558	Kusumbha, Rājshāhi	The Mosque

Therefore, it is no wonder that the Adīna Masjid which in boldness of conception and richness of decoration has surpassed all the earlier mosques of India, maintains a link in many architectural features, the zenana gallery being an example.

The institution of the zenana gallery in a mosque reflects the social atmosphere of Medieval Bengal. It is a brilliant testimony to the tolerance and catholicity of

the Muslim rulers towards the fair sex. As Bloch puts it, "I may mention in passing that the peculiar custom among the Muhammadans of Bengal, of allowing their wives and daughters to attend Divine Service in the Mosque, is interesting also, in so far as it affords to us an illustration of the great respect shown by them towards the weaker sex".[142]

A curiously interesting feature of the Adīna Masjid is the square structure, adjoining the outer wall of the qibla, on the northern side of the central mihrāb. It communicates with the zenana gallery by lintelled doorways, formed by Hindu door jambs, as stated earlier. According to Beglar it measures externally 54 feet by 48 feet,[143] whereas 'Abid 'Alī notes that this roofless annexe is 42 feet square.[144] It stands on a very high plinth, raising the floor to the level of the Ladies' gallery. The plinth is built of random rubble work with conventionalised Buddhist railing ornament resembling those in the dadoes of the qibla wall of the mosque.

The square annexe (Pls. LXXIa-b, LXXXIIIa) with walls 6 feet 8 inches thick was probably roofed over by domes, as the remains of four square stone bases of pillars, two in two rows, supporting the domes on arches, as well as the pilasters in the qibla wall, are still visible.[145] These pillars are circular in shape, from which spring transverse and longitudinal arches. These arches carry 9 domes probably by the similar brick stalactite pendentives observed inside

the mosque.[146] In other words, the space inside the Annexe is divided into 9 small squares, each surmounted by a small hemispherical dome, similar to those in the mosque proper.

According to Cunningham, the three openings on the northern and the southern sides were originally trellis windows, as the floor of the tomb is on the same level as the zenana gallery in the mosque. In the plan shown in Fig. 95 (Pl. LXXXIIIa) the central lintelled doorway in the northern wall of the Annexe provides an entrance to another adjoining chamber or platform, presumably of the same size, as attested by Buchanan.[147] Beglar regards the platform to the north of the Annexe as an open vestibule, with a sloping stone ramp suitable for allowing Dūlīs and Palkīs, carrying ladies of the Harem to the Annexe and finally to the Ladies gallery.[148]

The lack of evidence, historical as well as architectural leaves the identification of the Annexe an open question. Although contemporary authors, namely Francklin and Prasad, have not said anything on this point, Buchanan considers this Annexe to be the Tomb of the builder, Sikandar Shāh. He writes, "the grave is in the centre, and is without ornament. It is composed of brick and covered with an arch".[149] Both Ravenshaw and Westmacott believe that Sikandar Shāh intended part of the great Adīna Masjid

to form a final resting place for himself.[150] Fergusson likewise maintains that the royal builder wanted himself to be buried within the precincts or the immediate neighbourhood of the Masjid.[151] Ilāhi Bakhsh measures the sarcophagus as 9 cubits long N and S and 7½ cubits broad, thereby indicating it as a Mausoleum. He is, however, supported by Cunningham.[152]

'Ābid 'Alī relates the local tradition about the nature of the Annexe. He says, "...Sekandar was buried in this chamber after his defeat and death, but unfortunately the ten-domed roof fell in, and much debris collected over the tomb. When this was ultimately removed, the remains of the King's tomb was cleared away by the coolies along with the rubbish and thrown into the adjoining tank".[153]

Architecturally speaking the square multi-domed building at the rear of the western wall at the Adīna Masjid recalls the cubical chambers in the tomb of Ẓafar Khān at Tribeni. Tombs, adjoining mosques appear in Egypt, Persia and India. The origin of this custom may be traced to the original mosque of the Prophet at Madīna, where he was subsequently buried.

According to historians, Sultan Sikandar Shāh received fatal injuries in the field of battle against his own rebellious son Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'ẓam Shāh and died at Goalpara.[154] N.B. Roy, following Blochmann has identified

Goālpārā with that in the vicinity of Hazrat Pandua.[155] According to them, it is situated a mile or so north of the old southern gate of Pandua and about 3 miles south west of the Adīna Masjid.[156] This, is however, corroborated by Ravenshaw who has placed it in his Map on the west of the Dinājpur Road, leading from Mālda to Dinājpur between the Eklākhī Mausoleum and the Adīna Masjid.[157]

Referring to Buchanan, Stapleton says that Goālpārā alias Fuldāngī, Rānīganj or Rānīgarh is situated on the Tangan River, 8 miles, south west of Bāmangolā, and that there is a fortified bridge-head at the crossing of the River by an old road. According to an informant, it is 3 miles east of Rānīgarh.[158]

Contrary to the above noted views, Westmacott maintains that the body of Sikandar Shāh was brought when he fell in arms again his rebellious son on the field of Chatra, 12 miles to the east of Malda.[159] About its identification, Stapleton observes, "There is no river called Chatters in the vicinity, but the name Satra or Chattera mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton as the site of the battle is still found in the Chatra bil which lies immediately to the north of the bridge-head".[160] Chatra is, therefore, sometimes identified with Goālpārā.

The character of the Annexe is, therefore to be determined by the identification of the site Goālpārā

where Sultan Sikandar Shāh breathed his last. Salim says, "Shortly after, in order to wrest the Kingdom, he [Ghiāsu-d-dīn 'Azam Shāh] marched with a large army from Sunārgāon, and encamped at Sunārgadhī. From the other side, the father also with a powerful army advanced. On the next day, on the battlefield of Goālpārā, both sides marshalling their forces prepared to fight".[161]

According to Salam, Sunargadhi must have been close to Sunargaon. (235) About the identification of Goālpārā, Wise says, "In 1367, Ghiyasuddin, son of the reigning monarch, rebelled and fled to Sunargaon, there he collected an army and marched against his father. The two armies met at Gowalpara, near Ja'farganj in the Dhaka district, and nearly opposite the junction of the Ganges and Jabuna. The father was carried off the field mortally wounded. Eighty years ago (1794), his tomb was still pointed out in the neighbourhood".[162] He further states that on the west of Ja'farganj, where the Jabuna flows at the present time, stood a village called Goariah, where a Dargāh of Sikandar Shāh and a Langar Khāna, or hospital, erected by Jāhangīr, are said to have existed.[163] Rennell in his Map of the District of Dacca has shown Goālpārā as a little dwindled village.[164] These circumstantial evidence tend to prove that Sultan Sikandar Shāh could not have been buried in the Annexe of the Adīna Masjid.

While exploring the site, Beglar and Marshall did not come across any sarcophagus, mentioned by Ilāhi Bakhsh, or any exposed vault in which the body of Sikandar was deposited, as stated by Cunningham.[165] In point of fact, at a little distance towards the west of the annexe, remains of a hole are still visible, which may either form a subterranean tunnel (Pl. LXXIa), reaching the burial coffin, as at the Tomb of Iletmish or just a treasure hunters' dig. Of the two, the latter is probable as the archaeological Survey reports of the Eastern Circle are silent about such shafts.[166]

There was a Library in the Adīna Masjid, which can only be placed in the building in question.[167] The southern prayer hall, (Pls. LXXIIIb, LXXIV, LXXVI, Fig. 100), like the northern prayer hall is divided into 5 aisles by 4 stone colonnades, running at right angles. Each of these colonnades has 17 slender cylindrical columns, resting on thick square base with dog-tooth mouldings. They were probably capped by a square abacus. The roof-supporting columns (Pl. LXXIIIb), which must have been graceful, rivalling those of the northern prayer hall, have long since disappeared. Formed by neatly chipped slabs, they are hollow drums, filled with random rubble work. These slender, almost ricketty columns were too weakly built to resist the thrust exerted by the arches carrying the

dome. Consequently, unlike the Northern prayer hall which received added strngth from the squat pillars of the ladies gallery, nothing strikingly graceful remains ~~exist~~ to reconstruct the southern prayer hall. The Archaeological Survey of India erected a supporting curtain wall in this hall (Pl. LXXIIIb).

The 17 columns carry 18 shapely pointed brick arches, which abut from the pilasters attached to the southern end wall. From these columns also spring 17 tiers of vertical arcades, each tier having 5 brick arches. They abut from rectangular piers, facing the courtyard and are joined with the pilasters of the qibla wall.

These tall pointed arches carry small hemispherical domes, skilfully adjusted with those of the northern prayer hall and the surrounding cloisters. Like the three end arches of the northern prayer hall, the southern prayer hall has similar arches, directly communicating with the southern riwāq or cloisters. The domes are without drums and spring over a small square area, the transition being provided by stalactite brick pendentives.

Much simpler in design and execution than the northern prayer hall, the southern prayer hall is entered from the courtyard by 15 pointed arches (Pl. XXXIV). They spring from thick rectangular piers, like those in the northern chamber. These arches are relieved gracefully

with recession, excepting the two on either side of the līwān buttress. The substantial piers are placed east and west, built of random rubble work, faced with stone slabs for added strength. The most distinguishing feature in the façade of the līwān is the curious brick cornice with curved roof top. Nothing remains to show that there was ever an ornamental parapet above the līwān façade. Probably the existence of parapet above the characteristic curved Bengali roof would seem quite incongruous in style, as demonstrated by the classical examples of Bengali curvilinear cornice in the Eklākhī Mausoleum at Hazrat Pandua, in the Lattan Masjid, and in the Mosque near Hemtabad, Dinājpur.[168]

Below the cornice runs two string courses of small brick niches, each containing a characteristic stucco design. This ornamental device was repeated in the Eklākhī Mausoleum at Hazrat Pandua, in the Chika Building in the Darasbārī Masjid and also in the Lattan Masjid.

There are five windows with lattice screens, each placed at the end of the five aisles of the southern prayer hall. They correspond exactly with those placed at the end of the aisles of the northern prayer hall.

In its utter ruin, the most redeeming features of the southern prayer hall are undisputedly the tastefully carved brick tympanums (Pls. LXXXV, Fig. 100) along with the elegantly carved black basalt mihrābs.[169] These 18 semi-

circular concave mihrābs (Pl. LXXVI) are framed within neatly chiselled cinquefoil arches. They spring from the graceful and slender columns. These columns have elegantly moulded bases, octagonal shafts with hanging chain and bell motifs and cruciform capitals. The medallion is in the form of a lotus which seem to shoot up from its root, placed at the spring-line. In design and execution, they recall the niches in the northern prayer hall.

The southern riwāq (Pl. LXXIVa) is placed between the southern prayer hall and the eastern riwāq linked by three communicating arched oppnings. They spring from rectangular piers, resembling those of the līwān façade. Beglar in his tentatively reliable plan has shown, contrary to those of Buchanan, Ravenshaw and Cunningham, that the southern wing has its seperate entity, like that of the northern riwāq.[170] It is divided into 8 aisles by 2 rows of colonnades, each carrying 14 slender columns, not unlike those of the southern prayer hall. From these columns spring 15 pointed arches running from the eastern riwāqs to the southern prayer hall.

The southern riwāq is roofed over by 45 small hemispherical domes, carried on arches. The transition from the square base to the circle of the dome is provided by stalactite pendentives, which correspond unmistakably with those in the northern riwāqs.

Presumably the curtain wall of the southern riwāq was pierced by 15 lattice windows, traces which have long since disappeared, corresponding to those in the northern riwāqs.

The northern riwāq (Pl. XXXVIIa), placed between the northern prayer hall and the eastern riwāq, aims like the southern riwāq, to provide a covered entrance to the līwān for the worshippers. In elevation, alignment, internal arrangement, and technical details, it is a replica of the southern riwāq. It is communicated to the northern prayer hall and the eastern riwāqs by three brick pointed arches, springing from rectangular brick piers faced with stones.

The northern riwāq is divided by 2 rows of arcades into 3 longitudinal aisles. Each colonnade carries 15 pointed brick arches, springing from 14 slender stone columns. These columns are not monolithic, their hollow drums being filled with random rubble work. The riwāq is roofed over by 45 small hemispherical domes and entered from the courtyard by 15 arched openings.[171] They spring from oblong brick piers, placed north and south like those of the southern riwāqs. The transverse arches abut from pilasters attached to oblong piers. This peculiar arrangement was repeated throughout in the piers facing the courtyard from the līwān as well as the riwāqs.

Probably there were 15 lattice windows at each end

of the 15 transverse rows of arches in the enclosure wall of the northern riwāq, same as those in the southern riwāq.

The eastern riwāq (Pls. LXXIXb, LXXXIb, XCIb, XCIIa), placed between the northern riwāq and the southern riwāq, closely resemble the līwān in layout and internal arrangement. It measures 516 feet by 38 feet and maintains symmetrical elevation with those of the side riwāqs.[172] Less ornate and more austere, at least as it stands to day, than the līwān, the eastern riwāq is divided into 3 transverse aisles by 2 rows of arcaded colonnades. It runs parallel with the līwān. Each colonnade carries 39 arches, pointed in contour, springing from slender stone pillars of the same type as observed in the riwāqs and līwān.

The riwāq is divided into 117 (39X3) small squares each roofed over by a small hemispherical dome.[173] The transition is attained by the usual stalactite pendentives.

The façade of the eastern riwāq (Pl. LXXXIb) must have been of pleasing proportions, each longitudinal arcade directly corresponding with that of the līwān. It is entered from the courtyard by 33 arched openings, the corner ones being smaller than the rest.

Although Ravenshaw does not show any gateway in his plan, Buchanan marks it in his plan.[174] Cunningham gives importance to the three arched openings (Pl. LXXVa) at the south-east corner of the eastern riwāq.[175] He writes, "The

most remarkable feature about this great Masjid is the total absence of any entrance gateways". He considers the eastern central entrance (Pl. LXXXIb) as "only a simple doorway or passage through the walls, unmarked by any projecting wings or rising battlements".[176] The Plate LXXVa, however, shows remains of only one entrance gateway to the morth east corner of the Masjid, the side openings obviously being filled with screens, now completely disappeared.

Arguing for the public character of the south-west entrances, Cunningham says that from these archways which are left open, people could enter at once into the southern and the eastern riwāqs from the outside. Each of these three arches, adorned with a gate, open towards the tank (Fig. 71) which was probably used for the purpose of physical purification. The possibility of such an inference is rendered more probable by the absence of any fountain in the courtyard. But it is presumed that such a carefully planned mosque as the Adīna had a qubbat or domed fountain in the courtyard.

In spite of its timid and undignified entrance, unlike the impressive porches of the Tughluq buildings, the eastern central archway shows a clear alignment with the central miḥrāb in the līwān of the Adīna Masjid. Although small and insignificant, the eastern gateway which is wider than the south-west entrance manifests an organic planning of mosques, as observed in the mosque of Damascus, the

mosque of Cordova, the mosque of Abū Dulaf as well as the Quwwat-al-Islām mosque at Delhi and the Arhāī-din-kā-Jhoprā at Ajmer, the Jāmi' Masjid at Māṇḍū, the Khirkī Masjid (Pl. LXa). Cunningham himself points out the incongruous appearance of the side entrances, "as this arrangement utterly spoils the symmetry of the building, it was probably an afterthought, when the single small door in the middle of the east side was found utterly insufficient".

Due to the lack of the informations about the upkeep, reconstruction, additions and alterations, of the Adīna Masjid, it is extremely difficult to say whether the side entrances were part and parcel of the building or an afterthought. Scrutinizing the building materials used the style of ornamentation and the skilful disposition in relation to elevation, it may be assumed that they were added in the later part of the reign of Sultan Sikandar Shāh. To cope with the ever-increasing congregation the triple archway at the south west corner of the eastern riwāq was added.

The enclosure wall of the eastern riwāq is richly adorned with 35 delicately carved lattice windows, each with cusped relieving arches, hanging chain and beel. There are also 3 trellis windows at each end of the aisles towards the north and south.

Cunningham observes, "The exterior of the Masjid is very plain, the slight mouldings and weakly marked

niches being lost sight of in the great length of the wall. The front wall of the masjid also is plain, all the architects' strength having been reserved for the inner side of the back wall, which is highly decorated. The patterns, however, are much too small and too shallow for the great extent of the wall over which they are spread".[177] Nevertheless, the monotony of the bare wall (Pls. LXXV, LXXXIb) is relieved by geometrical panelling and surface encrustations.

Beglar has elaborately discussed the system of drainage in the Adīna Masjid. He writes, "it will have been seen that the architect.... had so far designed the building not only with great success in an aesthetic point of view, but had kept clearly in view the materials available to hand, so as to utilize them to the utmost.... no less clearly has he displayed his foresight and capacity in providing for the efficient drainage of the great building he was erecting".[178]

The existence of a well-planned system of drainage is an imperious necessity for a building in a country like Bengal where average rainfall is very heavy. It is proved by the sloping floor level of the Adīna Masjid. This is to be observed from the central nave as its highest point to the portion of the eastern riwāq at the Gargoyle (Plate LVb). The slope is detected by Beglar after careful examination of

the pillars, niches, the springlines of arches and the positions of the cornices of the eastern riwāq which is much higher and taller than those of the līwān. Such variations have accrued due to the fact that the floor of the eastern riwāq at its lowest point is much lower, as much as 5 feet, than the floor of the great central vaulted nave.[179]

Along the foot of the line of arches all round the inner courtyard, there was a shallow, 6 inches deep, terraced catch-water of pakka or beaten concrete. It carries all the stray water from the riwāqs and the courtyard, and had a final outlet into a covered stone-lintelled underground channel. The channel finally passes under and across the eastern riwāq, discharging the accumulated water from the Gargoyle into a brick stepped channel and eventually into the tank marked C in Plate 72.[180]

'Abid 'Ali says, "a drainage hole in the east wall is closed by a stone crocodile with large head and trunk, the mouth of which served to carry off the rain water from the compound".[181] Ravenshaw published a curious sculptured figure in back hornblende, as he puts it, "bearing somewhat the appearance of a Hindu god". Later on R.D. Banerjee republished this piece as a makara-gargoyle. In sculpturesque quality and the material contents, the Pandua gargoyle bears an unmistakable resemblance to the makara-gargoyle from Patna

(Pl. LVC) published by Banerjee.[182]

The real character as well as the distinguished features of the Adīna Masjid have yet to be determined. In the present crumbling state of this one-time "wonder of the world",[183] as Cunningham calls it, it is well nigh impossible to say whether this magnificent mosque occupies the site of any Hindu or Buddhist temple. A group of scholars failed to see in the impressive Adīna Masjid anything more than a mere assemblage of Hindu or Buddhist fragments, arranged skilfully to adhere to a mosque plan. Ilāhī Bakhsh started the controversy when he wrote, "It is worth observing that in front of the chaukath (lintel) of the Adīna Masjid, there was a broken and polished idol, and that there were other idols lying about. So it appears that, in fact, this mosque was originally an idol-temple".[184] Beglar steps up this controversy by saying, "the Adīna Masjid occupies the site, of a once famous, or at least a most important, and highly ornamented, pre-Muhammadan shrine";[185] he depends for his arguments on a Sanskrit inscription, discovered in the building which bears the name of Indranāth (fig. 73 Appendix III). Saraswatī seems to have carried the thesis too far when he writes, "an examination of the stones used in the construction of the Adīna Mosque one of them bearing a Sanskrit inscription recording merely a name, Indranāth, in character of the 9th century) and those lying about in heaps

all around, reveals the fact, which no careful observer can deny, that most of them came from temples that once stood in the vicinity".[186] Beglar even went so far as to pin-point "the sanctum of the temple, judging from the remnants of heavy pedestals of statues, now built into the pulpit, and the superb canopied trefoils, now doing duty as prayer niches, stood where the main prayer niche now stands; nothing would probably so tickle the fancy of a bigot, as the power of placing the sanctum of his orthodox cult, (in this case the main prayer niche) on the spot, where hated infidel had his sanctum".[187] The existence of a foundation of a Hindu Temple in the Adīna Masjid is as far-fetched as to consider the circular pedestal to the west of the qibla wall as remains of a Buddhist stūpa (Fig. 73). It may be the base of a detached mīnār, as dimilar examples are to be seen in the mosques of Egypt, Persia and India. The classical examples of the detached mīnār are to be seen in the Malwīyah tower (Pl. LXXXVIIIa-b) at Sāmarrā and in the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn (Pl. VIII a-b). The Persian cylindrical tapering minarets are found at Sabzavar, Sangbast, Simnar and Sāva.[188] The Ghaznī mīnār of Maḥmūd (Pl. XXa) is a typological ancestor of the Quṭb mīnār (PL. XXb) Indian examples of detached tower are to be seen in the now destroyed Koel mīnār,[189] the unfinished

mīnār in the mosque of Bayānā (Fig. 45). Even in Bengal the mīnār at Chhoto Pandua (Pl. LXXXVIIb) and the Fīrūzā mīnār at Gaud (Pl. LXXXVIIa) might have also served for the azān by the resident muazzin.

B/ THE GUNMANT MASJID AT GAUD
(A.H. 889 / A.D. 1484)

Ilāhi Bakhsh in his work Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā has described an interesting monument (Pls. CXVIIb, CXVIIIa, Fig. 106),[190] under the title of "Gūnmat Mosque". This lies between the Kotwālī Gate and the village Mahdīpūr on the eastern bank of the river Bhāgīrathī in Gaud. King calls it "Gunnut Mosque" and Lambourne the "Gunmani Mosque".[191] All later historians call it "Gunmant Masjid".[192]

The Gunmant Masjid at Gaud bears an unmistakable resemblance to the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua (Pls. XXXV, XXXVI, Figs. 72-74), which was, however, built about a century earlier. As Saraswati puts it, "The Gunmant Mosque at Gaur is another example of the type of oblong mosque with a central nave covered by an elongated vault, flanked by two side-wings roofs by clusters of semi-circular domes".[193]

It is in fact a rectangular building with its axis placed north and south and measures 158 feet by 59 feet externally and 140 feet 9 inches by 59 feet 4 inches internally.[194] Its lay-out is very simple though its proportions are pleasing. In having a central vaulted hall leading from the courtyard to the central mihrāb in the oblong līwān, flanked by two wings of the prayer-hall. The central vaulted hall or nave measures 51 feet long by 16 feet 10 inches broad. On each side of it, are prayer-

halls, divided by two rows of arcades, each now carrying four arches. The brick arches, both longitudinal and transverse spring from square stone pillars 1 foot 7½inches square.[195]

These arches carry 12 small brick hemispherical domes in each of the two wings, the transition from the square substructure to the circle of the dome being attained by stalactite brick pendentives.[196] The dome bearing arches spring from the pilasters attached to the qibla walls, side walls, the oblong eastern pillars and the octagonal nave piers.

The pillars of the side halls are slender in construction, the two stone piers on each side of the vaulted nave being octagonal. Their pedestals are 4½ feet square.[197] In almost every details, the nave pillars of the Gunmant Masjid precisely corresponds with the stumpy pillars, supporting the zenana gallery in the Adīna Masjid. On each face of these squat pillars are stone pilasters from which spring brick arches both longitudinally and transversely.

The most impressive part of the Gunmant Masjid was probably the līwān arched façade in front of the vaulted nave, a feature already introduced in the Adīna Masjid. By comparison with the central vaulted hall of the Adīna

Masjid and what can be seen of the remains it may have been roofed over by a tunnel vault. Chakravarti describes it as having "a large arched roof", which cannot be other than a vault.[198] The existence of a vault is rendered more probable by the fact that there still remains traces of the decorative panels with ribs, descending down the apex of the arches. Indeed, the design and execution of these elegantly carved brick ribs helps us to reconstruct the remains of the similar ribs of the Adīna vault, built exactly a century ago, which must have served as a model.

The Gunmant Masjid is entered from the east by 9 arched openings, the central nave being flanked by 4 smaller arches on either side. These four transverse arches spring from massive rectangular brick piers. It is quite possible that the entire building was faced with stone, which has fallen down. Internally, these brick piers have abutments from which longitudinal arches spring.

The most striking feature in the vaulted nave is the central niche which is not accompanied by subsidiary mihrābs. The qibla wall of the side prayer chambers, however, contain 4 concave mihrābs each in the plan given by Cunningham, there does not appear any buttress projection outside at the rear of the central mihrāb, as in the Adīna Masjid.

Cunningham says, "The mosque also had a corridor along the whole front, as shown by a portion of the vaulted

roof which still remains. This would have increased the breadth by about 18 feet, thus bringing it up to 77 feet, which is just the same as that of the Great Golden Mosque".[199] Dani thinks that verandah is incompatible with the oblong type of mosques with vaulted central nave as seen in the Adīna Masjid.[200]

The date of the Gunmant Masjid is quite uncertain. Ilāhi Bakhsh does not mention anything about the builder of the mosque or the date of its construction. King described it in 1875 as "Gunnut Mosque, a large stone building without inscription". However, Cunningham does assign an epigraphical record to this mosque. He writes, "Now there is a long inscription of Fateh Shāh, dated in A.H. 889, at present lying in Mahdipur outside a temporary mosque, with a thatched roof which is said to have been brought from a ruined Masjid to the south of the village by a Hindu about 20 years ago".[201] Contradicting Cunningham's opinion, Saraswati points out, "that this Mosque agrees in all essential respects with the great Adīna Mosque at Hazrat Panduah, more than a century earlier in date. There is no certainty that the inscription, referred to, did belong to the mosque in question and in view of the fact that the building has distinct affinities with an earlier group, the inference

that it is also nearer to it in date may not be improbable".[202]

Dani differs from the views expressed by both Cunningham and Saraswati and places the mosque in question in the Husain Shāhī period (A.H. 889-925/A.D. 1493-1519) on the ground that it has "octagonal towers at the corners", curved battlements, highly decorated terracotta art, terracotta imitation in stone, profusion of glazed tiles and stone facing of the walls".[203] With regard to the octagonal corner towers, it may be pointed out that they already appeared in the Eklākhī Tomb (Pls. LXXXIXb, XCa, Fig. 105), the Chīkā building (Pls. XCIII, XCIV) (A.H. 818-36/A.D. 1415-32), the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid (Pls. XCVII-XCVIII) (A.H. 883/A.D. 1478), Mosque at Masjidbarī (Fig. 120), Barisal (A.H. 870/A.D. 1483) and Bābā Adam Shahīd's Mosque (Fig. III) at Rampal, Dacca (A.H. 888/A.D. 1483). Likewise, the curved cornice, whose origin has been traced to the indigenous bamboo construction, was a characteristic feature of Muslim architecture in Bengal observable in the Eklākhī Tomb, (Pls. LXXXIXb, XCa), Bābā Adam Shahīd's Mosque and the Tāntīpārā Mosque (Pls. CI, CII). The stucco design, which is one of the most distinctive features of Muslim decorative art in Bengal may be seen in the Mosque of Chhoṭo Paṇḍua (Pl. LXXXIXa) at Hughli (A.H. 699/A.D. 1300). Stucco revetment and glazed tiles of Kashi style appears earlier than the Gunmant Mosque, such as the mosque at Chhoṭo Paṇḍua, the

Eklākhī Tomb, the Chāmkatti Masjid, the Dākhil Darwāza (A.H. 841-864/A.D. 1438-60) and the Tāntīpārā Masjid (A.H. 885/A.D. 1480). So far as the stone facing is concerned it may be said that it is certainly not an innovation in the Gunmant Masjid. The Tomb of Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī (Pl. LXXIIb) at Tribeni, Hughli, is one of the earliest known examples of stone facing.

The text of the inscription referred to by Cunningham is as follows:

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله تعالى قصراً في الجنة
قد بنى هذا المسجد في زمان سلطان السلاطين قهرمان في الماء والطين
كاشف اسرار القرآن عالم علوم الاديان والابدان خليفة الله بالحجة والبرهان
جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان
خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه واعلى امره وشانه وبسعي خان الاعظم وخاقان
المعظم الواثق بالمنان خان معظم دولتخان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه في
سنة تسع وثمانين وثمانمايه.

Translation: "The Prophet may the blessings and peace of Allāh be on him! - has said: "He who builds a mosque for Allāh will built a palace for him in Paradise". Verily this mosque was built in the time of the Sultān of Sultāns, the Valiant Warrior amidst water and clay, who is the Revealer of the Secrets of the Qur'ān, Learned in all branches of Learning, both as regards Religion and the (care of) bodies (i.e. a doctor) Viceregent of Allāh by deed and

proof Jalāl-ud-Dunyā wa-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Fath Shāh Sultān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sultān- may Allāh preserve his rule and sovereignty!, by the Great Khān and exalted Khāqān who trusts in the generosity of the Beneficient, the Exalted Khān Daulat Khān, Commander-in-Chief of the Army (Wazīr-i-Lashkar). May Allāh accept him! - in the year 889 (A.D. 1484).

The Arabic text of the inscription is engraved in two lines of equal parts: seperated by a raised horizontal band [illegible] on a black stone. The tablet provides the most curious example of the border carving in the middle of the top raised band, containing the phrase: Bismillāh ar-Rahmān ar-Rahīm: in the dimension of the stone and the style of calligraphy, Fath Shāh's inscription dated A.H. 889/A.D. 1484, bears unmistakable resemblance to the epigraphical records of the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid (A.H. 883/ A.D. 1478) and the Tāntīpārā Masjid.

According to Stapleton, "... it (Fath Shāh's inscription) contains most interesting allusions to the geography of either Gaur or more probably - Eastern Bengal where several inscriptions of the reign of Jalāluddīn Fath Shāh have been found as well as the learning of the ruling Sultān".[206] Moreover it throws light on the less known military hierarchy of Medieval Bengal as the builder appeared to be the Commander-in-Chief.

So far four inscriptions have been discovered from the village of Mahdīpūr in the vicinity of the Gunmant Masjid, three of which belong to Fath Shāh (A.H. 886-893/ A.D. 1493-1519). To these may be added another unpublished inscription,[207] bearing the date A.H. 893/A.D. 1487-88, now in the British Museum. They are given below:

Date	Provenance	Monument	Builder	Reign
889/1484-5	Temporary mosque at Mahdīpūr village	Mosque	Khān Daulat Khān	Fath Shāh
884 or 889/ 1479-80 or 1484-5	Challā Masjid, Sijdagah	?	Khān Daulat Khān	Fath Shāh
891/1486	Modern mosque at Mahdīpūr	Mosque	Sayyid Dastūr	Fath Shāh
893/1487-88	Probably from Gaud	Mosque	Mansūr bin al-Malik (?)	Fath Shāh
?	Mahdīpūr	?	Malik Yazīd Muazzam Zafar Khān	Husain Shāh

Paul Horn published a fragmentary inscription said to have been fixed on the wall of the Challā Masjid in the village of Mahdīpūr. It records the erection of a mosque by Khān Daulat Khān who may probably be identified with that of the Fath Shāh's inscription dated 899 traced by Cunningham while Horn reads the last word of the inscription in question as ثسع, making it 984, Shamsuddin Ahmed deciphers it as A.H. 889.[208] Engraved in single line Arabic the record measures 5″7‴ by 4″. Horn also published another

inscription dated A.H. 891/A.D. 1486, recording the erection of a mosque by Sayyid Dastūr, son of Sayyid Rahāt, in the reign of Fāth Shāh. It measures 4″4″ by 10″ and arranged in four squares.

The third inscription from Mahdīpūr published by Horn belongs to the reign of Husain Shāh and, therefore, has no bearing on the Gunmant mosque, as observed earlier. It is an undated fragment measuring 1″5″ by 7″.

In connection with the two Mahdīpūr inscriptions of Fāth Shāh, Horn did not identify the monuments referred to therein. Moreover they do not agree in date, phraseology and the reference to builders. The Challā Masjid cannot be identified in the present state of our informations. It is also possible that it existed in Old Malda. The authentic reading of this inscription cannot be determined as Horn did not give any facsimile.

All the three inscriptions from Mahdīpūr, dated A.H. 884, 889 and 891, are, however, identical in their epigraphical style of the Tughra, engraved on a large slab of black basalt. But the epigraphic record dated A.H. 889 traced and attributed to the Gunmant Masjid by Cunningham is more refined in style and contains the phrase Bismilla ar-Rahmān ar-Rahīm which is very rare indeed in Bengal epigraphy. It undoubtedly exhibits deep religious

attachment of the engraver. Moreover, the Gunmant inscription of large dimension, recalls those of the Chamkattī Masjid, the Tāntīpārā Masjid, and the Darās barī Masjid (A.H. 884/ A.D. 1479), measuring 4'8 3/4" by 3"11", 5" by 1"8" and 11"3" by 2"1" respectively.

CHAPTER IV: NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. Faria y Souza, Manuel de Faria y Souza History of the Discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese quoted by Creighton, H., The Ruins of Gaur, London, 1817, p. 10. See also Rennell, J., Memoirs of a Map of Hindustan or the Mughal Empire, London, 1873, p. 55: Buckland, India Intra and Extra Gangen, in Bengal Past and Present, Vol. II, No. I, 1908, p. 53. It is situated in 24° 54'N. and 88° 8'E. on a deserted channel of the Ganges.
2. Cunningham, A., Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XV, p. 212. (Hereafter cited as ASR). With a view to distinguish Chhoto Pandua in the district of Hughli, he gave the appellation Hazrat to Pandua, meaning the Resident. Thomas considers the prefix Hazrat in the sense of veneration for the immortal saints, such as Hazrat Shāh Jalāl and Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam, who are buried in this ruined city. (Thomas, E., Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi), London, 1871, p. 151, No. 2.)
3. Sirāj Minhāj-ud-dīn, Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī, Tr. by Raverty, H.G., Bibliolheca Indica, p. 585, N. 7. In contrast with Bang or the tract subject to inundation, Barind is comparatively on elevated site. It is derived from Brind or বরেন্দ্র signifying heap. According to Blochmann, Barind comprises the region to the north of the Padma (the Ganges) and between the Karatoya and the Mahananda

rivers. (Blochmann, H., Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, in JASB, 1873, No. 3, XLII, p. 211. (Hereafter cited as Contributions). Westmacott thinks that it is a geographical expression, indicating the hilly tract around Malda, Dinajpur, Raj-shahi and Bogra (Westmacott, E.V., Old Bengal Geography - a letter to Blochmann, in PASB 1874, Vol. 43, p. 57). It is also spelt as Varendra (Burgess, J., Geography of India), with extract from a paper by late Prof. H.H. Wilson, (418-21) in Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, 1891, p. 420.

4. Sircar, P.C., Outlines of the Geography of India, Calcutta, 1869, p. 63.

5. Bengal District Administration Report, 1921-22.

6. Colebrooke, R.H., On the course of the Ganges through Bengal, in Transactions of the Asiatic Society. (Asiatic Researches), VII Colebrooke surveyed in 1779-96-7. Also quoted by Rennell, J., op.cit., p. 55. He writes, "No part of the site of ancient Gowr is nearer to the present bank of the Ganges than four miles and a half and some parts of it, which were originally washed by the river, are now 12 miles from it". Colebrooke says, "The river was encroaching on its Eastern bank, and appeared to be gaining ground again towards Gowr; the walls of which city, it is well attested, were formerly washed by the Ganges".

7. Buchanan, F.H., The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India, edited by M. Martin, London, MDCCCXXXVIII, vol. III, pp. 584-605.
8. Faria y Souza, quoted by Creighton, p. 10. Mohan Lal reads the term Gaur Bangala in the tomb of Baber at Qandahâr whereas Darmesteter J., reads it as Gor wa Bangala (La grande Inscription de Qandahâr), in JA, Tome XV, 1890, Feb., March, pp. 195-7. Beveridge, however, rejects Darmesteters reading and connects the combined word Gaur-Bangalah with that of Shahabad-Kananj.
9. JASB, 1898, vol. LXVII, pp. 296in-316. The term Gaur-Bangala meaning Gaur in Bengal also appears in the Humazun Nama 'The History of Humazun, Tr. by Beveridge, A.S., London, 1902, pp. 133-34). Nizam ud-din Ahmed referred to Mahmud III as Bangali, meaning of Bengal (Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 167), while Hunter, W.W., thinks that Gaud was older than Hazrat Pandua (Statistical account of Bengal, vol. VII. District of Maldah, Rangpur and Dinajpur, London, 1876, p. 51), Westmacott considers Hazrat Pandua is a city of remote antiquity than Gaud. (Westmacott, E.V., Ravenshaw's Gaur, in Calcutta Review, vol. LXIX, 1879, pp. 75-76. Hereafter cited as Gaur).
10. Chakravarti, M.M., Notes on the Geography of old Bengal, in JASB, 1908, vol. IV, No. 5, p. 23. See also Pargiter

who identifies Pundra with the country between Anga and Banga (Pargiter, F.E., Ancient countries in Eastern India in JASB, 1897, vol. LXVI, p. 92). Dey, N.Z., The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, Calcutta, 1927, second edition, p. 161. He rejects Rockhill's identification of Pan-tu-wa, mentioned by Sing Ch' a Sheng Lan with Patna and considers Pandua as the probable city referred to by the Chinese traveller, (Rockhill, in T'oung Pao, 1915, pp. 440-44, quoted by Bagchi, P.C., see N. 12.)

11. Firishta, A.Q., Tarikh-i-Firishta, Transl. by Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, p. 317. Firishta describes Panduah as "Bundwa". The term Hazrat Pandua was changed into Fīrūzābad in the coins of Ilyās Shāh's dated A.H. 740, 744-46-47, and Sikandar Shah's coin, dated A.H. 764, 783, 785. See Stapleton's collection in the Ashmoban Museum, Oxford; Bhattasali, N.K., Coins and Chronology of the Early independent Sultans of Bengal, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 21, 57).

12. Bagchi, P.C., Political Relations between Bengal and China in the Pathan period in the Visva-Bharati 1943, vol. I, Cheena Bhavan, pp. 120-30.

13. ASR, vol. XV, pp. 79-80; see also Banerjee, R.L., Gaur, in JASB, 1874, vol.43 , p. 8. Both the Chinese and the European travellers have mentioned sugar as

one of the chief products of Bengal (Marco Polo, The Travels of Marco Polo together with the Travels of Nicolo Conti, Tr. by N.M. Penzer, London, 1929, p. 293; Varthema, L., Itinerary of Ludovico de Varthema, Tr. by R.C., Temple, Bologna, from 1502 to 1508 as translated from original Italian Edition of 1570 by J.W. Jones, London, 1928, p. 79; Bagchi, P.C., op.cit., p. 113; Yule, H., Cathay and the Way Thither. Ibn Batuta's Travels in Bengal and China, New edition revised by H. Cordier, London, 1926, p. 83.

14. Bhattasali, N.K., op.cit., Appendix III, Ma Huan's account of the Kingdom of Bengal, p. 169.

15. Ibid, p. 174

16. Roy, N.B., Rise of the Ilyās Shāhī Dynasty, in The History of Bengal, vol. II, Muslim Period 1200-1757. Edited by Sarkar, J.N., The University of Dacca, 1948, pp. 103-111.

17. 'Ābid 'Alī Khān, Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua, edited by Stapleton, H.E., Calcutta, MCMXXXI, p. 94.

18. Pemberton, J.J., Geographical and Statistical Report of the District of Maldah, Calcutta, 1854, p. 11.

19. Francklin, W., Ruins of Gaur, 1810-12, India office Library, Mss. 19, p. 45. He compares the pavement of the road with that of the road seen in the ruined city of Kanauj.

20. Gaur, p. 72. Devikot or Debkot situated close to the modern thana of Gangarāmpur in the district of Dināj̣pur. It is on the eastern bank of the Pūrnabhaba river, 33 miles to the north of Hazrat Pandua 70 miles to the north, north-east of the citadel of Gaud, (ASR, vol. XV, p. 95).

21. Minhāj, op.cit., pp. 585-6. He writes," From Lakhnouti [Gaud] to the city of Lakh-an-or [Birbham] on the one side, and asfar as Diw-kot on the other side, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Iwaz (caused) an embankment (to be) constructed, extending about 10 days' journey".

22. Hunter, op.cit., p. 79.

23. Rennell, J., A Bengal Atlas containing Maps of the Theatre of War and commerce on the side of Hindustan, London , MDCCLXXXI, 1781, p. 27.

24. Pemberton, pp. 11-12; see also 'Ābid 'Alī, pl. v., facing 94; Buchanan, I.H., op.cit., vol. II, pp. 648.

25. 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 94.

26. Rennell, J., A Bengal Atlas..., 1799, pl. V. In a map of the Northern Part of Hindustan, Pandua is shown as 'Purria'. In his map of Northern Provinces of Bengal, Pl. V, we get both the locations "Purruah" and "Addyna" (Fig. 8 the site of the mosque. Pemberton, drew a map of the district of Malda in 1847-48, showing Burdooroof Parooa". (Fig

27. Prasad, S., Ahwal Gaur wa Pandua in the India office Library, 2841, edited by A.H. Dani, as Appendix to his

Muslim Architecture in Bengal, Asiatic Society of Pakistan publication, No. 7, p. 24. (Hereafter cited as MAB).

28. Supra, pp. 109-30

29. ASR, vol. XV, p. 90.

30. Francklin, p. 25.

31. Steingass, A comprehensive Persian English Dictionary, London, p. 30.

32. Wollaston, A.N., A complete English Persian Dictionary, London, 1889, p. 457.

33. Desmaisons, J.J.P., Dictionnaire Persian-Français, Vol. I, p. 42. He reads ادینه as 'edine' and translates it as le vendredi, meaning Friday. See also Harrap's Standard French and English Dictionary, Part I, edited by J.E. Mansion, p. 880. Vullers also translates ادینه as 'dies veneris', meaning Friday (Lexicon Persico-Latinum, Tomis I, Bonnae and Rhenum, p. 22). See also Pedersen, Johs, Masjid, in EI., Vol. III, p. 327-28. In tracing the various terms used for congregational mosque, the following usages will be found:

(a) al-masjid al-akbar or kabīr-the Madīna Mosque of the Prophet was called thus, BGA, VII, 245.

(b) al-masjid al-'azam (Ṭabarī, I, 2494: II, 734, 1701, 1702: Bukhārī, pg. 5: Ṭabarī, Tafsir, XI, 2i, centre.

(c) Masjid al-Ja'ma (Yāqūt, iii, 896: al Fustat: also Tabarī ii, 1119: Ibn Kutaiba, Ma'arif, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 106.

(d) Masjid Jāmi'; Balādhurī, 289: Mada'in; Yāqūt, i, 643, 647; Basra.

(e) Masjid al-Jāmi', (Yāqūt, iii, 899: iv, 885; BGA, ii, 298, 315, 387; vii, 110, etc.

(f) Simply al-Jāmi', Yāqūt, i, 400; Balādhurī, p. 348.

(g) Masjid-al-Khutba; Makrīzī, iv, 44, 64, 87.

(h) Masjid-al-Khutba; Makrīzī, iv, 55.

(i) Jāmi' al-Minbar, BGA, iii, 316, for Jāmi, i, 8.

(j) Masjid al-Jāmi' wa-Minbar, BGA, v, 304-6.

In the Adīna mosque, the term al-Masjid al-Jāmi' has been used in the inscription bearing the date of construction.

34. Burgess, Jas. and Cousens, H., The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarāt, ASWI, vol. IX, London, 1903, pp. 53-57. Sayyid Ahmed, Āsār-as-Sanādīd, quoted by Cunningham, ASR, vol. I, 1862-63, pp. 184-5. Buchanan spells it as Adīnah instead of Adīna (Account of Dinajpur, Mss. EUR D. 71, in the India office Library, vol. I, Appendix II, p. 3.

35. Stewart, C., The History of Bengal From the First Muhammedan invasion until the virtual conquest of

that country by the English, 1757, London, 1813, p. 99. The reign of Sultan Ahmad Shāh (A.H. 836-39/A.D. 1432-35) cemented the diplomatic relation between Persia and Bengal when Shāh Rukn, son of Timurlane sent an embassy, headed by Maulana 'Abd al-Rahīm, in connection with the Persian intervention in the aggression of Jaunpur upon Bengal. The period of the intervening Hindu dynasty witnessed the revival of the Persian idea of glazed tiles, which had already penetrated Sind and Multan, in the architectural monuments of Bengal as exemplified by the Eklākhī Mausoleum (A.H. 818-36/A.D. 1415-32). 'Ābid 'Alī reports that Persian was the court language of the district of Maldā till the year 1834 A.D., when it was replaced by Bengali ('Ābid 'Alī, op.cit., p. 157).

36. Contributions, vol. XLII, 1873, pp. 256-57.

37. Salim, G.H., Riyāzu-s-Salātīn, A History of Bengal. Tr. by A Salam, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1904, p. 109. The King Ghiyās-ud-dīn once fell ill and despairing of life selected three harem girls named Sarv, Gul, and Lālah to perform the last bathing rites, soon after his recovery he recited the following distich when the other girls of his harem started to taunt the favoured ones as bathers: "Cup bearers, this is, the story of Sarv [the cypress], Gul [the

Rose] and Lālah [the Tulip]". When he could not complete the verse he sent it to Hafiz, who added the following lines: "From this Persian sugar-candy that goes forth to Bengal Hafiz, from the yearning for the company of Sultan Ghias-ud-dīn, Rest not; for thy (this) lyric is the outcome of lamentation".

38. Beglar, Jas. D.M., Archaeological Survey of Bengal. Report 1888, Calcutta, 1888, p. 13.

39. Ibid, p. 11. It is extremely doubtful whether the fragmentary sculptures could be dated prior to the 10th century A.D.

40. Ibid, p. 48. It is interesting to note that vandals and treasure-hunters dug large pits in the foundations of the monuments of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua, as attested by Manrique who visited Gaud in 1640, during the Governorship of Shāh Shujā'. He narrates the story of the discovery of three large copper vessels, containing silver and gold coins, dug out by a villager from a ruined wall, presumably the Bāis Ghāzī wall of the citadel of Gaud. (Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique by C. Eckford Luard and H. Hosten. The Hakluyt Society, London, vol. I, p. 129-33).

41. ASR, vol. I, pp. 184-89.

42. Ibid, p. 105. See also Ilāhī Bakhsh, Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numā, edited and translated by H. Beveridge, in JASB,

vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 211-12. (Hereafter cited as Khurshīd). See also Prasad, p. 24).

43. infra, pp. 325-26.

44. Khurshid, p. 212. Ilāhī Bakhsh adds a note that the word الحا can be read as الحامع and also may mean "to include", "to embrace". 'Abīd 'Ali states that the inscription was engraved by Sultan Sikandar Shāh himself. It is hardly true as it is unconventional. Generally, engravers commissioned by the Kings undertake the work of carving the epigraphical record as for instance the Dināajpur inscription of Sikandar Shāh, dated A.H. 765/ A.D. 1363 executed by "Ghiyath, the Golden-handed", Although the Dināajpur record and the Adīna Masjid inscription bear little resemblance, it is presumed that the latter was executed by that distinguished engraver, "Ghiyath".

45. ASR vol. XV, p. 93.

46. 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 139-40.

47. Salim, p. 105.

48. Ibid, p. 108. Salim's statement that Sultān Sikandar Shāh reigned only 9 years and some months is not corroborated by Numismatic, and epigraphical evidence. In fact as historians tell us, he ruled from A.H. 758 to 795, corresponding to A.D. 1357 to 1392, that is, 35 years. (Bhattasali, pp. 52-72).

49. Horn, P., Muhammadan Inscriptions from Bengal in Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, ASI, NS, p. 283. See also Thomas, E., The Initial Courage of Bengal introduced by the Muhammadans on their conquest, 600-800 (1203-1397), London, 1866, p. 80. MAB, p. 56. Dani, A.H., Inscriptions of Bengal, in Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Appendix II, p. 56.

50. Horn, P., p. 283. See also ASR, vol. XV, p. 90.

51. Salim, p. 105.

52. Stewart, p. 87.

53. Buchanan, op.cit., vol. II, p. 653. It is interesting to note that Beveridge in his edition of the Khurshīd Jahān Numā, refers to A.H. 704 as the date mentioned by Buchanan (Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 212). Both the original Ms. as well as Martin's edition of Buchanan bear the date A.H. 707 - a date obviously taken from either Francklin or Prasad. (Francklin, p. 54; Prasad, p. 27.)

54. Francklin, pp. 49-54; see also Beveridge, H., Major Francklin's MS description of Gaur, in JASB, vol. LXIII, 1894, Pt. I, No. 2, pp. 85-93. (Hereafter cited as Beveridge).

55. Prasad, pp. 24-28; see also Beveridge, H., A short notice of a Persian MS on Gaur, in JASB, vol. LXXI, Pt. 1, No. 1, 1902, p. 44. (Hereafter cited as Ahwal).

56. Francklin, p. 54.

57. Prasad, p. 27. He reads it thus:

سنة رجب سنة سبعة و سبعماية

Here sanat, سنة occurs twice and it is thought that he meant the سنة after رجب Rajab to be ست or 6th.

58. Contributions, 1873, vol. XLII, pp. 256-57. Discrepancies occur in the readings of Blochmann and those of Prasad.

Blochmann (1873)	Prasad (1810)
العمارة هذا المسجد	هذا العمارة المسجد
الجامع	الجامع
اكرم اكمل	كمل الاكرم
الموثق بتائيد	معجز الاسلاطين
ابو المجاهد سكندر	الموبد بتائيد
شاه سلطان بن	
الياس شاه	
السلطان	
خلد ملكه	خلد الله ظل جلاله
ست و رجب	
سنة سبعين	سنة رجب سنة
و سبعماية	سبعة و سبعماية

Salam supports the statement of Blochmann wrongly in his translation of the Riyāzu-s-Salātīn, p. 105, No. 2.

59. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 212.

60. Horn, p. 283. He merely copies the inscription mentioned by Ilāhī Bakhsh, bearing the date ٧٧٦ , 776: سنه ست و سبعين و سبعمائة

61. Horn, p. 283.

62. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 212. See also Ravenshaw, J.H., Gaur: its Ruins and Inscriptions, edited as Mrs. C. Ravenshaw and annotated by Grote, A., London, 1878, p. 60, Pl. 45, No. 1. He reads the date: الثا رابع ست رجب سنه سبعين i.e., 6th Rajab of the year A.H. 770 corresponding to 14th February 1369. Dani is inconsistent when he reads the date as 6th Rajab, 770/14th February, 1369 in one place (Muslim inscription, p. 12.) and also A.H. 776/ A.D. 1375 in another place MAB, p. 55). Shamsuddin Ahmad reads 6th Rajab A.H. 770 (Inscriptions of Bengal, Rajshahi, vol. IV, Rajshahi, 1960, pp. 35-38.

63. 'Abid 'Ali, pp. 139-40.

64. Marshall, J., Annual Report, ASI, DG., 1902-3, p. 52.

65. Salim, A., p. 104, N. 1.

66. MAB, p. 55, N. 5.

67. Salim, pp. 105-6.

68. Horn, P., p. 282-83.

69. Supra, pp. 109-30; infra, pp. 377-90

70. Supra, pp. 127-30.

71. Supra, pp. 131-39.

72. Francklin, p. 53, He says that the space of ground occupied by the site of the Adīna Masjid cannot be less than 1600 square feet. Beglar gives exhaustive data, pp. 48-49. See Appendix.

785-6:	Cordova:	mosque:	26,500 sq. yards.
847 :	Sāmarrā:	Great Mosque	45,500 sq. yards.
861 :	Egypt :	Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn	:31,000 sq. yards.
1191 :	Delhi :	Quwwat al-Islām mosque as planned by 'Alūddīn Khaljī	:736′11″ X 448′½″

(Page, J.A., An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi, ASIM, Pl. 1: A short Account of EMA, pp. 216, 274.

73. Marshall, J., The monuments of Muslim India in the Cambridge History of India, vol. III, Cambridge, 1928, p. 602.

74. Beglar, p. 1. Buchanan gives the dimensions 500′NS X 300′EW (op.cit., vol. II, pp. 649-650). Cunningham gives the dimensions as 507′½″ X 285′½″ (ASR, XV, p. 90). Fergusson gives the measurements as 507′ X 285′ (A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1910, p. 257).

75. Fergusson, J., p. 257; Cunningham measures the courtyard as 497′ X 159′, ASR, vol. XV, p. 90: Beglar mentions 419′ X 186′ (op.cit., p. 1).

76. Marshall, p. 988; Fergusson, p. 89.

77. Fergusson, p. 89, Cunningham states that the depth of the līwān is 62 feet. (ASR, vol. XV, p. 91).

78. Buchanan,

79. ASR, XV, P.90.

80. SPA, vol. I, pp. 493-4.

81. EMA, II, pp. 64, 64.

82. Supra, pp. 159-61.

83. Supra, pp. 165-77.

84. Brown, Indian Architecture (Muslim period), Bombay, ND, p.

85. Supra, pp. 177-78, 179-81, 197-98.

86. Marshall, op.cit., p. 626.

87. I am indebted to Miss E. Beasley, for her opinions. She tells me that there are two ways of preventing a pier which supports an arch from over-turning:
Firstly: By propping it up with a flying buttress: Adīna Masjid side arch.
Secondly: By a heavy downward weight on top of the pier: Adīna Masjid may have several superimposed arches as at Jaunpur.

88. Sleemen, W.H., Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official, vol. II, edited by V.A. Smith, London, p. 254.

89. Terry, The Charms of Indo-Islamic Architecture, London, 1955, p. 12-14; Perrot, G., and Chipiez, C., History of

Art in Persia, London, 1892, p. 162-63: see also SPA, I, p. 3423-24; Figs. 100; Fig. 152, p. 537; Fig. 134, p. 505.

90. Chakravarti, M.M., Pre-Mughal Mosques of Bengal, in JASB, vol. VI, N.S. 1910, p. 31-32; (hereafter cited as Bengal). See also Saraswati, S.K., Indo-Muslim Architecture in Bengal, in Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol. IX, 1941, pp. 16-17.

91. Incidentally, it is of interest to mention that Westmacott reports the construction of a brick vaulted chamber, excavated by Lloyd Jones at Hemtabod. Westmacott, E.V., Letter to the commissioner of circuit, Raj Shahi Division in the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, dated July 1875: Archaeological Report on the District of Dinagepose, No. 154, dated Dinajpur, the 19th April, 1875, p. 4. See also Beglar, pp. 22, 40-42., 50-52. Appendix III, pp. 4-6.

92. Beglar, pp. 22, 40-42, 50-52. Appendix III, pp. 4-6. The existence of the principal and the subsidiary arches or ribs beneath the vault is also supported by Miss Beasley.

93. Beglar, pp. 40, 51-52.

94. Beglar, p. 22.

95. Beglar, p. 22.

96. Reuther, O., SPA, vol. I, pp. 427-28.

97. Creswell, K.A.C., The vaulting system of the Hindola Mahal at Mandu, reprinted in Indian Antiquary, July 1918, vol. XLVII, pp. 172-3. (Hereafter cited as Mandu).

98. Mandu, p. 173, Pl. Ic.

99, Supra, pp. 158-59.

100. Pope, SPA, II, p.

101. Supra, pp. 149-50.

102. Fergusson, J., The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture, London, 1855, p. 635.

103. Ibid, p. 605.

104. Ibid, p. 652.

105. Francklin, p. 51.

106. Beglar, p. 65; Bolton, C.S., Notes on Gaur and Pandua, Annual Address, in PASB, 1903, Jan-Feb., p. 25. He says that the walls were faced outside with black horn blende, and ornamented within by trellis work on three sides, while one side contains prayer niches of horn blende elaborately sculptured". The stone used in the monuments of Gaud are black chlorite basalt from Rajmahal which has been erroneously described as horn blende by Buchanan and Bolton, and marble by Francklin, who in his appendix adds that it might be granite, called by the natives Sung Moosa. (Francklin, pp. 53-56; Buchanan, pp. 654-655). Buchanan writes, "There is no calcareous marble in the building. The rougher parts are granite,

the more polished are indurated potstone impregnated with hornblende".

107. Beglar, pp. 72-73, MAB, pp. 64-65.

108. Supra, Chapter III

109. Supra, pp. 158-59.

110. Beglar, p. 30.

111. ASR, vol. XV, p. 92; see also Ravenshaw, p. 64, Pl. 41; Francklin, p. 53; 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 132-33.

112. Beglar, pp. 30-31.

113. ASR, vol. XV, p. 92; see also Ravenshaw, p. 64; Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 211, refers to a broken idol under the steps near the pulpit.

114. Ravenshaw, Pl. 29.

115. Buchanan, p. 95.

116. Beglar, pp. 32, 55-56.

117. Beglar, pp. 8, 30-32.

118. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 21: this is also stated by 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 130.

119. Westmacott, Gaur, pp. 77-79.

120. Francklin, p. 50; Prasad gives the measurement as 20 cubits X 30 cubits, op.cit., p. 26: 1 cubit = 18 inches.

121. Beglar, pp. 29-31. He wrongly states that there are 18 double superimposed pillars. In fact, there are 11 outer ponderous pillars and 10 inner ones.

122. Beglar, pp. 38-39, 57.

123. Beglar, p. 31.

124. 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 101, 129, Fig. 18.

125. Beglar, pp. 55-56.

126. Ravenshaw, Pl. 35; ASR, vol. XV, p. 89; Blochmann, H.

127. Beglar, p. 38.

128. Marshall, J., Annual Report, ASI, DG, 1902-3, pp. 52-53.

129. A Short Account of EMA, p. 157.

130. Ibid, pp. 87, 100, 157.

131. Cunningham, ASR, XV, Pl. XXV, Beglar, Plate, 'Ābid Alī, Pl. VII, and Dani Fig. 3, show only 3 miḥrābs and 3 doorways. But Buchanan Pl. IV of Martin's Eastern India, vol. III, and Ravenshaw, Pl. 36, have indicated 4 niches and 2 doorways.

132. Prasad, p. 25. See also Dani, p. 67.

133. 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 136; Ravenshaw, pp. 66-67.

134. Beglar, p. 31.

135. Ibid, p. 31, 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 137-38.

136. Ibid, pp. 31-32.

137. Marshall, AR, ASI, DG, p. 52.

138. Fergusson, p. 258.

139. Ahmed, N., Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Tr. by B. De, p. 167, N.3.

140. Saraswati, p. 7.

141. Marshall, Monuments.... CHI, vol. III, p.

142. Bloch, T., AR, ASI, EC, p. 19. 'Ābid 'Alī quotes it, p. 138.

143. Beglar, p. 1.

144. 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 127; see also Buchanan, (Martin), vol. II, p. 652, gives the measurement of this cubical annexe as 38 feet each way. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 211, 9 cubits NS and 7½cubits broad while he describes it as a square structure, equivalent to 13½feet X 11¼ feet or so. According to Cunningham, it is a square of 41 feet 9 inches inside, ASR, XV, p. 93.

145. ASR, vol. XV, p. 93.

146. Dani, MAB, p. 72, corrects the statement of 'Ābid 'Alī who thought that the annexe was roofed by 10 domes, 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 138.

147. Buchanan (Martin), vol. II, pp. 652-53.

148. Beglar, p. 32.

149. Buchanan (Martin), vol. II, p. 652.

150. Ravenshaw, p. 66; Westmacott, p. 77.

151. Fergusson, J., p. 257. He writes that his ruined tomb is attached to the west wall near its north end.

152. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 211. Cunningham says, "The sarcophagus is in ruins, and the inside of the vault, in which the body was deposited, is now exposed". (op.cit., p. 94).

153. 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 138-39; Dani also believes in this local story. (op.cit., pp. 71-2).

154. Riyāz, p. 10; Stewart, C., The History of Bengal. From the First Muhammadan Invasion until the virtual conquest of that country by the English, 1757, London, 1813, pp. 87.

155. Blochmann, H., Contributions, 1873, p. 256; see also Roy, N.B., Rise of the Ilyās Shāhi Dynasty, C.H., VI. Sikandar Shāh (A.D. 1357-89) in the J.N. Sarkar, The History of Bengal, vol. II, Muslim Period, 1200-1757, The University of Dacca, 1948, p. 114.

156. Ibid, p. 256; see also Stapleton, H.E., in 'Ābid 'Alī's Memoir..., p. 140, N. 1.

157. Ravenshaw, Map of Gaur.

158. Stapleton, P., 140, N. 1. He cites three places as Goālpārā: the other two are situated a mile or so north of the southern gate of Pandua as stated by Blochmann and another, according to the informations of Najmul Husain, at a place 3 miles east of Rānīgarh on the Bādshāhī road, and opposite to a large tank East and West.

159. Westmacott, p. 78.

160. Stapleton, p. 140, N. 1; Salim, p. 107.

161. A. Salim, the translator of the Riyāz, says that the place-name of Sunār gadhī has not been identified but it must have been close to Sunargaon, op.cit., p. 107, N. 1.

162. Wise, J., Notes on Sunargaon, in JASB, 1874, p. 85.

163. Ibid, p. 85; Salam, p. 107, N. 2; Stapleton, p. 140, N. 1.

164. Rennell, J., Map of the Inland Navigation, in A Bengal Atlas: containing maps of the theatre of war and commerce, MDCCLXXXI, p. 2.

165. Beglar has shown a cluster of tombs on the northern side of the Masjid and on the western side of the Annexe. See his plate.

166. Marshall, AR, ASI, DG, 1902-3, pp. 52-53.

167. Prasad, p. 26.

168. Buchanan (Martin), II, pp. 634-35; Pl. II, see his sketch in p. 668.

169. In the Royal Asiatic Society I found this drawing done by Francklin, see Fig. 100.

170. Beglar, Plan of the Adīna Masjid; Buchanan (Martin), II, Pl. IV; ASR, vol. XXV, Ravenshaw, Pl. 36. Grote says in his annotation that "this plan differs from Buchanan Hamilton's only in having an additional arch on the south side of the quadrangle".

	Buchanan	Beglar	Ravenshaw/Cunningham
Pillars	15	17	16
Total arches	16	18	17
Small squares in the riwāq and total dome	13X3 = 39	15X3 = 45	14X3 = 42

	Buchanan	Beglar	Ravenshaw/Cunningham
Arches of the S. riwāq only	13	15	14

171. 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 127. Mentioned only 39 domes, presumably following Buchanan's plan.

172. Beglar, p. 1; Buchanan gives the measurement as 500 feet long and 38 feet wide, (Buchanan (Martin), II, p. 650).

173. Beglar, Plate see Fig. 73; 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 127, says that in the eastern riwāq there were 108 domes.

174. Buchanan (Martin), II, Pl. IV(a). See also Ravenshaw, Pl. 36.

175. ASR, XV, Pl. XXV, pp. 91-92. At the same time he writes, "There is also a small arched opening.

176. Ibid, p. 91.

177. Ibid, p. 91.

178. Beglar, pp. 45-46.

179. Ibid, p. 46.

180. Ravenshaw, Pl. 30, Fig. 2; Beglar, Plate, see Fig. 73.

181. 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 130.

182. Banerjee, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture, Delhi, 1933, p. 162, Pl. LXXXI; see Pl. LVb-c.

183. ASR, vol. XV, p. 90.

184. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 211.

185. Beglar, p. 11.

186. Saraswati, S.K., Notes on Two Tours in the Districts of Mālda and Dinajpur, in J & P ASB, vol. XXVIII, 1932, No. 1, p. 175.

187. Beglar, p. 9.

188. Diez, E., Mānara in EI vol. III, 1936, p. 230.

189. ASR, vol. I, p. 191: see also Beglar, p. 14, who writes, "It is also fair to add that the opinion of the draftsman of the survey, Babu Rajmohan Banerjya, who has minutely measured the Masjid ... is adverse to my view [being a stupa], and agrees with the opinion of the Director General in regarding the basement S., as not a stupa; his idea that it was a well, and the conjecture of the Director General that it is the base of a minar, appears to me however to be both rendered untenable by the fact which no theory can ignore".

190. Ilāhi Bakhsh, p. 222.

191. King, p. 94.

192. 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 85-86; see also ASR, XV, pp. 65-66.

193. Saraswati, p. 18.

194. BDG, Malda, p. 91; see also ASR, XV, p. 66.

195. ASR, XV, p. 66.

196. Ibid, p. 66; Ilāhi Bakhsh's statement that there were only 7 domes could not be accepted.

197. ASR, XV, p. 66.

198. Chakravarti, M.M., p. 10.

199. ASR, XV, p. 66.

200. Dani, p. 135.

201. ASR, XV, p. 65.

202. Saraswati, p. 18.

203. Dani, pp. 135-36.

204. ASR, XV, Pl. XXIII.

205. Ahmed, S., Inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 122-24; see also 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 85-87, Pl. IV.

206. 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 86-87, N. 1.

207. Horn, P., pp. 287-88.

208. Ibid, pp. 287-88; see also Ahmed, S., pp. 125-26.

CHAPTER V

MOSQUES OF PRE-MUGHAL BENGAL

(THE SQUARE TYPE)

A/ THE CHĀMKATTĪ MASJID AT GAUD

(A.H. 833/ A.D. 1478-79)

The Chāmkattī Masjid (Pls. XCVII, XCVIII, Fig. 107), the Rājbībī Masjid (Pl. CXVI, Fig. 109), and the Lattan Masjid (Pls. CXX-CXXV, Fig. 108), form a closely connected group since they are all domed, and all square in plan. The Chāmkattī Masjid stands on the western side of the Dinājpur road, a little to the east of the Lukachuri gate which forms the eastern entrance of the citadel of Gaud. As its name indicates, the Masjid is peculiarly associated with a group of mendicants who habitually inflicted tortures on themselves, and therefore, are known as Chāmkattis or skin-cutters.[1] Marshall calls the Chāmkattī Masjid "Chamkhan".[2]

It is believed by some authors that Yūsuf Shāh built this mosque in honour of a renowned faqīr who performed before him.[3] This ruling prince made a reputation for himself as a virtuous and just ruler; he prohibited wine

and built three mosques at Gaud, namely, this Chāmkatti Masjid (A.H. 883/A.D. 1478) the Tāntīpara Masjid (A.H. 885/A.D. 1480) and the Darasbārī Masjid (A.H. 884/A.D. 1479).[4] These all bear inscriptions. However, they are not all of the same type, architecturally.

An idea of the structural detail as well as the rich ornamentation of the Chāmkatti Masjid can easily be obtained from the painting (Pl.XV of Creighton) done by Creighton in 1801-7 which appears in his well-known book of engravings.[5] Strangely enough, no notice was taken of it by other early visitors and archaeologists, such as Orme, Daniell, Prasad and Francklin, Buchanan and Ravenshaw.[6] Ilāhī Bakhsh, however, refers to it incidentally, without giving details of its architectural features.[7]

In general plan, the Chāmkatti Masjid is a cubical building with an inner chamber, measuring 23 feet 8 inches each way internally. It was buttressed in the usual fashion by four octagonal corner towers with moulded stringcourses, though all these are now in disrepair. The interior is also much damaged. It seems that its brick walls were faced with stone, as at the Adīna Masjid, but the facing is also damaged. The shoulders of the dome are also in ruins. Stone must have been used also for the internal

facing of the brick core. The total dimensions of the building are 50 feet 4 inches long by 33 feet 8 inches broad. Its walls are pierced on the north and the south by pointed arched openings.[8]

The transition from the square base of the dome to the octagon is attained by an arched squinch at each corner. These squinches are constructed of small burnt red bricks in five or possibly six courses which are still visible externally. The octagonal base of the dome supports a 16-sided gallery, a small stone pilaster being placed at each corner of the polygon. Here the builders achieved a domical construction without resorting to the octagon. Unlike the plain sheet dome of the latter the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid has a dome of peculiar shape with three clearly marked outer receeding stages. It is coated with a thick layer of plaster.

The Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid marks a considerable departure from the square plan initiated by the Eklākhī tomb (Pls. LXXXIXb, XCa) by the addition of a verandah in front of the līwān on the east. This oblong verandah measures 9 feet 11 inches wide. It is provided with three pointed arched openings, formed by successive courses of brick voussoirs. These arches spring from oblong brick piers placed east and west. The arches are recessed, similar to those found in the līwān of the Adīna Masjid.[10] There are also two arched openings on the northern and southern ends of the

verandah. The hanging chain-and-bell motif pre-dominates in the decoration of the façade.

'Ābid 'Alī says that the roof of the verandah shows "a peculiar form of vaulting":[11] between the piers of the Mosque proper and those of the verandah there are three arches at right angles, which carry the roof of the verandah; from the remains of this roof, it may be presumed that the central part of the verandah was tunnel vaulted, whereas the northern and southern sides were groin vaulted. The remains of brick ribs lend support to the suggestion that the side bays of the verandah were groined. Like most of the Bengali mosques, the cornice of the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid is elliptically curved. It has also corner towers, either circular or octagonal.

Other examples of buildings which are square in plan and domed are to be seen in the original Jamā'at Khāna Masjid (Fig. 44) at the Dargāh of Niẓām-ud-dīn at Delhi, built by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, in the tomb of Ismā'īl the Samānid at Bukhāra, (Fig. 29) as well as in the Il-Khānid mosques at Marand, Ardabīl (Fig. 34), Kaj,Dashti and Eziran (Fig. 33) near Iṣfahān. The mosques at Khargird and Yazd also provide examples of the completely enclosed and roofed type of mosque without the usual courtyard. In Bengal[12] the earliest known example of this type of building is found in the Mosque at Mollā Simla (Pl. LVIIIb)

in Hughli, which is dated A.H. 777/A.D. 1375.[13] Other notable examples are also, to be seen in the Chikā building (A.H. 818-36/A.D. 1415-32).[14] Binat Bibi's mosque in Dacca (A.H. 861/A.D. 1457),[15] the mosque of Shāh Sūfī at Chhoto Pandua (Fig. 112),[16] Hughli (A.H. 882/A.D. 1477) and one of the mosques at Navagram, Pabna[17] (A.H. 932/A.D. 1526). In these, however, the absence of a verandah is conspicuous. This feature probably appears for the first time in Gaud in the Chāmkatti Masjid. It reappears in the mosque at Gopalganj in Dinājpur (A.H. 865/A.D. 1460), and the mosque of Masjidbāri (Fig. 120) at Barisal (A.H. 870/A.D. 1465), both of which were built during the reign of Sultān Bārbak Shāh (A.H. 864-79/A.D. 1459-74).[18] The verandah later on became a prominent feature in Bengali mosques, as exemplified by the Rājbibi Masjid at Gaud (A.H. 841-92/A.D. 1437-80)[19] the Mosque at Kheraul in the District of Murshidābād (A.H. 900/A.D. 1494-5), Rukn Khān's Mosque at Devikot in Dinājpur (A.H. 918/A.D. 1512), the mosque at Surā (Fig. 113) in Dinajpur (A.H. 899-925/A.D. 1493-19) and the Lattan Masjid at Gaud (A.H. 889-925/A.D. 1493-1519).[20]

There is an important inscription (Pl. XCVIII) in the British Museum belonging to the reign of Sultān Yūsuf Shāh of Bengal, which records the erection of a mosque, at an unidentified place. The inscription is curved on a

large basalt slate, which has been unfortunately broken in half. The text along with the translation is given below:

Text:

قد بنى هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان الاعظم المعظم شمس الدنيا
والدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باربكشاه السلطان
بتاريخ غرّة ماه محرم سنة ثلاث (ث) وثمانين وثمان مايه .

Translation: "Verily this congregational mosque was built by the great and exalted Sulṭān Shams-al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh, the Sulṭān, who is the son of Bārbak Shāh, the Sulṭān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his Kingdom and Sovereignty; dated the first of the month of Muḥarram in the year eight hundred and eighty three, A.H. 883 (A.D. April 4, 1478).

As has been said the record in question is split into two unequal halves. The split, occuring slantingly divided the big piece into two, the largest measuring 4 feet and $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and the smaller 3 feet and 11 inches. The enormous but superbly carved epigraphical record is 1 foot $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, 8 feet and $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in

total length and 3½ inches thickness. The single-line inscription is engraved in an elegant Naskh style. It has the following words written on the top, "Presented by Col. Francklin", the celebrated author of the Ms description of Gaur (1810-12), now in the India Office Library, London, numbered Mss 19.[21]

Before dwelling on the controversial theme of its identification of the inscription with any specific architectural monument, it is interesting to note a few discrepancies in the "Ruins of Gaur" by Francklin, which is in the India Office Library.[22] He seems to have depended upon an eye-copy for his decipherment. Incidentally, Shyām Prasād, the author of a Persian Ms entitled "Ahwāl Gaur wa Panduah" and the Munshī of Ellerton of the Guamalti Indigo Factory, notices this inscription in connection with an unidentified mosque, called the Mahājantolā Mosque. This Persian Ms, is India Office Library, Ethé 2841, and has been published without English translation by A.H. Dani.[23]

Although broken into pieces, the stone provides a complete epigraphical record in an immaculately neat and legible script. Col. Francklin says that he found the inscription in "a mosque called Mahajan Tolah, adjoining the Lattan Masjid and of the same kind of architecture."[24] In his transcription there are a few inaccuraties and

الدنیا و الدین

ommissions, for example, he reads هذا as هذ , الدین و الدنیا as , and تاریخ as التاریخ. Francklin also omitted a few words, such as السلطان after یوسف شاه , and شاه after باربک , which is found in the inscription jointly, e.g., باربکشاه . But the most serious of all ommissions was ثلاث), which he left out after سنه and before ثمانمایة . He translated the date of the construction as "first of the month of Muharram, Anno Hijera 800". It is manifestly clear from the inscription that the mosque referred to here was built and the inscription engraved on the first of the month of Muharram in the year eight hundred and eighty three, (A.H. 883) corresponding to April 4, 1478-79, in place of A.H. 800/ A.D. 1475.

Shyām Prasād at the request of Francklin also read the inscription, but makes the same mistake. Curiously enough, A. Grote did not check the transcription when he annotated Ravenshaw's "Gaur: its Ruins and Inscriptions" with massive extracts from Francklin's Ms.[25] Cunningham unhesitatingly ascribed the inscription mentioned by Francklin to the Chāmkatti Masjid.

It may not be out of place to observe here that M.S. Briggs attempted to correct the date. He writes on the 26th July, 1930, "The letter ث of Sulasa or Thulatha is omitted, reading the datable portion thus:

بتاریخ غره ماه محرم سنه ثلا(ث) ثمانین و ثمانمایة.[27]

It is, therefore, evident that he saw the British Museum record and checked the transcription of Francklin. But strangely enough he makes the above observations in connection with another inscription of Yūsuf Shāh dated Monday, the 14th of the month of Muḥarram in the year of the Hijra 885. According to Francklin, this appears in front of the Golden Mosque at Ḥaẓrat Paṇḍua.[28] Beveridge in his Notes on Francklin's "Ruins of Gaur" says that the inscription bearing the date A.H. 885 and referring to Yūsuf Shāh can have nothing to do with the Paṇḍua Mosque, and in fact no such inscription appears there.[29] Therefore the assignation of the Golden Mosque at Ḥaẓrat Paṇḍua to the reign of Yūsuf Shāh is hardly justified, as the Golden Mosque was inscribed and built in A.H. 900/A.D. 1582.[30] In fact, the inscription bearing the date A.H. 885 has been assigned to the Tāntīpārā Masjid at Gauḍ. In brief, Brigg's observation in connection with the inscription dated A.H. 885 can only be relevant to the inscription bearing the date A.H. 883, wrongly deciphered as A.H. 880 by Francklin and accepted by Cunningham, 'Ābid 'Alī, Dani, Saraswati, M.N. Chakravarti, etc.[31] Creighton did paint the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid but does not mention its date of construction, nor is the date mentioned by Orme, Daniell or Ravenshaw.

The inscription records the erection of a Jāmi' Masjid by the ruler himself, that is, Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh, clearly indicating the fact that it was a royal enterprise. Scholars differ in their opinions about the identification of the Mosque referred to in the British Museum inscription, which, as we have seen, is dated A.H. 883. Francklin ascribed the inscription to the Mahājan ṭolā Mosque, adjoining the Lattan Masjid, which maintains "the same style". The Mahājan ṭolā and the three neighbouring mosques, namely, the Chāmkaṭṭī on the north of the region known as Mahājan ṭolā, the Tāntīpārā Masjid on the west and the Lattan Masjid to the south of the Tāntīpārā, at the south-west side of the area, are all roughly situated within a half-mile radius.

Criticizing the views of Francklin, Grote writes, "A reference to the map will show Mahājantolah to be about half a mile to the NE of the Tāntīpārā mosque to which no allusion is made in Francklin's Report. Creighton's Map also gives Mahājantolā, but without any indication of a mosque there. The Tāntīpārā Mosque is the only one near the Lattan Mosque".[32] The absence of any existing ruins called Mahājantolā coupled with the lack of reference to any such building by Ilāhi Bakhsh, Cunningham and others, suggest that there was no such structure at all. Moreover, the use of the term "Mahājantola area" must have misled

Francklin in the description of the term with a mosque.

With regard to the alleged date of construction given by Francklin, A.H. 880, Grote says that Creighton referred to an inscription bearing the same date as the Lattan Masjid. About the Lattan Masjid record Cunningham writes, "Creighton states that it was built in A.H. 880 by Yūsuf Shāh, and though he says nothing about any inscription, I feel satisfied that he must have seen one, either attached to the building, or lying somewhere near it, and has forgotten to quote it, as he is always very careful to note his authorities for the dates which he gives. At the time of Francklin's visit the inscription had certainly been removed. The vacant panel in which it was fixed over the middle doorway is 6 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, which I record here in the hope that some day the inscribed slab belonging to the Masjid may thereby be identified".[33] The descriptions given by Cunningham correspond clearly with those of the British Museum panel.

A further confusion remains to be cleared up. The inscription of the Lattan Masjid as given by Creighton corresponds with the alleged date of the British Museum inscription given by Francklin who believed it to have belonged to the Golden Mosque at Hazrat Pandua which bears the date A.H. 880. The British Museum panel would not fit

in the Lattan Masjid though this mosque is uninscribed. Moreover, on the basis of architectural style and decoration the Lattan Masjid has been convincingly proved by Dani to have belonged to the reign of Ḥusain Shāh. He writes, "This date A.H. 880 of Cunningham cannot be accepted against the overwhelming evidence of the style of the mosque. It does not fit in at all with the monuments of the Ilyās Shāhī period. Its plan is, no doubt, the same as in the Chāmkaṭṭī Mosque, but its character definitely places it in the Ḥusain Shāhī period."[34]

Grote thinks that Francklin's Mahājantolā mosque must be none other than the neighbouring Tāntīpārā mosque, lying half a mile north east of the former monument, as noted earlier.[35] Creighton refers to another stone slab bearing the date A.H. 885 found near the Tāntīpārā mosque, which was also erected by Yūsuf Shāh.[36] According to Cunningham, it had two inscriptions, the outer slab measuring 5 feet ½ inch in length and 1 foot 8 inches in height, which is quoted by Creighton, and the inner stone measuring 2 feet 9 inches in length and 1 foot 6 inches in height which was placed over the southern doorway of the courtyard of the "Qadam Rasūl Mosque", to which it cannot possibly belong. Neither of the two records mentioned by Creighton and Cunningham is identical in dimensions with the British Museum slab. The British Museum has also another

inscription of Yūsuf Shāh bearing the date A.H. 885, which has also been assigned to the Tāntīpārā Masjid. Therefore, it seems that the British Museum inscription in question, dated A.H. 883, cannot be attributed to either the Tāntīpārā Masjid or the Lattan Masjid.

Cunningham writes, "The Chāmkatti Masjid inscription slab has gone, but the panel in which it was fixed is 4½ feet long, which measurement may hearafter perhaps lead to its identification. I think, however, it may be the identical inscription of A.H. 880 preserved by Francklin, which he says was copied from a mosque, "called Mahājan Tolā, adjoining the Lattan Masjid and of the same kind of architecture".[37] Now this description can apply only to the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid, which stands in the very middle of Mahājan Tolā, at about half a mile from the Lattan Masjid, with which it corresponds most exactly, both in ground plan and in style.[38]

The most intriguing part of Cunningham's argument is the divergence in the measurements of the British Museum stone with those of the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid panel. The panel of the missing slab of the Chāmkaṭṭī mosque is 4½ feet in length, whereas the British Museum slab in its entirety measures 8 feet 7 inches in length.

The year A.H. 880, therefore, was probably marked by the erection of a number of elegant mosques under the

lavish patronage of Yūsuf Shāh. These included the Chāmkatti Masjid, the Tāntīpārā Masjid, and the Dārāsbārī Masjid.

The present inscription has been noticed by many historians and epigraphists but they had no facsimile with them by means of which to offer the correct transcription. Although the engraver inadvertently left out the last letter ث of the word ثلاث, yet it is evident that it could not be other than Thulth, making the date A.H. 883/A.D. 1478-79. The only objection, however, lies in the fact that the British Museum record is too big in size to fit in the small panel on the Chāmkattī Masjid, mentioned by Cunningham. Compared with the large sizes of black basalt used in engraving and the calligraphic style in the inscriptions of the Tāntīpārā Masjid and the Darasbārī Masjid it could indeed be said that the British Museum slab belonged to the Chāmkattī Masjid. The Darasbārī Masjid, built by Yūsuf Shāh in A.H. 884/A.D. 1479, measures 11 feet 3 inches in length and 2 feet 1 inch in height. Calligraphically, the British Museum demonstrates a remarkable attainment of engraver's profound skill in high relief and complete mastery over tender and crisp style.

B/ THE RĀJBIBĪ MASJID

AT GAUḌ
(A.H. 841-92 / A.D. 1438-80)

The Rājbībī Masjid (Pl. CXVI, Fig. 109), a small elegant building in Gauḍ, conforms in general plan and architectural details with the Chāmkattī Masjid. Ilāhī Bakhsh writes, "It is south-east of the Kotwali Gate, east of the high road, between two tanks, one of which is called Batiya (?) Dighi and the other Kahanīa Dighi. It is a small mosque: the people of Gaur call it Rajbībi's Mosque. It is 37 cubits long from east to west, and 29 cubits broad. There is a large dome, and on the east side three small ones".[39]

Literally Rajbībī means Royal (Rāj) Lady (Bībī). Presumably it was built by a prominent member of the Harem of the Bengali Sultans.[40] 'Abid 'Ali wrongly identifies the Rajbībī Masjid with the Dhunichak Masjid, situated in Mahdipur, whereas Dani describes it under the appellation of Khania Dighi mosque, ostensibly because of its situation near the bank of the said tank.[41] In fact no such mosque under the appellation of Khania Dighi ever existed, as there is no mention in the complete Revised List of Ancient Monuments of Bengal, 1886,[42]

According to 'Abid 'Ali and Dani, the Rājbībī Mosque measures 62 feet by 42 feet. The central square

chamber is 28 feet square.[43] The pointed central dome of the main square hall of this Masjid is still visible, though in ruins. It has three mihrāb niches in the western qibla wall. The mosque is entered from the east by three arched openings and there are two other doors on the north and the south sides.

In the present state of its ruins, it is difficult to say whether there was a verandah on the eastern front of the mosque; excavation, when carried out, should reveal the answer.

As regards decoration, Dani says, "a part of the ornamentation at the southern cornice is still preserved. We have here three rows of decoration between the cornice mouldings - the chain at the lowest and a series of niches with flowers in the upper two - the same system of decoration as seen for the first time in the Eklakhi tomb. Down below we also get separate panels with hanging motifs. The detail and the plan agree very well with the style seen in the second Ilyās Shāhī period".[43]

The date of the Rājbībī Masjid cannot be ascertained as no inscription has been assigned to it. Typologically, this elegantly planned mosque cannot be earlier than the Chāmkattī Masjid which in many of its features seems to have served as its model. It may, therefore, be placed between the early Ilyās Shāhī period and the Husain Shāhī

period, that is, during the period of the restored Ilyās Shāhī dynasty who ruled from A.H. 841-892, corresponding to A.D. 1437-80.

C/ THE LATTAN MASJID AT GAUḌ
(A.H. 899-925/A.D. 1493-1519)

Chambers says, "To the southward, about half a mile beyond the obelisk (Firuza Minar), is the Nuttee Musjeed by some Europeans termed the China mosque from the bricks of which it is built being ornamented with various colours".[44] Prasād erroneously places this mosque (Pls. CXXI - CXXV, Fig. 108) in the middle of the citadel of Gauḍ.[45] In point of fact, it is situated 4 miles north of Gauḍ Thana after crossing the Bhāgīrathī on the right side of the Nawābganj road, between the Tāntīpārā Masjid and the Five Arched bridge.[46]

Francklin says, "This elegant mosque is said to have been erected by a Nuttin or dancing girl. Once perhaps the favourite of her sovereign who to make amends for the liberties of her former life, erected, and endowed this temple as a compensation. Whatever cause may have given rise to the circumstance, it must be acknowledged, by any who viewed it even in its present ruinous state to have been "a building of much taste and even splendour".[47]

Chambers maintains that the building in question served the purposes of amusement, and refers to the domed vestibule in front of the square domed chamber as the eunuch's residence.[48] Ilāhī Bakhsh seems to have supported the views expressed by Francklin and Chambers, although he described the building as "the Lattōnkī Masjid".[49] Even Cunningham believed in this tradition, when he called the building Nattan Masjid, which he says was so named after Nattu, a favourite harem dancing girl.[50]

R.K. Chakravarti, however, extends the legend by stating that the personal name of Nutti or Nuttu was Mira Bai who lived in the Mira Tāluq.[51] 'Abid Ali suggests that the same dancing girl concealed her name and put the King's name in the record. One of the meanings of the word Nutti is a "tumbler pigeon", and the girl may well have been an acrobatic dancer. The term Nuttin gradually corrupted into Laton or Lotan (Lottan or Lattan).[52]

Dancing girls were, indeed, kept for the amusement of the Sultāns, as we know that Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn 'Azam Shāh had three favourite harem girls, named the Rose, the Tulip and the Cypress.[53] It is curious in this connection that foundations by the Ladies of the Royal court are very rare, though there is the Jahānīya Mosque (Pl. CXLVIb, Fig. 119) (A.H. 941/A.D. 1534-35), built by "Bua Malti" or Sister Māltī, and the mosque of Binat Bībī (A.H. 861/A.D.

1456) at Dacca.[54]

Local traditions relating to the existing monuments of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua, are also current in connection with the Tāntīpārā Masjid, the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid and the Dhunichak Masjid, none of which, however, retained their original appellations. The names they bear are of very recent origin, and derive from the particular localities where they were situated. These localities would seem to be well-demarcated Mahallas or areas, inhabited by different guilds or classes of people, pursuing different professions, such as the Tāntī or weavers, Dhunī or cotton carders etc. The Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid as well as the Lattan Masjid have peculiar associations with groups of mendicants and dancers respectively. The origin of the appellation of the Lattan Masjid may, therefore, be reasonably sought beyond the local legends which are usually quoted.

Creighton writes, "This beautiful Edifice appears to have obtained the epithet of painted [cīnī] from its walls being cased, both inside and out, with glazed bricks, wrought in different patterns and coloured blue, green and white."[55] Ravenshaw corroborates Creighton in regarding the monument as the "Painted Mosque".[56] Chambers, also, reports that some European explorers and travellers have termed the edifice as the "China Mosque from the bricks of which it is built, being ornamented with various

colours".[57]

However, Bloch has set at rest the whole controversy as to the correct appellation of the Lattan Masjid by his thoughtful criticism, he says, "I may mention in passing that the modern name of this mosque, Laṭan Masjid, generally has been explained as the 'Dancing Girl's Mosque' and that the word Laṭan has been taken as a corruption of the Bengali word for 'dancing girl', Naṭin - in Sanscrit naṭī. I am quite willing to accept this explanation, but I very much doubt if it really means that the mosque was built by a dancing girl. From ancient Indian inscriptions we certainly know of several instances where 'dancing girls', or any other women of a similar class, called Gaṇikā in Sanskrit, joined with Buddhist monks or nuns, and with respectable laymen and laywomen, in adoring a sacred Stūpa or temple of their religion. [At Badami, there is a small temple, dedicated by female garland maker.] However, I entertain grave doubts if the Maulavīs, Imāms and Khādims, even at the capital of the Muhammadan Kingdom of Bengal, ever would have designed to accept the gift of a mosque, if it came from a dancing girl, although she might have been some sort of an ancient dame aux camélias, who, with the approach of old age, might have repented, and expressed a desire to atone for her former life, by some kind of meritorious work like the building of a mosque. Even if we

accept such a theory, I am afraid we are laying too much stress on a name which we owe merely to the modern tradition current among the ignorant peasants, who now live at the site of the ancient capital of Bengal. Another explanation of the word Laṭan Masjid has occured to me, to which I feel very much inclined to give the preference. I accept the current interpretation of the word Laṭan as corruption of the Bengali word Naṭin (Sanskrit naṭī), 'a dancing girl'. But the mosque received this name not because it was built by a dancing girl, but on account of its gaudy appearance, both inside and outside, decked all over with glazed tiles in bright colours, such as white and blue, and green and yellow. The mosque itself, on that account, suggested to the ignorant peasants of modern Gaur the idea of a dancing girl, covered with bright garments and glittering jewels, and the name Laṭan Masjid thus really means 'the mosque, which resembles a dancing girl', and not the 'dancing girl's mosque'".[58]

The plan of the Lattan Masjid follows the established square plan of the Bengali mosques, initiated by the Eklākhi tomb and repeated in the Chāmkaṭṭi Masjid, the mosque at Kheraul in Murshīdābād and Rukn Khān's mosque at Devīkot in Dīnājpur, to which reference has been made earlier. The entire building is 72½ feet long and 51 feet broad outside (Pl. CXXIIa, CXXVa). The central square

prayer chamber is 34 feet square.[59] It is roofed by a hemispherical dome (Pls. CXXIV, CXXIV, CXXVa-b). According to Francklin, the Lattan Masjid is crowned by a "Syrian" roof, but this description of it is obscure. He may have meant by this a gable roof, referring to the gable ends of the dochatā style.

Chambers observes of this mosque, "So spacious and lofty a room, without a pillar beam or rafter is a real curiousity and when the antiquity of the building, the smallness of the bricks which compose it, and its present high state of preservation are considered, it seems evident that the art of building, as far as durability is considered, was far better than is indicated now by any modern edifice in the metropolis of India".[60]

The dome of the Lattan Masjid certainly shows the builder's skill and technical knowledge. Since it has arched squinches, the Lattan Masjid is typologically akin to the Chāmkattī Masjid. Saraswati says, "Still more commendable is the construction of the massive dome, which is provided with a basement support, cylindrical outside and in the shape of a flattened vault inside. This support adds to the height and dignity of the building and also in the way of organic beauty, which is unfortunately lacking in most of the buildings of this kind in Bengal".[61]

The most striking feature in the construction of

the dome is the absence of an octagonal base, as is generally met with in the Tughlaq tombs, such as the Tomb of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq (A.H. 725/A.D. 1325).[62] The dome rests on a polygonal base with ornamental parapets. The spandrels between the arched frames of the side walls and the squinches are filled with brick stalactite pendentives.[63] There are moulded stringcourses round the base of the dome, and lotus designs on the decorated parapets. The interior of the dome is raised in three distinct stages and has 8 vertical projecting ribs. Elegantly designed bell and chain motifs appear between the ribs. There is a lotus pendant hanging down from the crown of the dome. This building is of remarkable height, measuring approximately 50 feet internally and 70 feet externally.[64]

The qibla wall has three semi-circular niches (Pls. CXVIIa, CXXIII) the central one being bigger than the side ones. These are all encrusted with glazed tiles. The mihrāb to the north of the central niche has fragments of Hindu sculpture built into it. There is a buttressed projection standing out on the outside of the qibla wall (Pl. CXXIII). The central prayer hall is entered by three arched openings from the eastern verandah. There are also three doorways on both the northern and the southern sides.

The verandah (Pl. CXXII) on the eastern side measures 34 feet long by 11 feet wide and 35 feet in height.[65] It is

pierced with three openings on the east and one each at the sides. The central arched opening in the verandah measures 6 feet 11 inches in span, the side ones being 5 feet 5 inches and the end ones 4 feet 9½ inches.[66] Cunningham's view that the verandah was roofed over by 3 domes cannot be accepted as Plate CXLa shows a Bengali Chauchalā hut (Pl. CXXIb) shaped roof over the central bay of the verandah. The absence of brick stalactite pendentive lends further support to this view.

Like most of the Bengali mosques, the Lattan Masjid is provided with four circular corner towers (Pl. CXX). There are, however, in this building two additional towers at the corners of the verandah. These towers are fluted, the fluting being formed of small round bricks placed vertically one upon the other. This striking feature also appears in the corner towers of the Adīna Masjid as well as in the flanking buttresses of the Gumti Gate (A.H. 918/A.D. 1512).[68] The curvilinear cornice, which is characteristic of Bengali architecture, also appears in this mosque. This distinctive feature recalls the curved roof of Bengali huts, which so captivated the fancy of the Mughal emperors that they caused 'Bengali' pavilions to be erected, as pleasure-houses, in the forts of Agra and Lahore (Pl. CXXIX a-b); and the curved cornice similarly found its way into the later (Shāhjahān onwards) Mughal mosque style, as in the Delhi Fort mosque,

later buildings at the shrine of Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer, etc. In Bengal itself this feature is not confined to Muslim building, as the later temples (Pl. CXXVIII b) show it clearly.

The use of small bricks seems to have gained universal practice in the Lattan Masjid. Chambers observes, "The outer walls nine feet in thickness are formed of bricks, extremely small, not exceeding four inches in length, three in breadth and an inch and a half in thickness; but the bricks are so well made and the cement is so firm that the building has almost the solidity of stone".[69]

Cunningham compares the Lattan Masjid with the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid as being built on exactly the same plan. He writes, "Both are square rooms covered by a single dome with a verandah or corridor in front".[70] The differences between the two are no less striking. The Lattan Masjid has 3 miḥrābs with 3 arched openings at each side: the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid has only one central niche with an opening at each side. Both Cunningham and Marshall[71] accept Creighton's[72] suggestion that the Lattan Masjid was built in the year A.H. 880/A.D. 1475. Cunningham writes, "... though he [Creighton] says nothing about any inscription I feel satisfied that he must have seen one, either attached to the building, or lying somewhere near it, and has forgotten to quote it, as he is always very careful to note his authorities for the dates which he gives. At the time

of Francklin's visit the inscription had certainly been removed. The vacant panel in which it was fixed over the middle doorway is 6 feet 6½ inches in length by 1 foot 11½ inches in height, which I record here in the hope that some day the inscribed slab belonging to the Masjid may thereby be identified".[73] The date of the inscription referred to by Creighton and Francklin, now in the British Museum has been corrected to A.H. 883, and has already been assigned to the Chāmkaṭṭi Masjid. The Lattan Masjid undoubtedly surpasses all the earlier monuments of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua in the exquisite ornamentation and is clearly later than that of the Chāmkaṭṭi Masjid. Francklin has described the Lattan Masjid, "Its whole interior is adorned in the most beautiful tile work of variegated colours; consisting of very dark blue, yellow, green and white tiles, resembling marble, eight double minarets, made of bricks and incrusted with variegated tile work. of fanciful architecture... I have not myself met with anything superior to it either for elegance of style, lightness in construction, or tasteful decoration of ornament in any part that I have visited in Upper Hindustan".[74] However Cunningham maintains a different view when he says, "surely this is the very poorest, the most primitive, and the most tasteless style of ornamentation that could be imagined; nothing but plain horizontal stripes repeated till the eye is fatigued

with their niggling monotony...."[75] He continues, "the general view of the Lattan Masjid is certainly pleasing; but for the graceful outline, beauty of ornament, and stateliness of appearance, I greatly prefer the Old Minar, the Thāntīpārā Mosque, and the Dakhil Gateway".[76] In all fairness, so far as the colour scheme, style of ornamentation and marvellous texture of these tiles from the Victoria and Albert Museum collection can be judged, the Lattan Masjid may be regarded as a gem of Muslim ornamental art in Bengal. It surpasses any other monument of Bengal in the richness and variety of glazed tile mosaics and certainly crystallizes the marks the zenith in the evolution of square domed type of Bengali mosques. Therefore it may only be placed in the later phase of Muslim rule in Bengal. Dani criticizes the Cunningham's opinion that the Lattan Masjid was built in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh (A.H. 879-886/A.D. 1474-84) rather than of Husain Shāh (A.H. 889-925/A.D. 1493-1519). As he says Cunningham "only failed to see that the difference between the Lattan Masjid and the other group of buildings lies not merely in architectural beauty but in their very character. They are products of two different periods, when different ideals of beauty governed the life of man. Dakhil and Tāntīpārā are the products of one period, while the Lattan represents the conception of another period, which was saturated with richness and dazzling effect of

prosperity. It truly bears the stamp of the Husain Shāhi age".[77] This dating is undoubtedly correct.

CHAPTER V: NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Creighton, H., The Ruins of Gour, described and represented in eighteen views with a topographical map, RAS copy, London, 1817, pl. XV; see also ASR, vol. XV, p. 60, pl. XVIII; 'Ābid 'Āli Khān, Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua, edited by H. Stapleton, Calcutta, 1931, p. 69; Chakravarti, R.K., Gaurer iti has Musalman Rajattakal, vol. II, Malda, 1909, published by 'Ābid 'Ali Khān, p. 8; Choudhury, J.N., Gour-o-Pandua, Calcutta, 1328 BS./1922 A.D., pp. 33-34; 'Ābid Ali reports that there lived in Chatīspārah area, near Old Mālda, a class of Muslim people, known as Chāmkatti. See also Hunt, E.B.

(2) Marshall, J., The monuments of Muslim India in CHI, vol. III, CUP, 1928, p. 605; see also Brown, P., Indian Architecture (Muslim Period), Bombay, second edition, p. 41.

(3) Choudhury, J.N., pp. 33-34.

(4) Infra, pp. 429-38

(5) Creighton, Pl. XV.

(6) Orme: Gowre: Description of its Ruins with four inscriptions taken in the Arabic, IOL, Orme Ms 65.25, pp. 171-177: published by E.G. Glazier, A Report on the District of Rungporey, Calcutta, 1873. It is

(6) Contd.
cited by Stapleton in his edition of 'Ābid 'Alī's Memoirs, p. 63, N.I; The Daniells in India, in BPP, vol. XXV, Part I, Series No. 49 Jan., by H.E.A. Cotton; Francklin, Ruins of Gaur, 1810-12, IOL, MS 19, this MS description has not only been quoted by A. Grote in his annotation of Ravenshaw's expensive volume Gaur: its Ruins and Inscriptions, London, 1878, but also by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 30th May, 1910; Buchanan (Martin), vol. II and III, London, 1838; also his Account of Dinajpur, IOL, MSS EUR, D. 71, vol. I.

(7) Ilāhī Bakhsh, The Khūrshid Jahān Numā, edited and translated by H. Beveridge in JASB, vol. LXIV, Part I, p. 223.

(8) ASR, XV, pp. 60-61. See also Chakravarti, R.K., op.cit., p. 8; 'Ābid 'Alī, op.cit., p. 69, both of whom copied Cunningham.

(9) Buchanan (Martin), vol. II, p. 649, Pl. III. The appellation EK- (one) Lākkhi (Lākh meaning lae, 100,000) probably indicate the expenses incurred in the construction of this building (Salim, G.H., Riyāzu-s-Salātīn, edited and translated by A. Salam, B.I., Calcutta, 1904, p. 118. Although Buchanan, Fergusson and Cunningham regarded it as a tomb, Ravenshaw erroneously described the building as a mosque. (ASR, XV, pp. 88-89; Ravenshaw, op.cit., p. 58, Pl. 34).

(10) ASR, XV, pp. 60-61.

(11) 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 69.

(12) Supra, pp. 363

(13) Chakravarti, M.M., Pre-Mughal Mosques of Bengal in JASB, 1910, vol. VI, NS, p. 26; see also Saraswati, S.K., Indo-Muslim Architecture in Bengal in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol. IX, 1941, p. 22; Dani, A.H., Muslim Architecture in Bengal, Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publication, No. 7, Dacca, 1961, pp. 49-50.

(14) ASR, XV, pp. 55-56; Dani, pp. 84-85; 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 65 describes the building as a mosque whereas Cunningham regarded it as a prison. Salim says that Jalāl-al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh erected "a mosque, a reservoir, the Jalālī tank and a caravan Serai". (op.cit., p. 118). Dani wrongly quotes the Jalālī tank as "Jalālī tomb" (op.cit., p. 85). 'Ābid 'Alī indicates that the Jalālī tank exists to the west of the Qodam Rasūl building under the name of Jalālī Dīghi, (op.cit., p. 65). See also Creighton's map of Gour. Choudhury's suggestion that this tank was excavated by Jalāluddīn Khaljī is misleading; he presumably meant Jalāl-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh (op.cit., p. 28). This building has been referred to as Bat's Masjid quite wrongly by Lambourne, BDG, Malda, 1918,

(14) Contd.
p. 89). Ilāhī Bakhsh says, "Probably the so-called mosque was not one, but was an office, or women's apartments, for what necessity was there for having small and big mosques close together". I, therefore, think that the building adjoining the completely destroyed mosque, known as the Chika, must have been a madrasa or caravanserai.

(15) Dani, p. 193.

(16) Blochmann, H., Notes on Arabic and Persian inscriptions in the Hūglī District, in J.A.S.B., vol. XXXIX, Part I, 1870, pp. 279-305, Pls. VIII-XII.

(17) Dani, p. 160.

(18) Dani, pp. 148-50, Figs. 12, 154.

(19) Infra, pp. 377-79.

(20) Infra, pp. 379-90; see also Dani, pp. 156, 161-2.

(21) Francklin, W., p. 32.

(22) Ibid, pp. 32-33.

(23) Shyām Prasād, Ahwāl Gaur wa Pandua, Ethe's catalogue of Persian MSS, vol. I, Oxford, 1903, p. 1541, No. 28, IOL, No. 2892, careless Nastalīq, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches; see also Dani's edition, p. 17.

(24) Francklin, pp. 32.

(25) Grote, A., Annotations to Ravenshaw's Gaur: its Ruins and Inscriptions, London, 1878, edited by C. Ravenshaw, p. 30. Incidentally, Ravenshaw did not notice the

(25) Contd.
mosque, most probably, as put by Cunningham, "because the greater part of the front has now fallen down". (ASR, XV, p. 60).

(26) ASR, XV, p. 60.

(27) Francklin, p. 29.

(28) Ibid, p. 28.

(29) Beveridge, H., Major Francklin's MS description of Gaur in J.A.S.B., vol. LXIII, 1894, Pl. I, No. 2, p. 88.

(30) Ravenshaw, p. 56.

(31) See, N.I; ASR, XV, pp. 60-2.

(32) Grote, A., pp. 30-32.

(33) ASR, XV, p. 61.

(34) Dani, pp. 121-22.

(35) Grote, A., p. 30.

(36) Creighton, Pl. XXII.

(37) Francklin, p. 32.

(38) Pemberton, J.J., Geographical and Statistical Report of the District of Maldah, Calcutta, 1854, Topographical Map of the station of Maldah its vicinity and the Ruins of Gaur, surveyed in season 1847/48, has not shown the location of this mosque. See Creighton's Map of Gour, surveyed in 1801; ASR, XV, Pl. XIII.

(39) Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 222; see also 'Abid 'Alī, p. 76.

(40) King, L.B.B., A Letter from Mr. L.B.B. King, officiating

(40) Contd.
collector of Maldah to the Government of Bengal, dated 29th March, 1875: on the present state of the ruins of Gaur, in JASB, 1875, p. 93. See also Revised List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal, 1886, p. 27. (Hereafter cited as List).

(41) Dani, p. 112.

(42) List, p. 27.

(43) Dani, p. 112.

(44) Chambers in Fanny Parke, Wandering of a Pilgrim in search of the picturesque during four and twenty years in the East with Revelations of life in the Zenana, vol. II, London, 1850, pp. 79, 94-95. She visited the ancient site of Gaud in December 7th. 1836, and refers to one Mr. Chamber, an Indigo planter, who, she says, lived at Gaud for 36 years. She gives extracts from his (unpublished) Manuscript: "The Ruins of Gaur".

(45) Shyam Prasad, (Dani's edition), pp. 12-13.

(46) Francklin, pp. 29-32; see also Ravenshaw, p. 32, Pl. 18; 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 72-73; ASR, XV, pp. 62-63.

(47) Ibid, pp. 29-32.

(48) Chambers, op.cit., pp. 94-95.

(49) Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 223.

(50) ASR, XV, pp. 62-63.

(51) Chakravartī, R.K., pp. 9-10.

(52) 'Ābid 'Alī, p. 74; see also Choudhury J.N., op.cit., p. 35; Maitra, A.K., Ancient Monuments of Varendra, Rajshahi. Appendix, IV, p. 36.

(53) Salim, G.H., p. 109.

(54) 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 92-93, 164-65; see also, Dani, p. 193.

(55) Creighton, Pl. IX.

(56) Ravenshaw, p. 32.

(57) Chambers, pp. 94-95.

(58) Bloch, T., quoted by 'Ābid 'Alī, pp. 74-75. See also Creighton Pl. IX, describes the building as the "Painted Mosque". Likewise, Chambers says that European visitors call it "the China Mosque".

(59) ASR, XV, p. 62.

(60) Chambers, p. 95.

(61) Saraswati, pp. 23-23.

(62) Marshall, p. 586, Pl. VIII, 15.

(63) ASR, XV, p. 63.

(64) Chambers, p. 95.

(65) ASR, XV, p. 62-3, N.I. Cunningham corrects Francklin: "I have been thus particular in stating the measurements of the different parts of this mosque for the purpose of correcting the crowd of errors in Francklin's description which is quoted by Mr. Grote in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 32. Thus the verandah, which is 34 feet long by 11 feet broad, is said to be 50 feet long by 36

(65) Contd.
feet broad, while the main room of the mosque is said to be 36 feet square, so that the verandah is larger than the mosque itself. Again, the whole building is said to be 60 feet broad, instead of 51 feet, while the diameter of the dome is also made 60 feet, so that the edge of the dome would have been flush with the outer face of the building, while the dome itself would have been half the difference between 60 and 36 feet, that is, exactly 12 feet in thickness. Further, as he makes the summit of the cupola only 40 feet in height and the semi-diameter 30 feet, the spring of the dome would have been only 10 feet above the ground, while the height of the verandah is said to be 35 feet".

(66) ASR, XV, pp. 62-63; Chambers states that the central arch of the corridor is 6 feet, op.cit., p. 94.

(67) Ibid, Pl. XVIII. Dani rejecting the views of Cunningham writes, "The battlements and cornice are very gently curved, above which rise the three domes of the verandah and a large one over the central room. The middle dome of the verandah is of the Charchala roof type". See also Saraswati (op.cit., p. 23) and Chakravarti, M.M., (op.cit., p. 27), both of whom erroneously state that there were 3 small domes on the corridor.

(68) Although Creighton's painting of the Gumti Gate does not show fluted columns, (Pl. X) Dani's Pl. XXVII clearly displays this features. Incidentally, Creighton painted a small gateway covered with a dome, which agrees with the Gumti Gate in architectural.

(69) Chambers, p. 94; Cunningham says that the two side walls of the mosque and the front wall of the verandah are each 8½ feet thick, but the front and back walls of the main room are 10 feet 7 inches. (ASR, XV, p. 62).

(70) ASR, XV, p. 62.

(71) Marshall, p. 605.

(72) Creighton, p. IX.

(73) ASR, XV, p. 62.

(74) Francklin, pp. 30-32.

(75) ASR, XV, pp. 64-45; he is supported by Marshall, who writes, "It misses the picturesque and imaginative colouring of the tile-enamelled buildings of Persia, and equally it misses the charm of reticence and restraint which characterise the use of coloured tilework at Multan and Delhi". These remarks are hardly justified, as rightly stated by Dani.

(76) Ibid, p. 65.

(77) Dani, p. 124.

CHAPTER VI

MOSQUES OF PRE-MUGHAL BENGAL

(THE OBLONG MULTI-DOMED TYPE)

The oblong multi-domed type of Bengali mosque is represented by the Tāntipārā Masjid (A.H. 885/A.D. 1480), the Dhunichak Masjid (A.H. 841-92/A.D. 1437-86), the Ruined Mosque at Gūamālti (A.H. 894/A.D. 1489), and the Baṛā Sonā Masjid (A.H. 932/A.D. 1525-26).[1] Saraswati, in his article in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, elaborates the characteristics of this type, already outlined by M.M. Chakravarti. The multi-domed type, as he puts it, "is characterised by an oblong structure, which is divided into several aisles by rows of pillars, supporting the arches of the domes, and cut into a number of prayer niches in the back wall and arched openings in the front. The roof consists of successive rows of low and small domes, their number depending on the number of interspaces formed by the division of the building into bays and aisles. As usual in Bengal, curved cornices and polygonal turrets are also characteristic elements of such a structure".[2] Unlike the vaulted and domed type of Bengali mosques,[3] the central nave is conspicuous by its absence. The verandah which, as we have seen, was a dominating feature

in the square domed type,[4] also disappears in the unvaulted rectangular type now to be discussed.

A/ THE TĀNTĪPĀRĀ MASJID
(A.H. 885/A.D. 1480)

The Tāntīpārā Masjid (Fig. 116 & Pls. CI, CIIa) is one of the earliest known examples of the oblong multi-domed type of Bengali mosques. According to Cunningham, "this mosque is the finest of all the buildings now remaining in Gaur",[5] and it is certainly carefully planned and tastefully ornamented. It stands between the small Sāgar Dighi and the river Bhāgīrathī, which has long since receded to the east. It stands a mile to the north of the eastern wall of the citadel on the western side of the Dīnājpur road in between the Lattan Masjid and the Chāmkattī Masjid.

Creighton, who did a painting of the Tāntīpārā Masjid as he found it in 1801-7, says that the mosque owes its appellation to the suburb or locality or ward where it is situated.[7] Tānti means weaver and pārā means ward or quarter.[8] Francklin wrongly described this mosque as the Mahājantolā Masjid.[9] No Mahājantolā area appears in the city plans drawn by either Buchanan or Pemberton; Cunningham and Francklin seem to have been misinformed.[10]

The Tāntīpārā Masjid is an oblong brick building with the long sides placed north and south. It measures 78 feet by 31 feet internally and 91 feet by 44 feet externally.[11] The liwān is divided into two aisles by a transverse arcade, carrying 5 pointed brick arches, supported on 4 stone pillars. From these pillars also spring three arches at right angles to the façade. Although less ornate than those of the southern prayer chamber in the Adīna Masjid, the Tāntīpārā pillars have square bases, moulded bands and cubical abaci.[12] Brown says that the pillars of this mosque are "of the square and chamfered variety originally part of a Hindu temple",[13] but this was not so. They are contemporary with the building. Certainly work of this character is known in Hindu building, and this seems to have misled Brown.

The Tāntīpārā Masjid is roofed over by 10 small hemispherical domes. The transition from the square to the circle of the dome is attained by brick stalactite pendentives. The qibla wall has 5 pointed arched niches, semi-circular in design (Pls. CIIb-CIX). Each mihrāb is enclosed in a rectangular frame, filled with rich stucco designs. The tympanum of each mihrāb is also elegantly decorated. The concave niche is divided into panels with hanging bell-and-chain motifs surrounded by a decorative arch. The finely finished stone casing is a prominent

feature of this mosque. Stone courses are added internally between the brick courses. They also appear in the Eklākhī Tomb (Pl. LXXXIXb), the Dakhīl Darwāza (Pl. XCVa-b) (A.H. 841-64/A.D. 1437-59), and the Darasbārī Masjid (Pl. Ca) (A.H. 884/A.D. 1479).[14]

As in other Bengali mosques dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries, the zenana gallery (Pls. CIV, CVII, CXIV) was the most conspicuous feature in the Tāntīpārā Masjid. 'Abid 'Alī writes, "It is likely that the face of the wall underneath the takht and immediately below the northern most miḥrāb was broken, or, if there was a miḥrāb at all beneath the takht, it was certainly seperated from the miḥrāb above."[15] The existence of a zenana gallery is proved by the existence of a small niche in the upper part of the qibla wall on the northern side, just above the northernmost miḥrāb. The zenana gallery is entered from the north through a porch. In place of the jālī or perforated windows as in the southern side, the northern wall has two small arched openings. The upper arched opening must have served as a communicating door to the zenana gallery from some kind of external entrance or porch. It is presumed that the zenana platform was high above the floor level, as in the Adīna Masjid and other mosques of Gauḍ, and that it also had a screen. Whether the roof of the zenana gallery was higher than the rest of the mosque, as it was in the Adīna Masjid,

is nowhere described.

The Tāntīpārā Masjid is entered from the east by five pointed arched entrances. Unlike the Chamkaṭṭi Masjid (Pl. XCVII) and the Lattan Masjid (Pl. CXXIa), it has no verandah in the eastern side. The entrance arches spring from massive brick piers, oblong in plan, placed north and south. The walls are 6½ feet thick and the arch openings are the same in width.[16] The arches are tastefully ornamented with a profusion of designs, set in rectangular frames (Pls. CXI–CXIII). The small rosettes inserted into the sockets in the soffits of the arches anticipated similar features in the shrine of Qadam Rasūl (Pl. CXXVIIa) inside the citadel of Gauḍ. On each side of the archway, the monotony of the wall is relieved by horizontal stringcourses and richly carved blind windows. The double cornice with elegant stucco designs demonstrates the characteristic curvilinear roofing of Bengal architecture.[17]

There are also two arched openings in the southern side, but only one in the northern side owing to the zenana gallery. Blind windows relieved the monotony of the otherwise bare wall, which is also richly carved in brick.

The Tāntīpārā Masjid has four corner towers, one at each angle of the building. Plate CII shows that they are octagonal in shape like those of the Chamkaṭṭi Masjid (Pls. XCVII, XCIXb), which was copied later in the Chhoto

Sonā Masjid (Pl. CXXXI) and the Barā Sonā Masjid (Pl. CXXXIXa). In their moulded stringcourses and the typical ornamental devices of the hanging chain-and-bell motifs, the corner towers of the Tāntīpārā Masjid recall those of the Eklākhī Tomb (Pl. LXXXIXb), which is dated earlier. It is probable that these corner towers were originally capped by conical turrets. On the exterior of the qibla wall is a prominent mihrāb buttress placed centrally. This buttress (Pl. CIIb) carries a little projection gracefully ornamented with stucco designs and blind arches with hanging chain-and-bell motifs.[18]

It is abundantly clear that the Tāntīpārā mosque conforms, in layout and general architectural details, with the enclosed type of Bengal mosques, initiated in Gauḍ, by the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid. As an oblong type of mosque, it anticipates the ruined mosque at Guāmālṭī at Gauḍ (Fig. 115 & Pl. CXIX), which was probably built in A.H. 894/A.D. 1489 the Jahānīya mosque (Fig. 119 & Pl. CXLVIb) also at Gauḍ, dated A.H. 941/A.D. 1535. The Phuṭī Masjid at old Malda, dated A.H. 900/A.D. 1495, demonstrates the earliest known example of a mosque verandah in the oblong multi-domed type of Bengali mosque, later to appear in the Barā Sonā Masjid at Gauḍ. The type represented by the Tāntīpārā Masjid is to be met for the first time in the mosque of Ẓafar Khān (Pl. LXIIa) at Tribeni (A.D. 1298), Hūghli and the Barī

Dargāh Masjid(Pl.LXb) at Chhoṭo Paṇḍua (A.D. 1300), also at Hughli. The multi-domed type of Bengali mosque is also represented by the following monuments. [19]

A.H. 854 /A.D. 1450 : Masjidkur, Khulna : Masjid

A.H. 871 /A.D. 1466-67: Kalna, Burdwān :Majlis Sāhib's Mosque

A.H. 9th century/A.D. 15the century : Kasba, Barisal: Mosque

A.H. 871/A.D. 1466-67 : Basirhat , 24 Parganas : Mosque

A.H. 888/A.D. 1483 : Rāmpāl, Dacca : Baba Adam's Mosque (Fig.111)

A.H. 905/A.D. 1500-1 : Hemtābād, Dinajpur :Mosque(Pl.CXXVIa)

A.H. 930/A.D. 1523-24 :Bagha? Rajshahi : Mosque

A.H. 925-38/A.D. 1519-32: Saikupa, Jessore : Mosque

A.H. 936/A.D. 1529 : Satgaon, Hughli : Mosque of Jalal-Din

A.H. 990/A.D. 1582 : Hazrat Pandua ? Maldā :Qutb Shāh's Mosque

The date of the Tāntipārā Masjid is uncertain, as the inscriptions are missing from their panels(Pls CII, CVIII), both inside and outside the building. Creighton assigned an inscription bearing the date A.H. 885/A.D. 1480 to the Tantipara Masjid and says that he found it near the Mosque . [20] Cunningham also refers th this inscription which he ascribes to this Mosque.[21] Ravenshaw noticed another inscription, bearing the date A.H. 885 of which he writes, " On the northern gate pf the court in which the mosque [the shrine] of Qadam Rasul stands there is an inscription on a black slab, dated A.H. 885 / 1480. This has evidently been removed from its original place,

and is

thought to have belonged to a mosque not far distant, now in entire ruins".[22] This inscription (Pl. CXXVII) referred to by Ravenshaw cannot belong to the shrine of Qadam Rasūl, which is dated A.H. 909/A.D. 1503, or its gateway which is dated A.H. 937/A.D. 1530-31. In connection with the date of the Tāntipārā Masjid, he writes, "There is no clear proof of its date but a stone inscription said to have been taken from it mentions Yusuf Shah".[23] Grote in his annotation of Ravenshaw's Gaur supports the views of the author. This inscription, which runs as follows, must have originally been placed in the qibla wall above the central mihrāb.

Text:

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له

سبعين قصراً في الجنة . بنى هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان ابن
السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين أبو المظفر
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باربكشاه السلطان ابن محمود

شاه السلطان بن هذا المسجد خان اعظم وخاقان معظم مرصاد خان
اتابک رایت اعلی تاریخ هژدهم ماه مبارک رمضان سنة
خمس وثمانین ثمانمایة .

Translation: "The Prophet - May the peace (of Allāh) be on him! - has said, "Whoever builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build for him seventy palaces in Paradise". This mosque was built in the reign of the Sultān, son of the Sultān, son of the Sultān, son of the Sultān, Shams-ud-Duniya wad Dīn Abūl Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh, the Sultān son of Bārbak Shāh, the Sultān, son of Mahmūd Shāh, the Sultān. This Mosque was built by the great Khān and exalted Khāqān, Mirsad Khān Atābak Rāhat A'lā ("of the Exalted Banner") on the 18th of the holy month of Ramdān, A.H. 885 (Tuesday 21st November, 1480 A.D.).[24]

Both Blochmann and Ravenshaw read the date as the 10th day of the Holy month of Ramazān, A.H. 885, corresponding to 13th November, 1480. Horn read it as the 13th day of Ramazān A.H. 885, corresponding to 16th November, 1480. Shamsuddin Ahmad deciphers it as the 18th day of Ramdan, 885 A.H., corresponding to 26th November, 1480.

Regarding the Tāntīpārā inscriptions, Cunningham writes, "From an inscription found nearby", Creighton gives

its date as A.H. 885. Now this I believe to be the true date of the building for the following reason. The Tāntīpārā Mosque had two inscriptions, one on the outside measuring 5 feet ½ inch by 1 foot 8 inches, and the other inside measuring 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 6 inches. The former I take to be the record quoted by Creighton, while the latter must be small slab which is now fixed over the doorway of the courtyard of the Qadam Rasūl Mosque, to which it cannot possibly belong. Now this inscription is also dated in A.H. 885, and its dimensions agree perfectly with those of the vacant panel inside the Tāntīpārā Masjid. The slab measures 2 feet 4 inches by 13 inches, or just 5 inches less than the broken panel both in length and in breadth. As this would allow a border of one brick thick all round the slab, which was the usual way of fixing the inscriptions, I think there can be little doubt that it must have belonged to the Thāntīpārā Masjid".[25] Therefore, Cunningham quite convincingly assigns the inscription stuck in the gateway of the Qadam Rasūl Masjid at Gaud to the Tāntīpārā Masjid, which once occupied the vacant panel above the central mihrāb..

In the British Museum, there is an inscription belonging to the reign of Yūsuf Shāh. It is unfortunately broken into three unequal fragments, bearing the date A.H. 885/A.D. 1480. The text along with the translation is given below:

Text:

السلطان بن السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله
ملکه و سلطانه تاریخ یوم الاثنین اربعه عشره فی شهر محرم
سنه خمس وثمانین وثمانمایه .

Translation: "The Sultān, son of (Sultān) Mahmūd Shāh Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his Kingdom and the Sovereignty. Dated Sunday the 14th day of the month of Muharram in the year eight hundred eighty five (A.H. 885/A.D. 1480)".[26]

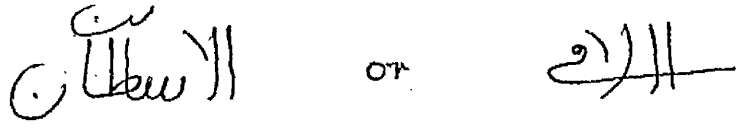
The British Museum inscription (Pl. CX) is carved on a specially prepared black basalt slab, measuring approximately 5 feet in length and 1 foot 8 inches in height. The inscription is in Arabic, of a single line. Francklin noticed this record but he wrongly ascribed it to the Golden Mosque at "Purruah" or Hazrat Pandua, which is generally known as the Qutb Shāhī Mosque.[27] As this Mosque is dated A.H. 990/A.D. 1582, the British Museum record, dated A.H. 885 can have no bearing on it. Beveridge in his review of Francklin's Gaur reaches the same conclusion. He writes, "Francklin's inscription, therefore, cannot

belong to it, for the small golden mosque was erected in the reign of Husain Shah in the early 10th century A.H. Nor can it, as we have just seen, belong to the Pandua Golden Mosque".[28] Most probably, the inscription belonged to the Tāntīpārā mosque at Gaud. Creighton states (quoted by Grote, p. 30) that an inscription was found near the Tāntīpārā Mosque with the same date as Francklin's inscription A.H. 885. Mr. Grote conjectures that the inscription referred to by Creighton is that now at the shrine of Qadam Rasūl. This was published by Ravenshaw (p. 22). He says that this inscription is supposed to have belonged to a mosque not far distant, and now in entire ruin. The latter part of his description does not apply to the Tāntīpārā Mosque.

Grote accepts Beveridge's views, and explicitly says, "not only is there no inscription of Yūsuf Shāh on the front of the Masjid, but there is no place for it....".[29] In conclusion therefore, it may be said that the British Museum inscribed panel was originally placed above the central arched entrance on the eastern façade of the Tāntīpārā Masjid, as its measurements agree with the vacant place in the mosque.

Calligraphically, the British Museum record of Sultan Yūsuf Shāh and the Dārasbārī inscription dated A.H. 884/A.D. 1479-80, marks the transition from the

ornate variety of Naskh to the sophisticated Tughra form. The vertical letters of the Tantipara Masjid inscription measure no less than 17½ inches and are half an inch thick. These are skilfully arranged to form designs, such as



B/ THE DHUNICHAK MASJID AT GAUḌ

(A.H. 841-92/A.D. 1437-86)

The Dhunichak Masjid (Fig. 117 & Pl. CXV) which stands in the Mahdīpur area[30] of Gauḍ owes its soubriquet to the locality inhabited by the Dhunis or cotton carders. Lambourne[31] ascribes the "Dhanchak" Mosque to Dhanpat Saudagar, brother of Chand Saudagar, who flourished in the 16th century at Gauḍ during the reign of Huṣain Shah. This can hardly be true because the site does not appear in the city plan given by Cunningham and furthermore, the Mosque stylistically belongs to the period of the restored Ilyās Shāhī dynasty.[32] Ilāhi Bakhsh says, "It has three domes. Near this Mosque, on the north side, I was a very small ruined building. Perhaps it was the tomb of the builder of the Mosque and of his family".[33] In the revised list of the Ancient monuments of Bengal, 1887, it is described thus: "An old front of this Mosque with 31 columns is now existing. The inner ornamentation comprises carved and coloured bricks".[34] It is presumed that the Dhunichak Masjid follows the rectangular plan already seen in the Tāntīpārā Masjid. It probably was roofed over by 3 domes as Ilāhī Bakhsh says. It is hard to say whether there was any verandah on the eastern front of the Masjid. The Mosque is, indeed, almost completely ruined; excavation on the site would doubtless enable more detail to be reconstructed.

C/ MOSQUE OF FIRŪZ SHĀH II
AT GŌĀMĀLTĪ (GAUḌ)
(A.H. 894 / A.D. 1489)

There is a ruined mosque in Gōāmāltī (Fig. 115 & Pl. CXIX), situated at the south west of the English Bazar in the centre of the ancient city.[35] Ilāhī Bakhsh observes, "Near the (abandoned) Indigo factory of Goamalti and to the east of it, there is a minar in good order and a ruined mosque. The Mosque was built in the time of Sultan Bahadur Khan as the inscription shows, which is now lying at the factory".[36] This inscription is reported by Ilāhī Bakhsh being on bricks and bearing the date A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311).[37] He says, "The only Goamalti inscription known appears to be one of 894 (1489) which belongs to the reign of Firōz Shāh II".[38] There is an inscription in the Indian Museum, Calcutta which was not known to Ilāhī Bakhsh.[39] His inscription of A.H. 711, therefore, cannot be ascribed to the Gōāmāltī Mosque, and might have been attached to any of the adjacent buildings. (Fig. 128)

I came across several carved black basalt fragments in the depository of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Pl. CXIX) These consist of stone pillars, framed arches and other fragments which were presented to the Museum by Reginald Porch. Bearing this out, Beglar says, "I have myself seen in the compound of the then Magistrate of Malda, the late

Mr. Porch, a set of lintels obtained from Pandua, which he, when going on his last furlough, packed up and carried off to England".[40] The date of the stone work is about A.D. 1450.[41] These fragments may be attributed to the Gōamālti Mosque. As far as it can be reconstructed, the mosque follows the rectangular type of Bengali mosques. It has a double-aisled līwān roofed with 10 domes, and there must have been 5 semi-circular concave mihrābs. What Ilāhī Bakhsh regarded as a minar must have been the corner towers of the mosque. It cannot be said whether it had an eastern verandah.

D/ THE BARĀ SONĀ MASJID AT GAUḌ

(A.H. 932/A.D. 1525-26)

Orme is the earliest authority to notice the Barā Sonā Masjid or the Great Golden Mosque (Fig. 118 & Pl. CXXXIX).[42] Ruined though it is, it is one of the most impressive buildings still existing in Gauḍ. According to Francklin, "two miles north of the Tannah of Gaur after crossing the Bhagritti there is a mosque called 'Sonah Masjid'." It is a building of very unusual construction, for it is approached by an arched gate of stone, 26 feet in height and 6 feet in breadth.[43]

Ravenshaw described this Mosque (Pl. CXLA) as Bāradīwarī. He writes, "There are eleven arches on either side of the corridor, and one at each end of it, from which probably the mosque has obtained the name of Bāradīwarī or "the twelve doored".[44] The term Bāradīwarī or Bāradwārī, literally meaning twelve doors, is a misnomer as there are only eleven pointed doorways in the eastern front of the mosque. Cunningham explains the term "Baridwari" as "God's house", thereby implying that there is no connection with the arched openings. As he puts it, "Perhaps Baridwari, God's house" may have been original form of the name; but its present pronunciation is simply Baradwari which is the proper form of the well-known Baradari".[45] D.N. Sen says that the Golden Mosque preserves the name of "Baradwari"

which is used of Bengali huts.[46] 'Abid 'Ali says, "... the name "Bāradwarī, which was given to the mosque on account of its spacious court-yard in front of the mosque".[47] Therefore, the term is commonly used throughout India for pavilions of various sorts. It should, perhaps, be observed, in connection with the 'bāradīwārī' and the eleven openings, that bridges such as the Āṭh [eight] puṭā in Delhi have only seven openings; it is thus not impossible that the 'dīwārī' of the name refers to the twelve door-posts or piers.

Creighton regards the Great Golden Mosque (Pls. CXLIV, CXLV) as the best and the largest building remaining in Gauḍ".[48] It is rectangular in plan, measuring 160 feet long and 76 feet broad. The prayer hall is divided by two rows of pillars into three aisles. In each row there were 10 substantial stone pillars, carrying 11 pointed transverse arches.[49] The Mosque was roofed over by 33 small domes. The transition from the square to the circle of the dome is attained by brick stalactite pendentives. There are 11 concave semi-circular mihrābs carved in black basalt. The verandah on the eastern side of the mosque is entered by 11 pointed arch openings. There are 3 entrances each on the north and the south sides of the verandah. The mosque once had a zenana gallery; all that now remains is the double tier of arch

openings in the north-west corner of the prayer hall. Cunningham says, "The floor of this private apartment or Takht, was formed of brick vaults, the traces of which are distinctly marked against the end wall of the mosque. The room comprised six bays in the north western corner, three in the back aisle, and three in the middle aisle. Access to this compartment is obtained through a room on the putside, from which two low doors led into it, there being two similar small doors below leading into the body of the mosque below the vaulted harem room".[50] Cunningham must have totally misjudged the plan when he considers the zenana gallery to have been vaulted. As the plan shows, it could only be roofed over by 9 small domes. What he called a "room" must be regarded as an impressive entrance porch, which we have already met with in the Tāntīpārā Masjid and the Chhoṭo Sonā Masjid. Remains of a raised terrace at outside the Masjid on the north-western corner can still be seen. 'Ābid 'Alī observes, "The remains of a sloping platform connecting the doors with the ground level are still to be seen there. Ladies' galleries are found in many mosques in Central India, Khandesh and elsewhere; but in the Mughal period the ladies galleries were generally on the ground floor, and not raised on pillars or arches".[51]

With regard to the usual buttress corner-towers,

Francklin writes, "Six minarets [corner towers] or columns of brown stone faced with black marble, adorn the building; bands of blue marble above twelve inches in breadth embrace the column from the base to the capital, and are adorned with a profusion of flower-work carved in the marble".[52] These corner towers are octagonal in design, like those at the Eklākhī Tomb, the Tāntīpārā Masjid and the Chhoto Sona Masjid.

'Abid 'Ali writes, "On the south-east side there exists a raised platform locally called "chabūtra" by the local people. It is believed that the chabūtra was used by the Muazzin for calling the Faithful to prayer, but this does not seem very probable as the call to prayer is generally made from a high tower".[53]

There are arched gateways on the north, the south and the east sides (Pls. CXLI, CXLII, CXLIII a) of the wide quadrangle in front of the mosque, measuring about 200 feet square. Orme says that there was once a surrounding brick wall faced with stone. Cunningham states that these gateways were "ornamented with flowers in glazed tiles of different colours, white, blue, green yellow and orange, of which numerous fragments are lying in the ruins at the foot of each gate...".[54]

Regarding the date of the Great Golden Mosque, Ravenshaw says that though there is no inscription whatsoever

on the building, he believed this was commenced by Husain Shah and completed by his son Nusrat Shah.[55] Both Orme and Francklin, however, give a transcription of an inscription of Sultan Nusrat Shah which is dated A.H. 932/A.D. 1525-6.[56] This is carved in beautiful Toghra and was fixed over the central entrance of the eastern façade, but is missing. The panel measures 5 feet 2 inches in length by 2 feet 1 inch in height.[57] Shamsuddin Ahmed makesabad mistake when in his notice of this record, he identified this with another inscription of the same date, which was discovered by Marshmann in Gaud and later removed to Serampur, Hughli.[58] The text of the Great Golden Mosque inscription and its translation are as follows:

Text:

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله تعالى له بيتاً مثله
في الجنة - بنى هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم المكرم السلطان ابن
السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرت شاه السلطان
ابن حسين شاه السلطان ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله
ملكه وسلطانه واعلى امره وشانه في سنة اثنى وثلثين وتسع مايه .

Translation:

"The prophet, blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him, has said, "Whoever builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build a house for him, like it, in Paradise".

This congregational mosque was built in the time of the learned Sultān, the Sultān, son of the Sultān, Nasīrud-Dunya wa'd-Dīn, Abu Muzaffar Nusrat Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, and its builder is the Majlisi Sa'ad, may his exaltation endure: in the year nine hundred and thirty three: 933 A.H./1527-28 A.D.)."

CHAPTER VI: NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Chakravarti, M.M., Pre-Mughal mosques of Bengal, in JASB, New Series, vol. VI, 1910, No. 1, p. 28. He calls it, "the multi-domed parallelepiped". A.H. Dani has described these buildings under the 'late Ilyas Shahi style' on the basis of the chronology of the restored Ilyas Shāhīs of Bengal, who ruled from A.H. 841/A.D. 1437 to 892/1486. (Muslim Architecture of Bengal, Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publication, No. 7, Dacca, 1961, pp. 86-115).
2. Saraswati, S.K., Indo-Muslim Architecture in Bengal, in Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental art, vol. IX, 1941, p. 24.
3. Chapter. IV
4. Chapter. V.
5. Cunningham, A., ASR, XV, p. 62.
6. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XII, New Edition, 1909. See also Ravenshaw, J.H., Gaur; its Ruins and inscriptions, edited by Mrs. C. Ravenshaw, Annotated by A. Grote, London, 1878, p. 30.
7. Creighton, H., The Ruins of Gaur. Described and represented in eighteen views with a topographical map, London, 1817. His painting shows the existence of a very big building on the north-east side of it. 'Abid

7. Contd.
'Ali says, "It seems to have been an out-house for Travellers, or it may have been intended for a Madrasah. It no longer exists".

8. Shyam Prasad, Ahwal Gaur wa Pandua, edited by A.H. Dani: see his Muslim Architecture of Bengal, Dacca, 196.

9. Francklin, W., Ruins of Gaur, 1810-12, I.O.L. MSS 19, also quoted by Grote in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 30, N.

10. Creighton, H., Map of Gaur, Ravenshaw, Map of Gaur, Martin, M., The history, antiquities, topography, and statistics of Eastern India, vol. III, London, 1838, Pl. 1 ; Pemberton, J.J., Geographical and Statistical Report of the District of Maldah, Calcutta, 1854, Map of Gaur; Cunningham, A., ASR, XV, pl. XIII: Beveridge, H., Major Francklin's MS description of Gaur, in JASB, vol. LXIII, 1894, Pt. 1, No. 2, p. 90; Westmacott, E.V., Ravenshaw's Gaur, in Calcutta Review, vol. LXIX, 1879, has not mentioned about the Mahājantolā mosque, probably because there was no such mosque. It is not known how the Tāntīpārā Mosque came to be regarded as 'Umar Qāzī's Mosque, as stated by Ilāhī Bakhsh and 'Abid 'Ali. (Ilāhī Bakhsh, The Khurshīd-i-Jahan Numa.... p. 223; 'Abid 'Ali Memoirs of Gaur.... p. 72).

11. ASR, XV, p. 61. See also difference in the measurement, given below. Bengal District Gazetteer, Malda , Calcutta, 1918

11. Contd.
p. 90: 91' x 44' externally; 78' x 31' internally; Maihra, A.K., Ancient Monuments of Varendra (North Bengal): Principal Ancient sites and monuments hitherto traced in Varendra. Rajshahi, 1949, p. 37: 78' x 3' inside and 91' x 49' outside; 'Abid 'Ali, Memoirs, p. 71: 78' x 31' inside and 91' x 44' outside; Dani, A.H., op.cit., p. 106: 91' x 44' externally and 78' x 31' internally; Chakravarti, M.M., op.cit., p. 29; 78' x 31' internally and 91' x 43½' externally; Brown, P., Indian Architecture (Muslim Period), Bombay, N.D., p. 41; 71' x 44' internally and 76' x 31' internally.

12. Supra, pp. 314-15

13. Brown, P., op.cit., p. 41.

14. Orme, Gowre: Description of its Ruins with four inscriptions taken in the Arabic: copy Orme, MS. OV. 65. 25, pp. 171-72.

15. 'Abid 'Ali, op.cit., p. 72: it is interesting to note that the existence of a zenana gallery is not attested by Cunningham, A., ASR, XV, pp. 60-61; Chakravarti, M.M., op.cit., p. 29; Saraswati, S.K., op.cit., pp. 26-27; Dani, A.H., op.cit., pp. 105-7.

16. ASR, XV, p. 61.

17. Marshall, J., The monuments of Muslim India, in Cambridge History of India, vol. III, 1928, p. 605.

18. ASR, XV, pp. 60-2; Dani, A.H., op.cit., pp. 105-7; Marshall, J., op.cit., p. 605.

19. Dani, A.H., pp. 147-48, 154, 148, 154, 154-56, 159-60, 150-2. Saraswati, pp. 24-31. Martin, M., op.cit., vol. II, 635-36, Pl. II; Buchanan's drawing of the shoulder domes is hardly realistic. See Pl. cxxvia

20. Creighton, H., op.cit., Pl. XII, see also Ahmed, S., Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. IV, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, East Pakistan, 1960, pp. 106-9. See also Blochmann, H., Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period), in JASB, vol. 44 (1), 1873, No. 3, p. 277.

21. ASR, XV, p. 61.

22. Ravenshaw, H., pp. 22, 32, Pl. 48, No. 6.

23. Ibid, p. 30. See also Beveridge, H., op.cit., p. 89.

24. Horn, P., Muhammadan Inscriptions from Bengal, in Epigraphic Indica, vol. II, pp. 284-88. He reads the date as 13th day of Ramadhan, A.H. 885, corresponding to 16th Nov. A.D. 1480; Ahmed, S., op.cit., pp. 106-8. The date should be 21st November instead of 26th November as he states erroneously.

25. Grote, A., Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 56, N. Curiously enough S. Ahmed in his compilation of Muslim inscriptions of Bengal has omitted this, although it was published by Grote, A., without any facsimile.

26. Grote quotes Francklin in annotating the Tāntīpārā Masjid, but the inscription, bearing the date A.H. 880, has been corrected as A.H. 883, belonging to the Chāmkattī Mosque. Ravenshaw, op.cit., p. 30.

27. Francklin, W., pp. 28-29, 32-33. Of the two other inscriptions, now in the British Museum, one has been ascribed to the Chāmkattī Masjid and the other has been noticed by me in the Asian Review, 1965, August, pp. ; A. Firūz Shāh II fragment. (A.H. 892-896/A.D. 1486-90).

28. Beveridge, H., op.cit., pp. 88-89.

29. See N. 20; Ravenshaw, p. 22, Pl. 48, No. 6.

30. Revised List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal, 1886, Calcutta, 1887, p. 29. See also Lambourne, G.E.; Bengal District Gazetteers, vol. XXXV, Malda, Calcutta, 1918, p. 91.

31. Ibid, p. 91.

32. 'Abid 'Ali, op.cit., pp. 86-87; see also ASR, XV, Pl.XIII.

33. Ilāhī Bakhsh, op.cit., p. 222.

34. Revised List, 1886, p. 29.

35. Ravenshaw, J.H., in his 'Map of Gaur', has shown a building called the "Mekha Mosque" to the north of the Gūamāltī factory. See also the 'Map of Gaur' by Creighton.

36. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 215.

37. 'Abid 'Ali, pp. 164-65, writes, "This (the inscription) seem to point to the mosque having been erected by this son of Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shāh (after whom Pandua was renamed Fīrūzābād): but the Munshi does not give a copy of the inscription, and it cannot now be traced. If, however, he was correct, the Gūamaltī Mosque must have been one of the earliest mosques to be erected in either Gaur or Pandua". In the absence of any authentic inscription, it cannot be said that the Gūamaltī mosque is the earliest mosque in the ancient sites of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua, as stated by 'Ābid 'Alī.

38. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 215, N.I., Beveridge rightly says that the inscription which he refers to, dated 711 (1311).

39. ASR, XV, pp. 69-71.

40. Beglar, J.D., Archaeological Survey of Bengal Report, 1888, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 9-10.

41. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Register.

42. Orme, R., pp. 173-74.

43. Francklin, W., p. 19.

44. Ravenshaw, p. 14, Pls. 5, 6, 7.

45. ASR, XV, p. 67.

46. Sen, D.N., Vrihat Banga, vol. II, Calcutta, 1342, B.S. p. 660.

47. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 47.

48. Creighton, H., Pl. V.

49. ASR, XV, p. 67, N.I. Cunningham writes, "As the dimensions of this mosque are variously stated by different authors, I will here bring them together for comparison:

Creighton gives the dimensions as					170 x 76 feet
Francklin	"	"	"	"	180
Ravenshaw	"	"	"	"	180 x 80
Buchanan	"	"	"	"	about 180 x 76
My own measurement of					168 x 76

Which was made in 1871, was verified in 1879. Creighton gives the span of the arches at 6 feet, but I could not find one of this size; they differed from 5-10½ to 5-11½, the mean being 5 feet 11 inches. Similarly I make the walls only 7 feet 11 inches in thickness, while Creighton gives them as 8 feet complete". He however, omits the measurements given by Orme (170' x 80') and Chambers (170 x 130).

50. ASR, XV, p. 68-69.

51. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 47.

52. Francklin, p. 25.

53. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 49.

54. ASR, XV, p. 69.

55. Ravenshaw.

56. Orme, pp.

57. ASR, XV, p. 67.

58. Ahmed, S., op.cit., p. 216-21.

CHAPTER VII

MOSQUES OF PRE-MOGHAL BENGAL

(CURVILINEAR TYPE)

The characteristic hut-shaped Chauchalā of four-segmented roof type of Bengali mosque is represented by the Sāṭh Gumbad Masjid at Bagerhat, Khulna, the Daras bari Masjid and the Chhoto Sonā Masjid, both at Gaud.

A/ THE DARASBĀRĪ MASJID AND MADRASA AT GAUD (A.H. 884/A.D. 1479)

The Darasbārī Masjid (Fig. 123 & Pls. C a-b) and Madrasa are situated half a mile to the southwest of the Kotwālī gate in 'Umarpur between Mahdīpur and Fīrūzpur.[1] King who visited the site in 1846 reports about a mosque so called from a college which stood near the existing handsome brick building of the mosque.

The term Daras is transcribed from the Arabic word 'exhortation', 'commemoration' and Bārī means house or apartment. Therefore, Darasbārī denotes a theological college or Madrasa in an ordinary sense of the term. The Ilyās Shāhī dynasty which was restored by the Sultan Mahmūd Shāh in A.H. 841/A.D. 1437, ushered in a new era of Persian cultural revival in Bengal. It is presumed the madrasa in question was a famous centre of learning, particularly Persian. The combined mosque and Madrasa of Darasbārī at Gaud undoubtedly stand in the same relationship as the Madrasa-Mosque of Bībī Khānum at Samarqand as well as those of Gawhar Shad at Meshhad.[2]

Ilāhī Bakhsh saw "a large mosque built of brick

with stone pillars" in 'Umarpur.[3] The mosque owes its appellation to the adjoining Madrasa or "academy" which has long since disappeared. The Darasbārī Masjid, is an oblong structure, measuring 98 feet by 57 feet externally.[4] Unlike the square domed type and the multi-domed type of mosque, the Darasbārī Masjid follows the indigenous curvilinear roof type of mosque, initiated by the Sāṭh Gumbad Masjid at Bāgerhaṭ - the type which crystallized in the Chhoto Sona Masjid A.H. 899-925/A.D. 1493-1519.

Although utterly ruined, the Masjid can well be reconstructed from the existing remains. The oblong prayer chamber is divided into two distinct apartments on the north and south by a central nave leading to the main mihrāb. The central nave recalled the arrangement of the nave of the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Paṇḍua, and also the Gunmant Masjid at Gauḍ. Ponderous brick piers carry pointed brick arches, running longitudinally on each side of the central nave, and separate it from the square side halls.

The central chamber of the Darasbārī Masjid is 51 feet by 25 feet 6 inches, being roofed over by a Bengali curved roof.[5] There is, however, considerable controversy among scholars about the roofing method of this mosque. Both 'Abid 'Ali[6] and Saraswati[7] think that the central nave was covered by a long vault. On the contrary, Lambourne[8] states that the roof of the building is similar to that of the Bara-dawari, namely, the great Golden Mosque, with 28 domes, supported on internal arches, He continues that each of the 4 transverse aisles carries 7 domes. In point of fact

there are only 18 domes, in each of the side halls, instead of 28 as thought by Lambourne the central nave being covered by a hut-shaped chaucala type of roof.

The absence of any corbelled pendentive in the nave wall of the Darasbārī Masjid, coupled with its oblong plan, renders it quite improbable that it was ever roofed over by domes. Dani contends, "At the top corners no trace of the corbelled pendentive is seen, and therefore, it could not have been covered by hemispherical domes. Instead, traces of lateral arches are still existing, which suggest that the central nave was roofed over by three uniform covers".[9] This "cover" cannot be a barrel-vault, as comparison with the ribbed barrel-vaults of the Adīna Masjid as well as the Gunmant Masjid reveal conspicuous differences of technique. On analogy with the existing lateral arches in the vestibule of the Lattan Masjid also at Gaud, and in an earlier example at the Sāṭh Gumbad Masjid at Bāgerhat, Khulna, it is clear that the central nave of the Darasbārī Masjid was covered by three parallel hut-shaped roofs of Chauchalā type. Therefore, the Darasbārī Mosque provided the earliest known example of a series of hut-shaped Chauchalā (four-sided) roofs in Gaud the ancient capital of Bengal. The Chauchalā type of roof, however, differs from the do-chalā or Bungalow type observed in the tomb of Fatḥ Khān within the precincts of the Qadam Rasūl, built in the 17th century.[10] Examples

of the Chauchalā type roof are to be seen in the vestibule of the Masjidbārī Mosque in Bakerganj which is dated A.D. 1465, a prototype of the Lattan Masjid at Gaud.

The central nave communicates with the northern and southern prayer halls by three pointed arches on each side. Each side hall measures 37 feet 4 inches by 38 feet and 9 inches.[11] It is divided into three transverse aisles by arcades, each carrying three transverse arches. These arches spring from stone pilasters attached to the side walls and square chamfered stone pillars.

In close conformity with the general lay-out of Bengali mosques with an indispensable zenana gallery, the Darasbārī mosque had a platform in the north-west corner of the līwān, which has long since disappeared. Traces of the zenana platform and the lattice screen which enclosed and veiled the gallery have been found along with unusually massive supporting pillars and the remains of a flight of steps outside the northern wall of the mosque. The gallery measures 18 feet by 11 feet and is entered, like that of the Tāntīpārā Masjid, from the northern side of the līwān, through a porch built outside the northern wall.

The Darasbārī Masjid has a semicircular mihrāb placed in the centre of the qibla wall, which is bigger than the side niches. The most curious feature of the central mihrāb is the elegant multifoil arch with an "ogee" curvature at the

crown. Similar mihrāb arches also appear in the niches of the Dhunichak Masjid, (A.H. 841-92/A.D. 1437-80) at Gaud, the mosque at Bagha, Rājshāhi (A.D. 1523) and the mosque at Kusumba, Rājshāhi (A.D. 1558). The niches of the Darasbārī Masjid are carried by attached pillars, built of bricks, instead of the usual stone pilasters as seen at the Adīna masjid and the Gunmant Masjid. In having a pulpit to the north of the central niche and a subsidiary mihrāb to the south, the central niche of the Darasbārī masjid recalls similar arrangements found in the mihrāb wall of the Adīna Masjid. The pulpit is utterly destroyed, leaving only traces of the flight of steps and a niche of the canopied platform.

In each of the side prayer halls, there are 3 mihrābs of similar design with brick tympana of curious stucco work. The qibla wall in the side halls still retains brick stalactite pendentives which supported the springing of the brick domes. Stone facings as well as stone pilasters are still to be seen in the western wall of the mosque.

In front of the līwān, there is a vestibule in the Darasbārī mosque, providing a covered entrance to the līwān. This conspicuous feature appears for the first time in Gaud in the Chāmkattī Masjid, A.H. 883/A.D. 1478, and anticipates a similar feature in the Barā Sonā Masjid at Gaud. Curiously enough, it survived in the Mughal period, as demonstrated by the tomb of Dārā Begam, near the city of Dacca, built in the middle of the 17th century.[12]

Corresponding to the hut-shaped roof of the central nave, there is a Chauchalā in the middle of the vestibule, flanked by 3 small domes in each side. Thus, the līwān is entered by seven pointed arches, the central one being bigger than the others. The vestibule measures 16 feet 6 inches broad, extending over the whole length of the eastern side.

It is quite likely that there were 6 buttressed corner towers in the Darasbārī Masjid, 4 at each angle of the building and 2 at the corners of the verandah. Although the shape of these towers cannot now be determined, the bases of these towers are still traceable.

King states that an inscription now on a new mosque at English Bazar is said to have belonged to the Darasbārī Masjid, built by Husain Shāh in A.H. 907.[13] This epigraphical record was traced by Westmacott in a little modern mosque, north-west of the English Bazar Police Station and published by Blochmann.[14] It appropriately begins with the tradition of the Prophet: "Search after knowledge even if it be in China" which is applicable to a Madrasa rather than to a Mosque. This inscription, however, cannot be assigned, on dating grounds, to the Darasbārī Mosque or its adjoining Madrasa, which, being a contemporary building, must be dated to the 15th century. The inscription referred to by King probably belongs rather to the Belbārī Madrasa, shown by Cunningham

to the north of the Small Sāgar Dīghi, bearing the date A.H. 907/A.D. 1502.[15]

Ilāhi Bakhsh discovered an inscription in the jungle near to the Darasbārī Masjid recording the erection of the mosque by Yūsuf Shāh in the year A.H. 884/A.D. 1479, which has been deciphered by Cunningham and Blochmann.[16] The text and the translation are as follows:

Text:

قال الله تعالى : وإن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله أحداً. وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم : من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله له قصراً في الجنة. شاء قد بنى هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان العادل الأعظم مالك الرقاب والأمم السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين أبو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باربك شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطنته وافاض على العالمين احسانه وبره في سنة اربع وثمانين وثمانمائة هجرية.

Translation:- "Almighty Allāh said: "Surely all mosques belong to Allāh, so do not associate any one with Allāh". The Prophet has also said "Whosoever builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build for him a similar palace in Paradise". This Jāmi' Masjid was built by the Just and Great Sulṭān, Lord of Peoples and nations, the Sulṭān, son of the Sulṭān, Shamsudduniyā wa'd dīn Abul Muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh, the Sulṭān, son of Bārbak Shāh, the Sulṭān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sulṭān, May Allāh perpetuate his rule and sovereignty and many his generosity and benevolence be diffused through the whole world! (dated) in the Hijra year 884". (A.D. 1479).

Carved in Tughra, the Arabic inscription measures 11 feet 3 inches in length and 2 feet 1 inch in height. It is now in the Calcutta Museum. A few discrepancies are, however, discernible between the reading of Ilāhi Bakhsh and those of 'Abid 'Ali.[17] Ilāhi Bakhsh read the words

الاعدل , بن , هجرة اربع وثمانين وثمانمائة

as against 'Abid 'Ali's readings,

العادل , ابن , اربع و ثمانين و ثمانمائة هجريه

'Abid 'Ali appears to have read the inscription correctly. Shamsuddin Ahmad, while editing it, seems to have left out the word سنه . The Darasbārī inscription maintains the Tughra style of calligraphy as seen in the records of the Chamkatti Masjid and the Tantipārā Masjid, which are in the

British Museum.

Architecturally speaking, the Darasbāṛī Masjid demonstrates the finest achievement of stucco ornamentation. Belonging to the same period, it is typologically close to the Chamkaṭṭī Masjid and the Tāntīpārā Masjid in surface encrustration. Dani regards the ornamental motifs of the Darasbāṛī Masjid as "better proportioned in its various parts and harmoniously combined to have an effect of grace". He further adds, "The ornamentation that we now see, is not only boldly brought out but they are also judiciously distributed over the various parts of the building so as to enhance their beauty in detail".[18]

Saraswati observes, "This type (Type A of the Text, oblong Type with a vaulted central nave and multi-domed side wings) may be said to be characteristic of the 14th century A.D. Two other examples of the type (the Gunmant Masjid and the Darasbāṛī Masjid) at Gaur, have been sought to be dated in the 15th century. But such dates are based on uncertain facts (?). Stylistically, they are essentially analoguous to the Adīna and do not appear to be far removed from it in date".[19] Dani rejects this view and observes the differences in the architectural style of the 14th century and the 15th century Bengal. While the Adīna Masjid exhibits the vault and dome type of mosque, the Darasbāṛī Masjid demonstrates the beginning of a new form of architecture

in the typical Bengali hut-shaped roof, generally known as Chauchalā. Unlike the Darasbārī Masjid, the Adīna Masjid has no vestibule on the eastern side. Although in many architectural features and decorative details, the Darasbārī Masjid is reminiscent of the Adīna Masjid, it cannot be placed either in the Early Ilyās Shāhī period (A.H. 740-817/A.D. 1338-1414), as Saraswati thinks, or in the Ḥusain Shāhī period (A.H. 899-925/A.D. 1493-1519) as stated by King. Dani rightly says, "These similarities only prove the continuance of the old idea, but the Darasbārī is a product of the Later Ilyās Shāhī period, as the new developments clearly bear out".[20]

B/ THE SMALL GOLDEN MOSQUE AT GAUḌ

(A.H. 899-925/A.D. 1493-1519)

The Small Golden Mosque, (Fig. 124 & Pls. CXXXI-CXXXVIII), regarded as "the gem of Gaur"[21] by Ravenshaw, is situated in the southernmost quarter of the city, on the eastern side of the Nawābganj road, commonly known as Fīrūzpūr.[22] It is a little more than 1 mile to the south of the Kotwālī Gate and 14 miles from English Bazar.

The appellation of the Small Golden Mosque is self-explanatory. Creighton rightly observes, "... the remains of gilding upon its miḥrāb wall is still visible, and may account for the epithet of golden given to this and the former Great Golden Mosque edifice".[23] Cunningham supports his views: "It received its present name of the "Little Golden Mosque" from the quantity of gilding employed in its ornamentation, of which some still remains to justify the popular appellation. Creighton first noticed it, and I verified his statement myself by inspecting some remains of gilding found by my servant".[24] According to the legend current in the locality, as it is also in the case of Lattan Masjid, the building was richly encrustrated with gold paints in the tile decoration as well as gilding in stone. The British Museum possesses of a superb piece with the image of Buddha on one side and with shallow diaper work on the

other showing traces of gilding. This latter is undoubtedly Muslim. In comparison with the Great Golden Mosque in the c centre of the city, the Small Golden Mosque is smaller in scale, and hence it is known as Chhoto or little. King says that the Chhoto Sonā Masjid is also known as "the Khwāja-kī-Masjid", built of stone in the reign of Ḥusain Shāh, dated A.H. 927.[25] Apparently his observations are based on Ilāhi Bakhsh's reference to it that it was built by a Khoja or Khwāja, meaning a eunuch.[26] It is presumed that it was built by Walī Muḥammad during the reign of Ḥusain Shāh, as is evident from an undated inscription.[27]

The Small Golden Mosque is a neat little oblong building of great architectural merit (Pls. CXXXI, CXXXVII). It is 82 feet by 52½ feet externally and 70 feet 4 inches by 40 feet 9 inches internally. This splendid monument is 20 feet high.[28] Two rows of chamfered pillars, each carrying 5 pointed arches, divide the interior of the Mosque into 3 longitudinal aisles. In each row there are 4 pillars of black basalt which in their moulded stringcourses, cubical pedestal, dog-tooth ornament, and square abacus recall those of the supporting pillars of the zenana gallery in the Adīna Masjid. Evidently, they are much more attenuated in shape in the Chhoto Sonā Masjid than those in the Adīna Masjid. It is hard to ascertain their origins, but considering the enormous quantity of Hindu spoil used in

the Chhoto Sonā Masjid, (Pls. CXXXVIa,CXLVII), and comparing its pillars with the carved stone pillar at the Barī Dargāh which originally must have been brought from the Adīna Masjid, it may be said that they were taken from unidentifiable Hindu temples.

In plan, the Chhoto Sonā Masjid resembles the Darasbārī Masjid (A.H. 884/A.D. 1479), which is noticeably earlier. It is divided by a broad central nave into the northern and the southern prayer halls (Pls. CXXXV). The central nave, which is bigger than the side wings, is 14 feet 5 inches wide, in contrast with the side halls which measure 11 feet 4 inches broad.[29] The roofing method of this central nave is reminiscent of the Darasbārī Masjid. Cunningham says, "The three middle bays forming the nave are each roofed with four flat segments of vaulting, meeting in the middle".[30] In the light of Cunningham's description, Ravenshaw's observation that the Mosque is covered with "fifteen domes supported on massive hornblende black basalt pillars...." is misleading.[31] Saraswati supports Cunningham when he says, "The central bay corresponding to the central miḥrāb is spanned by three superstructures, each consisting of four flat segments meeting in the middle - in the shape of the curved thatched roof of Bengali huts".[32] In point of fact, like those of the Darasbārī Mosque, there are Bengali Chouchalā or four segmented hut-shaped domes in the roof of

the central nave (Pl. CXXXIVa). As Dani puts it, they show, "a decoration copied from bamboo framework, a design which emphasizes the local character of the dome". Buchanan writes about the Bengali hut:[33] "The style of private edifices, that is, proper and peculiar to Bengal, consists of a hut with a pent-roof, constructed of two sloping sides which melt in a ridge forming the segment of a circle, so that it has a resemblance to a boat when overturned. This kind of hut, it is said from being peculiar to Bengal, is called by the natives Bangola". This description of the dochalā has a close similarity to the chauchalā roof in all its essential features, with the exception that in the chauchalā there are four segments instead of two. Even Abul Fazl attests the construction of Bengali shaped huts, made of Bamboo (Pls. LIIa, CXXIb). The contribution of Bengali architecture to the history of architecture in general rests in these indigenous types of the dochalā and chauchalā roofs, which inspired the later architects of Bengal in the British period as well as the Mughals (CXXIXa-b).

Dani syas, "This idea of a central nave with side-wings, is obviously a survival of that of the prayer-chamber at the Adīna Mosque".[34] However, the vaulted central nave of the Adīna Masjid can hardly serve as a prototype for the chauchalā roofed central nave of the Chhoto Sonā Masjid. In typological ancestry it recalls that of the Mosque at

Bāgerhāt, Khulnā, (Fig. 125) dated A.D. middle of the 15th century, rather than that of the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua.[34] This type of roof also appears in the Darasbārī Masjid as well as in the central bay of the vestibule in the Lattan Masjid, as already demonstrated. The central nave dividing the līwān certainly appears for the first time in Bengali architecture in the Adīna Masjid, which was repeated in the Gunmant Masjid.

The prayer halls to the north and the south are roofed over by 6 hemispherical domes each, 2 in each of the 3 aisles. Cunningham points out, "Externally only five domes are visible over the middle aisle; but they are of different heights, diminishing from the central dome to the end domes. As the bays are of the same size, this exterior lessening of the domes must have been arranged by diminishing their thickness".[35]

The Small Golden Mosque is entered from the east by five pointed cusped arched openings, embellished with fringe of spearheads which appear in the pulpit of the Adīna Masjid at Hazrat Pandua as well as the Gumti gate, at Gaud. Each of the doorways is enclosed with a rectilenear frame of exquisite stone carving. The northern and the southern walls of the mosque are also pierced by 3 arched doorways each, directly leading to the aisles. The entrance from the north west corner of the Mosque is a porch, evidently meant for the ladies, which leads to the zenana gallery (Pls. CXXXII,

CXXXIVb). It is two-storeyed square structure, which according to Ravenshaw is, "a carved throne or takht".[36] The gallery is supported by slender stone pillars of black basalt, which carry horizontal stone beams of the platform in the same fashion as in the Adīna Masjid. The entrance porch attached to the north-west side of the building was also two-storied, and was probably covered with a canopy. A flight of steps leads to the porch which still exists today. As shown in Plate CXXIXb, there seems to be no doubt about the existence of a subterranean passage leading to the northern līwān just below the zenana gallery. The ladies of the Royal Harem entered the gallery through an arched opening, which is placed higher up in the exterior wall than those at the side entrances. In Creighton's painting of the interior of the Chhoṭo Sonā Masjid, the zenana gallery does not appear, although he has shown remains of a porch to the northwest of the masjid.

Bearing in mind the orthodox practice of the Muslims in enclosing the zenana gallery with perforated screens as noticed in the Adīna Masjid, the Tāntipārā Masjid, and the Gunmant Masjid, it is quite logical to add that the ladies' platform at the Chhoṭo Sonā Masjid was, in the words of Cunningham, "partitioned off by screens of trellis work".[37]

The qibla wall of the Chhoṭo Sonā Masjid, which had six semi-circular niches of exquisite ornamental designs

in stone carving, fell in during the earthquake of 1897. Since 1900, the Department of Archaeology has restored the walls. Bloch says that stone cutters from Benares were employed to restore the damaged ornamental designs of the mosque.[38]

'Abid 'Ali syas, "The face stones of the prayer niches of the west wall were removed when the wall collapsed. It is understood that the whole structure of one of the prayer-niches is now in a Museum in England [the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; Pl. CXXXVIII]".[39]

In close conformity with the octagonal corner towers of the Eklākhī Mausoleum at Ḥazrat Paṇḍua and the Chāmkaṭṭī Masjid, Gauḍ, and Bābā Adam's Mosque at Rāmpāl, Dacca, the Chhoto Sonā Masjid has similar four octagonal towers, one at each angle of the building. There are also two projecting buttress towers at the back of the central mihrāb.

The Chhoto Sona Masjid demonstrates a triple cornice rather than the double cornice as shown by the Eklakhi Mausoleum. The cornice is curvilinear, with gutters for draining water from the roof. The Hemispherical domes are drumless and the transition from the square to the circle is attained by stalactite brick pendentives.

The Chhoto Sonā Masjid is essentially a brick building, cased in black basalt. Dani's description of brick-and-stone style is very confusing, for stone used for

facing a brick core can be traced as far back as the Mosque of Zafar Khān Ghāzī at Tribeni which Dani considered, most confusingly, as an example of the pre-Mamlūk style. Cunningham points out about the Chhoto Sona Masjid, "The walls are of brick completely faced with stone outside, but only up to the springing of the arches inside, all the arches and domes being of brick".[40] Many of the stones used for casing the wall to give the illusion of a stone monument from distance are evidently Hindu. To quote Creighton, "The stone used in these mosques had formerly belonged to Hindu temples destroyed by the zealous Muhammadans, as will be evident from an inspection of Plates XVI, CXVIIa and XVIII, representing four slabs taken from this building". Plate CXXXVIa represents a stone with the image of the Hindu Deity, Vishnu, in the Boar incarnation, with shallow diaper carving on the reverse side. The figure of Sivānī, the consort of Śiva one of the Hindu triad, appears on another stone sketched by Creighton. The mother figures evidently drawn from sculptured stones used in the Small Golden Mosque are that of Brahmānī ~~and Bhairavī~~, given in Plate CXLVIIa. It is very interesting to point out in connection with the figure of Brahmānī that it agrees in meticuous execution of details and perfection of style with that of the British Museum piece. Therefore, it is certain that Creighton drew his sketch from this black stone which

curiously displays diaper work on the other side, similar to that of the Plate CXXXVIa. Arabesque design in shallow stone carving, resembling delicate tapestry appears also in another superb black basalt piece, shown in Plate CXLVIII, now in the British Museum. It has the image of a seated Buddha (Fig.126) on one side, thereby again indicating the utilization of non-Muslim material. This fascinating piece may well be attributed to the Chhoto Sonā Masjid on the grounds of the close similarity of its diaper work with that of the stone sketched by Creighton, given in Plate CXXXVIa, and of the existence of gilding in the shallow carvings of the diaper work.

Creighton says, "It appears to have been the general practice of the Muhammadan conquerors of India, to destroy all the temples of the idolaters, and to raise Mosques out of their ruins."[42] The statement is of course a gross exaggeration, for innumerable contemporary Hindu and Buddhist temples still exist in the cities of India once conquered by the Muslims. 'Abid 'Ali seems to have carried the observation of Creighton further when he remarks, "It seems to the writer that the builder of the Mosque had collected the stones containing the figures of the Hindu gods from the citadel of Gaur where temples must have existed in the time of the earlier Hindu kings".[43] Incidentally Ravenshaw gave illustrations of sculptured stones,

representing stone capitals and Makara-gargoyles, which have been discovered in Hazrat Pandua. Westmacott, however, thinks that the circular stone, given in Ravenshaw's Plate XXX "formed a part of the high ornament or pinnacle with which both the Buddhist Stupas and later Hindu temples were usually crowned. I have seen similar pieces at Debkot, and elsewhere, often with a perforation through the centre, through which I conjecture that a rod of metal, or perhaps a column of molten lead may have been passed, to retain it in an upright position".[44] In the event of a prodigious abundance of Hindu temple building material scattered all over the province, it is difficult to pin-point the provenance of each stray sculptured piece used in the mosques of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua. The existence of any Hindu temple in the citadel or outside Gaud, as 'Abid 'Ali tells us, is as difficult as to obviate the fact that no material was taken from Devikot, or Bannagar in Dinajpur. Contradicting the views of 'Abid 'Ali, Stapleton says, "On the other hand, from Manrique's statement that, in 1641, he saw figures of idols standing in niches surrounded by carved grotesques and leaves in some stone reservoirs in Gaur, it is quite possible that - except during periods of persecution - the Muhammadan Kings of Gaur allowed idols and Hindu temples to remain unmolested in their capital".[45] Although examples of the use of Hindu material are not

scarce, as proved by the discovery of three sculptured figures from Mahisantosh with Muslim ornament on the reverse side, now in the Varendra Research Spciety Museum, it would be wrong to say after Creighton that all the Hindu temples were desecrated by the Muslims to procure building material. On the other hand, the black stone mihrāb of the Chhoto Sonā Masjid, now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (Pl. CXXXVIII), is the finest example of the Muslim stone carver's art. It is a freshly quarried black stone without any trace of iconography. In the richness and variety of ornament and designs, crispness and sophistication of the art of chiselling, the mihrāb in the Scottish National Museum is hardly surpassed by any of its kind, and marks the climax of the Bengali school of ornamental art.

Although some of the stones used in the Chhoto Sona Masjid display great pre-Muslim antiquity, many polished stone mihrābs, panels, stringcourses, ornamental motifs, for instance the ornate bell and chain, undoubtedly displays characteristic Muslim workmanship. The Edinburgh specimen of the mihrāb does not appear to have been ever carved on the reverse as well as the three niches discovered by the Varendra Research Society from Mahisantosh, Rajshahi.

In connection with the foundation stone of the Chhoto Sonā Masjid, Cunningham writes, "The inscription slab which is placed over the middle doorway has lost both

the upper right hand corner and the lower left hand corner, and with the latter the Hijra date of the erection of the building; but as the king's name is given, we know that it was built between the years A.H. 899 and 929, or A.D. 1494 to 1524".[46] The text and the translation are as follows:

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الله تعالىٰ انمايعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر - و اقام الصلوٰة و اتى الزكوٰة و لم يخش الا الله - فعسىٰ اولئک ان يكونو امن المهتدين - و قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة مثله - عمارة هذا المسجد الجامع فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبع البمعادات - ارحم المسلمين و المسلمات معلىٰ كلمات الحق و الحسنات - المويد بتائيد الد يان المجاهد فى سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة و البرهان - غوث الاسلام و المسلمين علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى - خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه - بنى هذا المسجد الجامع خالصاً مخلصاً متوكلاً على الله ولى محمد بن على المخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجالس مجلس منصور - نصره الله تعالىٰ فى الدنيا و الاخرة - و تاريخه الميمون فى الرابع عشر من شهر رجب المبارک رجب الله قدره و شانه -

Translation:- "In the name of Allāh, the Clement and Merciful! Almighty Allāh says, "Surely he will build the mosques of Allāh who believes in Allāh and the last day, and established prayer, and offers alms, and fears no one but Allāh: and they will soon be guided". And the Prophet - May Allāh bless him! - says: "He who builds a mosque for Allāh will have a house like it built for him in Paradise". The erection of this Jāmi' Masjid took place during the reign of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, the Saiyid of the Saiyids, the Fountain of Auspiciousness, who has mercy on Muslim men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the path of the Almighty, the Viceregent of Allāh by deed and proof and the Defender of Islām and the Muslims, 'Alāudduniyā waddīn Abūl Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh the Sulṭān, Al-Ḥusainī - may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jāmi' Masjid is built from pure and sincere motives and from trust in Allāh by Walī Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, who has the title of Majlisul-Majālis Majlis Manṣūr - May Almighty Allāh assist him both in this world and in the next. Its auspicious date is the 14th day of Allāh' blessed month of Rajab! - May its value and dignity increase!" ***!!! (year is broken off).

Cunningham writes, "In the mid-line of this inscription there are three ornamental circles, each

containing a name of God. That in the middle has Yā-Allāh, "O God;" that on the right has Yā Hāfiẓ, "O Guardian;" and that on the left has Yā Rahīm, "O Merciful".[47]

CHAPTER VII: NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. ASR, XV, p. 76; Creighton H., The Ruins of Gaur, London, 1817. See Map: Ravenshaw, J.H., Gaur: its Ruins and inscriptions, London, 1878, see map.
2. Supra, pp. 166.
3. Ilāhī Bakhsh, Khurshīd-i-Jāhan Numā, edited and translated by H. Beveridge, in JASB, vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, p. 223.
4. Lambourne, G.E., Bengal District Gazetteers, Malda, Calcutta, 1918, p. 91; see also 'Abid 'Ali, Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua, Calcutta, 1931, edited by H.E. Stapleton, p. 77, gives the measurements as 111'6" x 67'6"; Dani, A.H., Muslim Architecture of Bengal, Dacca, 1961, p. 109, states 99'5" x 38'9" as internal measurements.
5. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 84.
6. Ibid, p. 84.
7. Saraswati, S.K., Indo-Muslim Architecture in Bengal, in Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol. IX, 1941.
8. Lambourne, op.cit., p. 91.
9. Dani, p. 110.
10. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 61.
11. Dani, p. 109.
12. Ibid, p. 210.

13. King, L.L.B., Notes on the removal of relics from Gaur, in PASB, May, 1875, pp. 94-95.
14. Blochmann, H., Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal, (Muhammadan period), in JASB, 1874, p. 303.
15. ASR, XV, Pl. XIII; see also 'Abid 'Ali, pp. 157-58.
16. Ilāhī Bakhsh, pp. 222-23; see also ASR, XV, p. 76; Blochmann, H., p. 303; 'Abid 'Ali, pp. 76-77.
17. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 222-23, 'Abid 'Ali, p. 77.
18. Dani, p. 111.
19. Saraswati, S.K., p.
20. Dani, A.H., p. 112.
21. Ravenshaw, op.cit., p. 38, Pls. 21, 22.
22. ASR, XV, p. 73, Map XIII; see also 'Abid 'Ali, p. 79. Francklin, W., Ruins of Gaur, 1810-12, IOL, MSS, 19, p. 28. He refers to another golden mosque at the village of Chandy, near to the south-eastern entrance of the city. In the Revenue Survey Map prepared by Pemberton in 1847-48, as well in the map drawn by Creighton, Chandy appears as a suburb to the south of the Small Golden Mosque. Curiously enough, this picturesque mosque was not described by both Francklin and Shyam Prasad.
23. Creighton, H., Pls. No. VI-VII.
24. ASR, XV, pp. 73-74.

25. King, p. 93.

26. Ilāhī Bakhsh, p. 225.

27. ASR, XV, p. 75, Ravenshaw, op.cit., pp. 38-39. 'Abid 'Ali, pp. 79-81.

28. ASR, XV, p. 74; Creighton, Pls. VI & VII: gives the measurements as 53' x 41½'. Height 21' over which the domes rise 10' high.

29. Dani, p. 138.

30. ASR, XV, p. 74.

31. Ravenshaw, p. 38.

32. Saraswati, p. 27.

33. Dani, p. 138.

34. Dani, pp. 144-46.

35. ASR, XV, p. 74.

36. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 82.

37. ASR, XV, p. 75.

38. Bloch, T., AR, ASI, EC, 1908-9, p. 24.

39. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 82.

40. ASR, XV, p. 74.

41. Creighton, H., Pls. XV.

42. Ibid, p.

43. 'Abid 'Ali, p. 82.

44. Westmacott, E.V., Ravenshaw's Gaur, in Calcutta Review, vol. LXIX, 1879, p.

45. Stapleton, H.E., 'Abid 'Ali's Memoirs..... p. 82, N.I.

46. ASR, XV, p. 75.

47. Ibid, p. 76.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions.

A full archaeological study of the material presented above must necessarily entail further extensive exploration and some degree of intensive and *ad hoc* excavation.[1] Much more work still needs to be done on the environment of the buildings discussed, the better to relate them with their immediate human associations; for although the mosque may be studied *per se* for its architectonic or its aesthetic values, it must not be forgotten that its prime *raison d'être* is as an exponent of human values, and archaeologically speaking the mosque is a habitation site. Such a study I have as yet been unable to make, particularly on account of the present impossibility of free movement of scholars between Pakistan and India; although I have fortunately been able to visit most of the sites I have discussed, and have long been familiar with the relevant literature. The last three years' study have made me well aware of the problems which can now only be solved by further field-work; but this thesis is submitted with the knowledge that the preliminary work to this end has now been carried as far as is possible in the state of existing knowledge, and that valid conclusions can be drawn from the studies I have made.

The first incontrovertible conclusion must be that the pre-Mughal Bengali style is not only distinctive among the provincial styles of Indo-Muslim building, but also of high aesthetic and architectural merit, even though some of the buildings are now mere travesties of their former grandeur. The specific contributions of this Bengali school, of which mosques are the most representative examples, appear, as I have shown above, in the reconciliation of traditional Muslim features with indigenous craftsmanship of a peculiarly local character (more extensive work on pre-Muslim monuments will, it is to be hoped, eventually strengthen this point) to a much greater extent than in Gujarāt, for example, where the Muslim builder has so often been subservient to the Hindu or Jain mason, or, say, in Kashmir where the local wooden styles are so distinctive as to obscure religious characteristics in all architecture; they have a singular place in the history of Indo-Muslim building, as Cole observes: "The brick and terracotta buildings of Bengal, of which the Gaur and Panduah mosques are singularly good examples, possess an importance for the whole of India"! This peculiarly local character which I have referred to is conspicuous by the nature of the building material, which is itself a necessary corollary of the geographical nature of Deltaic Bengal: stone is a rarity, and if used it must be transported great distances

over difficult terrain; wood is irregular, unreliable and of short life in this climate of high humidity - the early Muslim builders in the sub-continent certainly knew well the value of wood as a structural component in building, as the tombs and mosques of the desert regions of Multān. Ucch and Sindh testify; but here its employment can have been no more lasting than in the scaffolding of buildings.[2] Bengal, however, has a great richness of alluvial deposits which, when burnt, make excellent bricks, small, thin, and very strong - their use is, indeed, not confined to Muslim building, but in the absence of pre-Muslim temple examples we may at least suspect that here the Muslims were the pioneers in brickwork techniques later imitated by the Hindu builders; the Muslims, after all, had brought brickworking skills from Persia and had already developed them in the earliest days of Muslim rule in India. Their precision inspires Rennell to comment that "these bricks are of the most solid texture of any I ever saw; and have preserved the sharpness of their edges and smoothness of their surfaces through a series of ages".[3]

Important though the brickwork is, its use is not however exclusive. Stone is, as has repeatedly been shown above, an important constructional and decorative medium; though frequently it appears as ashlar over a skeleton of the traditional brickwork. The casing stones generally

of black basalt, were sometimes procured locally, or were quarried in and transported from the Rajmahal hills. Nevertheless, the many examples of building in both media surely do not allow the facile generalization offered by Dani that Bengali mosques represent merely a "brick and stone style".[4] Stone is certainly there, but brick always predominates, either as plain brick or in that refinement of brick known as terracotta, making the Bengali style "the only one wholly of brick in India proper", as Fergusson describes it. However, he goes on to say "[it] has a local individuality of its own, which is curious and interesting, though, from the nature of the material, deficient in many of the higher qualities of art which characterize the buildings constructed with larger and better materials".[5]

A subordinate conclusion, arising out of some of the material presented in discussing the first one, is that in no other part of India did climatic conditions play a rôle more determining of the actual architectonic forms of the region. The nature of the soil and the consequent use of brick has already been mentioned; but besides this the form itself was influenced, the mosques tending to develop more and more into the enclosed type of structure, such as the Chamkatti Masjid, the Lattan Masjid, the Tāntīpārā Masjid, all at Gauḍ, rather than the traditional courtyard type, as represented by the Adīna Masjid. Bricks, being flexible,

helped the evolution of pointed style of architecture, unlike the trabeat form of Jaunpur and Gujarati architecture. It is worth recalling at this point that the arch is readily produced in the brick styles of the Panjab, where however they are subservient to the faience decoration, and in the few, and rather uncharacteristic, brick buildings of Gujarat. Builders were not slow to translate their advantages into brick and stone. Fergusson has summarized this neatly when he observes, "Besides elaborating a pointed arched brick style of their own, the Bengalis introduced a new form of roof, which has had a most important influence on both the Muhammadan and Hindu styles in more modern times",[6] - for indeed the Bengali cornice assumed great popularity in Mughal times, as has been shown above. This speciality of the Bengali school of architecture lies in the evolution of convex-roof ridges; resembling Bengali thatched huts, both do-chalā and chau-chalā. The incessant rain must have been the primary reason for this curious architectural feature. As Wheeler says, "The close-set panelling which is a structural feature of his [the Bengali villager's] plaited grass huts is reflected in the panel decoration of his mosque and mausoleum".[7]

A no less important conclusion emerges from the topics discussed in the Chapters above is the essential continuity of Bengal Muslim building in both its Bengali and its Islamic aspects. Enough has been said to refute

the criticism of Richards, who considers that "the architects of Muslim Bengal never grasped the spirit of Islamic art, their mosques are ill-proportioned, their decoration over elaborate; the blend of the two cultures is, less successful than elsewhere",[8] certainly no weakness, nor any unsuitablity in the Islamic sense, was felt by the Mughal conquerors, for Akbar's panegyrist Abu'l-Fazl writes, speaking of the Emperor's new creations at Agra, that they "contained buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujrat, which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models".[9] In point of fact, the Adīna Masjid is not only a unique building unsurpassed by any of its kind in India but also one of the largest of the early Indian mosques. Moreover, it demonstrates distinctive architectural features, hitherto unknown in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The use of a ribbed and pointed barrel vault of brick with a prominent līwān arch in the Adīna Mosque is certainly an innovation as far as this region is concerned. The use of the pointed arch, barrel vault,[10] līwān arch, glazed tiles and stucco designs seem to have been directly derived from Persian antecedents, although at present evidence for the intermediate links is wanting. Besides a strong Persian influence in language and literature, religious movements and in the manners and customs of Islamic society, Persian architectural

ideals reached Bengal with the Persian architects and engravers. Cultural contacts and trade relations between Bengal and Persia were frequent and extensive, aided by a regular maritime trade. The employment of builders and engravers from Persia, Central Asia and Afganistan is not far-fetched, as proved by the Barahdari inscription of Bihār dated A.H. 663/A.D. 1265, bearing the name of the architect as "Majid of Kabul" and also the inscription of Sultan Sikandar Shāh in the Dargāh of 'Ata Shah at Dināj pur, dated A.H. 765/A.D. 1363, bearing the name of the engraver "Ghiyāth, the Golden-handed".[11] This is certainly in accordance with historical probability, as the Afghan community in India, increasingly distrusted in the central regions, tended to move more and more eastward, and many Afghan families and even tribes settled within the Bengal boundaries.

CHAPTER VIII: NOTES AND REFERENCES

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APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF MOSQUE

A) AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON THE ETYMOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF THE TERM MASJID

The word Masjid, مَسْجِد, plural Masājid, مَسَاجِد, is derived from the radical verb sajada, سَجَدَ. With a view to arrive at an explicit interpretation of Masjid, we have to bear in mind the following meanings of the radical sajada, سَجَدَ :

1. Prostration, i.e. putting the forehead on the ground.
2. Becoming lowly, humble and submissive.
3. Bending or inclining.
4. Putting the forehead on the ground, also said of a camel.
5. Salutation, thanks-giving gesture.[1]

The various meanings of the verb, sajada, سَجَدَ infinitive sujūd, سُجُود, sajada being a single act of sujūd or prostrations, must also be considered. It denotes:

1. To look continually and tranquilly at something.
2. To lower the eye-lids with a look indicating anger, love or coyness.

3. To prostrate oneself in prayer by dropping gently on the knees, placing the palms of the hands on the ground, a little before the place of the knees, and then putting the nose and forehead on the ground, the former first between the two hands.
4. To be humble, to submit, to incline or bend.

Prostration, according to Wensinck, implies an act of awe and reverence, impelled by the Divine presence. It is practised for three-fold purposes, as a form of mourning rite, a measure of expressing awe for a highly dignified or supernatural being: a liturgical mode of worship.[3]

Masjid is inseparably linked with sajada, being its derivative noun. The correct interpretation of the term Masjid has been facilitated by the profound etymological affinity between the two words. It implies:

(a) Masjad, مَسْجَد :

1. Forehead, bearing the mark made by the prostrations (sujūd) in prayer.[4]
2. Parts of a man that are the places of sujūd, i.e. forehead, nose, hands, knees, feet.[5]

(b) Masjid, مَسْجِد :

1. Any place or house in which one performs the act of prostration in prayer.

2. A Muslim place of prayer and devotion.

3. Oratory or place of private prayer.

4. Miḥrāb, also signifies a place of prayer or Masjid of the congregation.

Both Lane and Steingass have expressed the same view, namely, that primarily Masjid is more concerned with a materialistic expression of a ritualistic devotion and worship rather than with worship and devotion themselves. Literally, Masjid means "a place of prostration" and does not refer in the least to any part or limb of the human body implicated in devotional practices, which is denoted by Masjad. Moreover, it would be wrong to identify or substitute Masjid for Miḥrāb, i.e. oratory, as many scholars have done.[6] In the true sense of the term, Miḥrāb constitutes one of the many rudimentary elements of a Mosque; it is the niche marking the qibla.

It must be remembered that Islam is a social religion. Its practices were laid down by the conquering armies in the early days of the Faith. It is well known that there are no priests in Islam but only learned men, and it is common practice that the most learned or elderly believers present should lead the prayer. Yet it must be remembered that the times of prayer are obligatory upon all

Muslims whether in company or not. The fulfilment of the obligation of set prayers at fixed times is an individual duty, as well as a social.[7]

It has been asserted that prayer requires concentration and undivided attention. Therefore, it is a common practice for a believer to lay out his turban or place his walking stick transversely in front of him, thus cutting himself off from possible distraction. In Plate I the Arab Bedouins are using muskets as sutra during their prayer for this purpose of confining themselves in the imaginary seclusion required for devotional practices. Such isolation converts the place of prostration into a Mosque, though the obligation of the recital of the daily prayer does not include the Sermon which is a main feature of the Friday prayer in an established Mosque, where the resident Mu'azzin fulfils the additional function of proclaiming the times of the prayers and giving the exhortation before the Khuṭba or preaching by the Khaṭib or Imam, leader of the prayer, to the Friday congregation.[8] The Jāmi' Masjid is not only a circumscribed place of prostration for individual worshippers but also a theatre for weekly congregation and other social festivals. On these occasions to the personal prayers is added the Sermon

or Khuṭba suitable for the celebration of the 'Īd or whatever local festival is being celebrated.[9]

An unsettled linguistic question which is the source of contradictory opinions among scholars of repute is the origin of the term Masjid. It must, therefore, be examined thoroughly and carefully.

Sachau, Ungnad and Noeldeke have emphatically asserted the Aramaic origin of the word Masjid. Sachau[10] refers to the word, msgd', מסגדא as a parallel to Masjid. It occurs in papyrus fragments, recording, so far as the restored reading goes, an oath taken in a law court. This Aramaic usage has been derived from the root, sgd, סגד which in the ordinary sense of the term means prostration or reverence and in later Aramaic, to "bow down".[11]

In a wider perspective, this Aramaic term could be interpreted as a "temple".[12] This view has been corroborated by Ungnad[13] who quotes Sachau, and maintains that the derivative, sgd, סגד, perhaps denotes "anbeten", i.e. "beseech".[14] Cowley emphatically states that the Aramaic term msgd', מסגדא denotes properly "the place of worship", like Masjid, مسجد, used even of the Temple at Jerusalem,[15] known as al-Bait al-Muqaddas or "Holy House". Referring to the Qur'ān this was adopted as the first qibla of Islam. The Miḥrāb is

the embodiment of the qibla and gives the direction of the Muslim prayer. The change of the qibla from Jerusalem to Mecca was a radical innovation in Islam.[16]

Attempts have also been made to derive the etymological origin of the term Masjid from Nabataean sources by Ryckmans,[17] Cooke,[18] Schwally[19] and Lidzbarski. According to Lidzbarski,[20] the word msgd', מסגד , occuring not infrequently in the Nabataean inscriptions, has a peculiar resemblance to the Arabic word مَسْجِد Masjid. It clearly signifies "a place of worship".

Savignac and Jaussen also referred to a cognate word in the Nabataean inscriptions which is similar to the Arabic word Masjid. Quoting the Nabataean inscription of the Stele of the God A'ara, they observe, "we have there (Médain Salih) an authentic Mesgida, with the name of the god to whom it was dedicated along with the name of the Person who erected it and along with the date of erection."[21]

Doughty explains "Mesgeda" as beth-el (house of the god), as a kneeling or votive stone, erected to Aera (A'ara), great god at Médain Salih[22], to which Savignac and Jaussen also refer. (Figs. 1,3.)

De Vogüé has published an inscription from Bosra

which runs thus:

"This is the place of worship which Taimou, son of Welid -el-Baal built."[23] Euting published another inscription dated A.D.39 which reads: "Cippus which Shakuhu, son of Thora, made to A'ra who is at Boṣra, the god of Rabel. In the month of Nisan, the first year of Mâliku, the King."[24] It is, therefore, clear that the term is pre-Islamic.

Indeed, Cooke, dealing with the Nabataean remains at Ḍumer (ضُمير) says that the Mesgida of certain votive inscriptions denotes an altar.[25]

From these inscriptions, it seems that Cooke's Mesgida is similar to the ancient Greek Hermae. These were pillars, smaller at the base than at the summit, which terminated generally with a head of Hermēs. (Fig.2.) Seyffert says: "In the earliest times, Hermes (in whose worship the number 4 played a great part) was worshipped under the form of a simple quadrangular pillar of marble or wood, with the significant mark of the male sex. As art advanced, the pillar was surmounted, first with a bearded head, and afterwards with a youthful head of the god. Hermes being the god of traffic, such pillars were erected to him in the streets and squares of towns; in Attica, after the time of Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus,

they were also erected along the country roads as mile-stones."[26]

But it would seem that Mesgida served the purpose of altars, whereas the Hermes or statue, according to Verrall was an "amalga, a sacred dedication.. the object of a cult."[27]

Moreover, it has been asserted that the Mesgida, as an object of veneration, takes various forms, that is to say, not only dedicatory pillars but also memorial tablets and votive altars as well as figural representations of the devotee as a mark of veneration of the deity.[28] It seems that the Nabataean Mesgidas were as high as three feet, hexagonal in shape and ornamented with a bust.[29]

Quite contrary to the Islamic interpretation of Masjid, namely the place of prostration, the Nabataean term Mesgida, therefore, implies the existence of "an object, a votive stone before which one prostrates".[30] In other words, the wide spread existence of the idolatrous religious practices is attested to by the discovery of innumerable stone stelæ or votive stones, (Fig.3.) dedicated to deities.[31] It must be noted here that the most celebrated idols of ancient Arabia, al-Lāt, Manāt, and al-'Uzza were large stones, worshipped by the ancient Arabians as beings

of supernatural power.[32] It has been argued by many scholars that the institution of Ḥajj or pilgrimage with its concomitant custom of stone-throwing is a survival of the pagan rites of ancient Arabia.[33]

Pedersen has attributed the origin of the Arabic use of the term Masjid to Hebrew.[34] The existence of Jewish tomb stones on ancient sites between Madīna and Palestine as well as literary references to the fortified Jewish high places in and around Madīna, testify to the early infiltration of the Jewish language and culture into the Arabian peninsula.[35] The earliest occurrence of the corresponding word Masjid may be traced in the Jewish Elephantine Papyri in which the meaning of the term lmsgd'w, למסגדאו may be presumed to be "place of worship".[36]

Scholars have also endeavoured to derive the etymological origin of the Arabic word Masjid from the Syriac Aramaic, Mesgedā, ܡܣܓܕܐ, denoting "to salute reverentially". This is referred to in the Bible (Sam.ix,6). There are, striking enough, analogous Greek words as mentioned by Rudolph and Jeffery, such as, σέβω i.e. to revere, and προσκυνέω i.e., to kiss, revere.[37]

The Arabic term Masjid, also, recalls the almost

similar Ethiopic term Mesgad, meaning a "temple or church" as well as the Amharic term Masged.[38] Dillman thinks that the Ethiopic term Masgid መስገድ, corresponds to the Muslim house of prayer, Masjid.[39] But etymologically, Masgid is a loan word from Arabic.

Prostration is also referred to in the Bible as a form of mourning rite. An ancient and wide-spread Semetic custom, mourning by prostration was observed by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik when he heard the news of the death of his rival 'Abd al -Allah al-Zubayr.[40]

However, the problem of the philological origin of Masjid is complicated by the absence of Masjid in South Arabian and the occurrence of another term of apparently similar meaning in the Himyarite inscriptions. The word specifically employed in Himyarite character is ΧΦ1ጰ, Ṣalūt.[41] The Himyarite term is etymologically related to the commoner word for Muslim worship, Muṣallā, derived from ṣalāt.[42] Rossini has referred to the term ΧΦ1ጰ as the South Arabian cognomen for chapel.[43] In the Himyarite, however, so far as the word is attested, it is found in the material sphere of building, meaning usually the façade of a building or possibly also a chapel, whereas in Arabic the word صلاة, ṣalāt is actually limited to

intellectual activities of prayer.

In opposition to these views, Wensinck thinks that salāt is derived from Aramaic selota, the nomen verbale of the Syriac=Aramaic verb ܨܠܐ, ṣelā, meaning to "bow down".[44]

Finally, Rhodokanakis says that the term of mdqn, occurring in South Arabian inscriptions, can be interpreted as a place of worship or mosque (Betplatz).[45] Mahmūd 'Alī Ghūl, corroborating the views of Rhodokanakis points out that the possible meaning of the term mdqnt could also be cella, presumably "the innermost part of the covered sanctuary of the temple".[46]

The use of the term sajada in the Mu'allaqat, the ancient Arabian Odes, according to many Orientalists is consistent with the wide currency of Aramaic in North Arabia.[47] Scholars, such as, Horovitz and Schwally, think that the close cultural contact between Arabia on the one hand and Aramaic and Hebrew on the other hand has led to the intrusion of the term into ancient Arabian literature. It appears here in exactly the same sense as it did in the Nabataean, Himyarite, Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions. The Mu'allaqat of 'Amr ibn Kulthum illustrates the pre-Islamic usage of the term sajada.[48] The verses run thus:

ملأنا البرّ حتّى ضاق عنّا -/- وظهر البحر نملأه سفينا
لنا الدنيا ومن أضحى عليها -/- ونبطش حين نبطش قادرينا
إذا بلغ الفطم لنا صبيٌّ -/- تخرّ له الجبابر ساجدينا

Translation:

"Lo, the lands we o'errun, till the plains grow narrow,
lo, the Seas will we seek with our war-galleys,
Not a weanling of ours but shall win to manhood,
find the world at his knees, its great ones kneeling."
(Prostrating)

The wide currency of the term Masjid in languages of great antiquity obviously make the question of its philological origin difficult. Parallels are hard to establish. Language, far from being an inherent quality of any particular race has served through the ages as the disseminating factor of cultural history.[49] Stemming from a common source of Primitive Semitic (Ursemitisch), the North Semitic and the South Semitic struck out two different orthographical forms of expression.[50] As a matter of fact, the Semitic languages resemble each other in a peculiar but cognate morphological classification system,

as well as in certain radical forms.[51] Geographical factors and political sovereignty can bind multi-racial people into a comprehensive linguistic unit, namely, the Aramaic speaking culture.[52] Nevertheless, sharply defined lines of cleavage in the Semitic languages become apparent owing to the ceaseless migratory habits of the people throughout the "Fertile Crescent" and along the Arabian high lands. Based on common sources, different languages branch off, which are more than mere dialects. The concomitant tendencies are phonetic changes, modification of grammatical forms, and often additions to the basic vocabulary.[53]

Moulding themselves in a different linguistic atmosphere,[54] unlike that of the Northern Semitic tongues, the South Arabian languages[55] maintain a more intimate relation with Abyssinian than with Aramaic.[56] South Arabic differs from Northern Arabic in some features of its morphology, e.g. determination by -n, indetermination by -m.[57] It also differs in vocabulary, the alphabet used and in syntax. On the other hand South Arabic is similar to Ethiopic in script, some features of phonology, and in some of its vocabulary.[58] There were commercial and colonial relationships between Arabia and Abyssinia[59] and

this fact is reflected in the orthographical affinity between the two languages and in common morphological features.[60]

The Christianization of Abyssinia paved the way for the infiltration of Monophysite Christianity,[61] and Syro-Greek terms, Masgād and Mesgād, which are consonantally identical with the classical Arabic term, Masjid, developed in a completely different vocalic structure than the corresponding terms found in Aramaic, Nabataean and Hebrew.

The Ethiopic word Mesgad and the Amharic term Masgad are therefore, probably later modifications of the Arabic term Masjid, which had already gained considerable currency in the pre-Islamic Arabic Odes. Hence it is impossible to believe as Pedersen does that the Ethiopic word has been derived directly from Aramaic.[62]

Although the South Arabic term slwt and the classical Arabic term Masjid etymologically imply devotional practices of similar type, there is no reason to suppose that the origin of the Islamic term should be sought in South Arabic.[63] The contentions of Rudolph and Pautz about the Syro-Greek origin of the term Masjid are hardly convincing.[64]

As a language Syriac, which is basically Aramaic but with strong Greek influence, assumed significance only in the Second Century A.D. in the works of the Christian writers of Edessa and Nisibis. It is modern in comparison with the older Semitic languages, Aramaic, Hebrew, and even Nabataean which alone can have a direct bearing on Arabic proper.[65] Although some of the earliest specimens of Arabic writing are to be found in the trilingual inscription of Zabad,[66] the oldest examples are in the Nabataean character.[67]

In view of the intimate relation between Arabic and the Nabataean, a local North Arabic dialect of Aramaic, it is not too far fetched to maintain that the Islamic term of Masjid is derived from Aramaic, the parent tongue of both the Nabataean and the Hebrew.[68] The Hebrew origin of the term can hardly be supported for, philologically speaking, it is indebted to Aramaic.[70] In spite of early recordings of analogous terms in the Jewish Elephantine Aramaic Papyra,[71] it is clear from its radical formation that Masjid is a logical derivative from the Aramaic.[72]

The earliest existing inscription of Nemara, South East of Damascus, written in the Nabataean character and dating from A.D. 328[73] led scholars like Lidzbarski,

Dussaud and Mackler to derive the term Masjid from the Nabataean tongue.[74] But the Nabataeans were Arabs. They spoke Arabic and used the Aramaic script for writing.[75] As Hitti puts it, "the Nabataean cursive script taken from the Aramaic developed in the third century of our era into the script of the North Arabic tongues, the Arabic of the Koran and of the present date."[76] The absence of Nabataean literature obviously precludes reliable epigraphical documentation. Hence Aramaic can be suggested rather than Nabataean, the main source of the term Masjid.

A language of great antiquity, Aramaic was the lingua franca of the "Fertile Crescent" for several centuries.[77] Supplanting Hebrew, after the destruction of Judah, it became a literary language as well as the lingua franca among the peoples of Western Asia, serving as the fountain-head of various local dialects. The influence of Aramaic tongue on the Arabic alphabet, and many proverbs was brought about by the mercantile colonies in Arabia.[78] As Margoliouth puts it, "the Aramaic script of twenty two letters was employed to express the Arabic alphabet of twenty eight, a certain number of the letters had to do double or treble duty, and these were after-

wards differentiated by points."[79] The intimate Arabic-Aramaic relationship is testified to, also, by the incorporation of many Aramaic words and proverbs in Classical Arabic.[80]

In conclusion, we can therefore, say with a fair amount of certainty that the term Masjid corresponds unmistakably with the Aramaic term מסגדא , msgd' both maintaining almost identical verbs, סגד , sgd and سجد , sajada[81] The term is, therefore, not original in classical Arabic,[82] the language of the Qur'ān. However it assumed an independent formation as an originally foreign verbal noun[83] and passed into pre-Islamic Arabic, as testified by the Golden Odes.[84] Against the views of Pedersen, who says "....probably the above-mentioned Aramaic substantive was simply taken over, although no links can be shown between the Nabataean inscriptions and the Kur'ān,"[85] it may be maintained that the affinity between the Nabataean Mesgida and the Islamic Masjid is clear. The constant mercantile intercourse between the pre-Islamic Arabians and the Nabataeans, facilitated the spread of the Aramaic term throughout Arabia and it, thus was later on embodied in the Arabic of the Qur'ān. Islam gave a new and somewhat startling

interpretation to the term Masjid, without any tinge of anthropomorphic ideas, and this gave birth to a distinctive style of architecture, based on the ancient concept of a place of prostration. Therefore, Masjid is a loan-word in Arabic which came to represent the place of worship throughout the Islamic world.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER II : NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am indebted to Dr. A. K. Irvine, Lecturer in Semitic Languages, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for going through this chapter and for his valuable suggestions.

1. AEL. vol.4, Pt.4, Book 1, pp.1307-8. See also Langberg, Le Comte de., Glossaire datînois, Troìsième volume, Leiden, 1942, p.1902. Any discussion on prostration is bound to be linked up with the prostration God wanted Iblis (Satan) to make before Adam. The passage in the Qur'ān (xv,33) runs thus: Iblis says, "I am not such that I should make obeisance to a mortal whom thou hast created of the essence of black mud fashioned in shape."
2. Jeffery, A., The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, vol.LXXIX, 1938, p.263.
3. Wensinck, A. J., Some Semitic rites of mourning and religion: studies on their origin and mutual relation, Amsterdam, 1917, p.18. (Hereafter cited as Semitic Rites)
4. Qur'ān, Ch. LXXII, Verse 18.

5. Steingass, F., A comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, London, ND , p.1236.

6. Serjeant, R. B., Miḥrāb, in BSOAS, vol.XXII, No.3, 1959, pp.439-53. See also Ghūl, M.A., Was the Ancient South Arabian Mdqnt the Islamic Miḥrāb? in BSOAS, vol.XXV, Pt.2, 1962,p.333.

7. Lees, J. C., Mahommedanism, in the Faiths of the World. St. Giles Lectures, Second Series, Edinburgh and London, MDCCCLXXXII, pp.385-386.

8. AEL, Book I, Part 5, p.2172-73. See also Wensinck, A.J., Sutra, in EI, vol. IV, Part 1, p.573.

9. Jeffery, op. cit., pp.197-98.
Abū Isḥāk al-Shīrazī, in his Kitāb al-Tanbīh fi'l-Fikh, pp.41, 19, says, "...the Ṣalāt (on the two Feasts) is to be held in the mosque: but when this is not spacious enough people have to perform their ṣalāt in the open air". (Semitic Rites, p.93; Kitāb al-Tanbīh fi'l-Fikh, edited by Juynboll, Leiden, 1879; pp.452-53; Heffening, Abū Isḥāk al-Shīrazī, in EI, vol.IV, Part 1, 1934, p.377; Mittwoch, E., 'Īd al-Fiṭr, in EI, vol.11, 1927 Part 1, p.445.

10. Sachau, E., Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka, Leipzig, 1911, Tabel, 32: Text Papyrus 32, Line 3, Pl.33. FN.118-119.

11. Jeffery, A., op. cit., p.163.

12. Jeffery, A., op. cit., p.163.

13. Ungnad, A., Aramäische Papyrus Aus Elephantine, Leipzig, 1911, Papyrus 32, No.33, N.33, Line 3, p.50.

14. Ungnad, A., op. cit., p.50. See also Cook, S. A., A Glossary of the Aramaic inscriptions, Cambridge, 1898, p.75; Fraenkel, S., Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, Leiden, 1886, p.120.

15. Cowley, A., Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. Oxford, 1923, Text 44, Line 3, pp.147-148.

16. Hughes, T. P., Ka'bah, in the Dictionary of Islam, being a cyclopaedia of the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and customs, together with the technical and theological terms of the Muhammad religion, London, 1885, p.258. The Qur'ānic reference to the Ka'ba occurs in v.97; ii. 142-147; In ii. 44: it is explicitly mentioned that Mecca is the qibla of Islam. The passage runs thus: Indeed we see the turning of your face to heaven, so we shall surely turn you to a qiblah which you shall like; turn then your face towards the sacred mosque, and where-ver you are, turn your faces towards it, and those

who have been given the Book most surely know that it is the truth from their Lord: and Allah is not at all heedless of what they do. (Muhammad Ali, The Holy Qur'ān, London, 1917, pp.67-67: N.187)
Ka'ba is derived from Ka'aba, meaning to swell or to become prominent.

17. C.I.S. i: 176, 185, 188, 190, 218.
ii: 161
See also Pedersen, Johs. Masdjid, in EI, vol III, Pt. 1, 1913, p.315.

18. Cooke, G. A., A Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford, 1903.

19. Schwally, Fr., Lexikalische Studien, in ZDMG, liii, 1898, p.134, Leipzig, Band I.

20. Lidzbarski, M., Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik, Weimar, 1898, Text 1, pp.152, 328. See also Jeffery, op. cit., p.263.

21. Savignac, P. P., et Jaussen, R. R., Mission Archéologique en Arabie, I, Paris, 1909, p.417, Planche XLI, Fig.206; See also C.I.S., ii, 218. (Hereafter cited as Mission).

22. Doughty, C. M. Travels in Arabia Deserta, London, 1923, vol. 1. p.121, Pl. facing p.176, No.1. E. Renan deciphered the Nabataean inscription discovered by

22. Cont...
Doughty at Medáin Salih (Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, in Doughty, op. cit., Appendix to Ch. IV, V, VI, p.180, M.P. Berger translates ou (A'ara) as à Aouda de Bostra in Doughty, op. cit., p.186-7.

23. De Vogüé, Le Cte., Syrie Centrale: Inscriptions Sémitiques, Paris, 1867-77, He also derives מסגדא from סגד, meaning "prosterner ou adorer". See also Levy, M. A., Drei nabatäische Inschriften aus dem Hauran, in ZDMG, vol. XXII, pp.106-268. See N.17.

24. Euting, J. Von., Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien, Berlin, 1885, pp.14-15, 21. See also Mission, op. cit., pp.204-5.

25. Cooke, op. cit., pp.238, 249. He referring to CIS, 11, 218, says that Dumêr was the first station on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. The hexagonal column bearing inscription resembles a Greek altar. The inscription is lying in the Louvre Museum, Paris.

26. Seyffert, O., A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art, Tr. by H. Nettleship and J. E. Sandys, London, 1891, pp.285-286.

27. Verall, M. de G., Mythology & Monuments of Ancient Athens. (Being a translation of a portion of the 'ATTICA of Pansanias), commentary by J.E. Harrison, London, 1890, p. 130, N. 252.

28. Dussaud, R., and Macler, Voyage Archéologique, Paris, 1910.

29. Cooke, op.cit., p. 249ff. See N. 17; CIS, ii, 162: it is dated A.D. 94 and is now preserved in the Louvre, Paris.

30. Mission, I, pp. 417, 204-205, ii, Pl. XLI; Nabataean No. 39, Figs. 206, 207.

31. Cooke, op.cit., p. 238. The Qur'ān refers to idolatry as follows:

XLIII: 18: "What! that which is made in ornaments and which in contention is unable to make plain speech!"

v. 3; "Forbidden to you is that which is sacrificed on stones set up (for idols) and that you divide by the arrows; that is a transgression. (Muḥammad Ali, op.cit., p. 252, N. 663.

32. Sale, G., The Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, London, (1730) 1921, pp. 20-21. See also Beaume, J.L., Le Koran Analysé, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. IV

32. Cont...
Paris, 1878, pp.398-9; Ryckmanns, G., Les Religions Arabes Préislamiques, Louvain, 1951, Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol.26, pp.10-11-13.

33. DI. p.225, Jamrah, in the solemn institution of the Hajj, there is one very ancient pre-Muslim custom of throwing or pelting stones, usually seven, at the stone pillars, known as Jamrat-al-'ulā (the first), Jamrat al-Wustā (the middle), Jamrat al-'Aqiba (the last), in commemoration of Abraham's escape from the wiles of Satan by the same practice. How far it is a survival of pre-Islamic rites is an open question.

34. Pedersen, op. cit., p.315.

35. Horovitz, J., Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran, in Hebrew Union College Annual, Volume 11, Cincinnati, 1925, pp.147-203. He also regards or al-Rahmān, referred to in the Qur'ān 55:1, Meccan Sūra, as of Babylonian Talmudic origin which was employed before Islam.

36. Cowley, op. cit., pp.147-48. See also Pedersen, op. cit., p.315.

37. Rudolph, W., Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans vom Judenthum und Christenthum, Stuttgart, 1922, p.7, N,2. See also Jeffery, op. cit., p.163. Part 2, O., Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung. Leipzig, 1898, p.149. N.1.

38. Noeldeke, T., Semitic languages, in EB, vol.24. Cambridge, 1911, p.629. (Hereafter cited as "Semitic".) Ethiopic is the language of Aksum, generally called Ge'ez . It is closer to Himyarite than Arabic. Amharic is also Semitic but not in syntax and it is a non-literary language. I am grateful to Dr. Irvine in connection with this point.

39. Dillmann, A., Ethiopic Grammar, Tr. by J. A. Crichton, Revised by C. Bezold, 2nd Edition, London, 1907, p.39. See also Rossini, C. C., Storia d'Etiopia, Milano, MCMXXVIII, pp.203-14.

40. Semitic Rites, pp.12-13. In Bible Job. 1,20, the passage runs: "Then Job arose, and rent his mantle and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped". It also occurs in the Islamic period when 'Abd al-Malik heard the news of the death of his great adversary 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, he prostrated himself. Wensinck quotes the Arabic opening version of a manuscript, preserved in the Vatican Library, bearing the number Cod.51: "This prayer is an amulet against the devils and a means to secure those who appear before the Sultan for favour." Jeffery, p.197, see also N.43.

41. Rhodokanakis, N., Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen, vol.11, pp.44-46.

42. Diez, E., Muṣallā, in EI, vol. 111, Part 2, 1934-39, p.159. Supplement. See also Wensinck, A. J., Muṣallā, in EI, vol. 111, Part 2, 1934-38, p.746. Part 2, O., op. cit., pp.149-52.

43. Rossini, C. C., Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis, Epigraphia with Glossarium, Roma, 1931, p.224. = XΦ 19. See also Hommel, F., Südarabische chrestomathie minäo-sabäische Grammatik, Munchen, 1893, p.125. Wissmann, H., et Höfner, M., Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien, Wiesbaden, 1952, p.243. He refers to 'el-Mesājid... in a Ma'rib oasis. A. K. Irvine also expresses the same view in a letter addressed to me: "salut seems basically the front or face of an object (e.g. a building), and then a fore-court." (His letter dated London, April 1st, 1965.)

44. Semitic Rites, p.13.

45. Rhodokanakis, N., Studien zur... p.34.

46. Mahmūd 'Ali Ghūl, op. cit., pp.332-333.

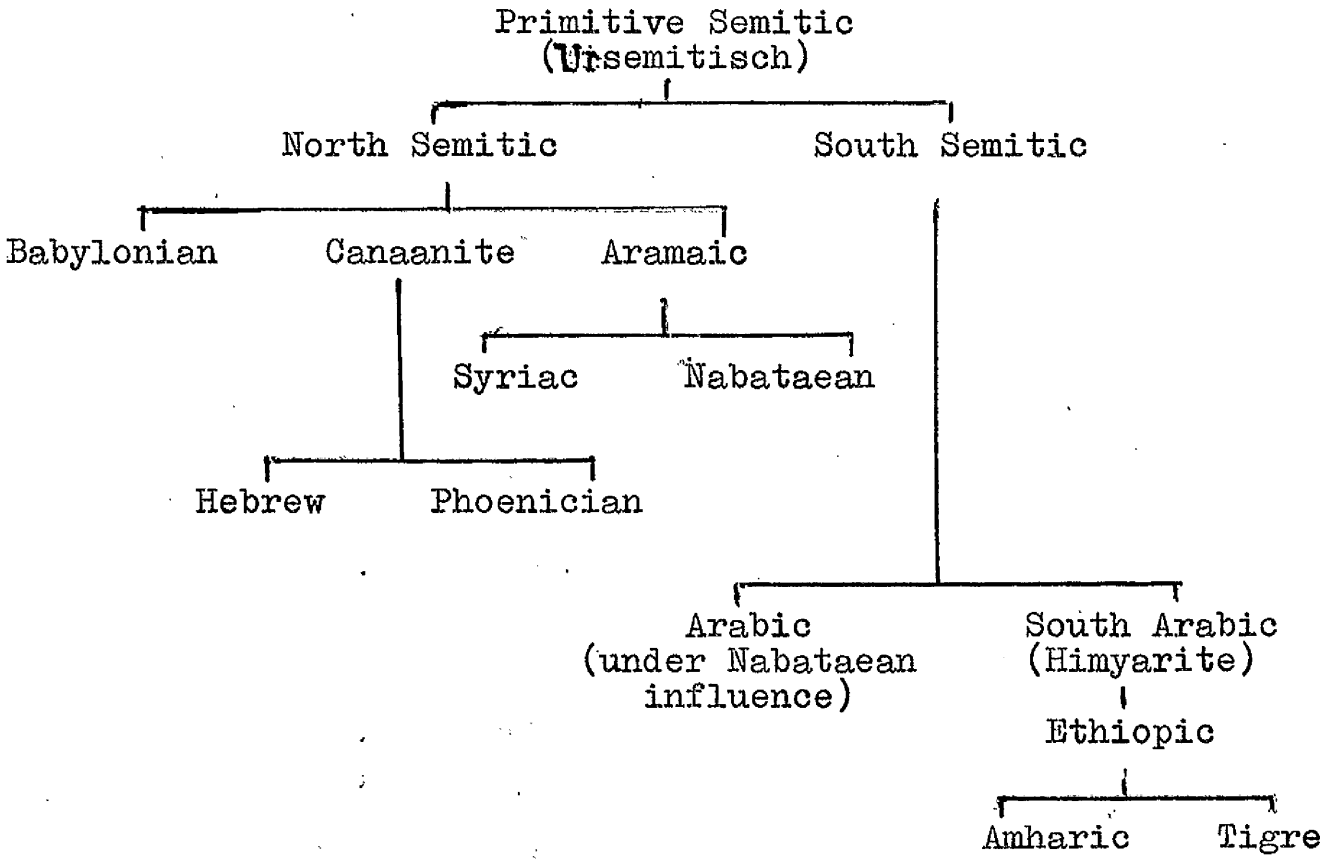
47. Horovitz, J., Koranische Untersuchungen, Berlin, 1926, p.140. See also Schwally, op. cit., p.134.

48. Abel, L., Die Sieben Mu'allakât, Berlin, 1891, pp.26, 90. He derives the word ساجدينا from سجد meaning one who prostrates, 'als anbetende', Odes of 'Amr Ibn Kulthûm, 104. See also Lyall, C. S., Ancient Arabian poetry as a source of Historical information, in JRAS, 1914, vol. 1, Part 1. p.63. 'Amr, son of Layla, daughter of Muhalhil, the warrior, belonged to the Banû Taghlib. His odes consist of the address which he delivered in front of the King of Hira, Amr ibn Hind, complaining of the animosities of the Banu Bakr. (Blunt, W. S., The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, known as the Mo'allakât. Tr. from the original Arabic by Anne Blunt, done into English verse by W. S. Blunt, London, MDCCCCIII, pp.37-43; Nicholson, R. A., A Literary History of the Arabs, London, 1907, p.109-113. Lichtenstädter has discussed in detail the encounter between 'Amr ibn Kulthûm and 'Amr ibn Hind; (Women in the Ayyam al-'Arab, London, 1935, pp.57-60.)

49. O'Leary, De Lacy., Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, London, 1923, p.1.

50. Semitic, pp.617-23; see also Barton, G.A., Semitic Languages, in JE, XI, New Edition, p.1881. He gives

50. Cont...
the following chart, showing the development of the Semitic languages.



cf. Mario P. Pei and Gaynor, F., A Dictionary of Linguistics, London, MCMLVIII, pp.148-151.

51. Barton, op. cit., p.61.

52. Semitic, p.617.

53. O'Leary, op. cit., p.6.

54. Nicholson, op. cit., pp.7-8. South Arabic consists of Sabaean, Minaean, Ausanian, Qatabanian and Hadrami.

54. Cont...
Himyarite is a late political term covering all South Arabia. I am indebted to Dr. Irvine for the above suggestions.

The entry of Semitic colonists into Abyssinia seems to have commenced at least in the 6th century B.C. By the 1st century A.D. the Kingdom of Aksum was founded and continued until the 9th century A.D. The Abyssinian Christian King Abraha vanquished Dhū Nuwas, the Jewish King of the Yemen in A.D.525 and established Abyssinian rule in South Arabia. (Bell, R., The Origin of Islām in Christian environment, The Gunning Lectures, Edinburgh University, 1925, London, 1926, p.28.) In Physiognomy, languages and traditions of both the countries, there are unmistakable similarities. (Wright, T., Early Christianity in Arabia, London, 1855, pp.41-42.

55. Nicholson, Intro. XXI.

56. Margoliouth, D. S., The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam. The Schweich Lectures, The British Academy, London, 1921, London, 1924, p.10.

57. Nicholson, Intro. XXI. The chief resemblances are broken plural and the sign of the dual.

58. Margoliouth, op. cit., p.11.

59. Rossini, C., Storia d'... pp.203-14.

60. Nicholson, op. cit., Intro. XXI.

61. O'Leary, De. Lacy., op. cit., p.22. He says that the penetration of Coptic and Greek works was effected from the North of Egypt as well as South of Arabia. As Wensinck relates the successive phases of the translation of the old tale of Bent-rash, concerning the legend of Hilaria into Coptic, then into Syriac, demonstrating linguistic attachment between Syria and Abyssinia (Legends of Eastern Saints, chiefly from Syrian Sources, Leyden, 1913, vol.11. pp.XVIII-XXII.

62. Pedersen, op. cit., p.315.

63. See Supra, pp. 475-76 N.42, 43.

64. Part 2, op. cit., p.149, N.3. traces the origin of ṣalât from the verb (صَلَّى) ṣallah, Syriac ܨܠܐ , "sich neigen", to incline oneself". Rudolph and Jeffery trace the cultic origin of salawat, referred to in the Qur'ān (الصَّلٰوة , Surā IV, verses 101, 102), to the Greek term προσευχή meaning adoration. These Greek terms have parallels in Syriac sgdt' ܨܓܕܬܐ and sgd' ܨܓܕ which also denotes adoration.

65. Barton, op. cit., p.127. He mentions various Aramaic dialects, namely, Jewish Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian, Christian Palestinian, Syriac, Nabataean.

66. Semites, p.626. He refers to the trilingual inscription of Zabad, South East of Halaf (Aleppo) written in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, and dating from A.D.512 or 513. See also Nicholson, Intro. XXII; Moritz, B., EI, vol. 1, Part I, 1913. pp.382.

67. Nicholson, Intro. XXV, See also Noeldeke, T., Die semitischen Sprachen, p.36,sqq. and p.51, and Moritz, B., op. cit., p.382. It refers to the inscription of al-Namarah in eastern Harran, dated back to A.D.328 which was set up as an epitaph on the grave stone of Imru'l al-Qays, the King of the Kinda tribe.

68. Goitein, S. D., Jews and Arabs, New York, 1955, p.137. In Hebrew the term Salāt is not unfamiliar, denoting prostration as to touch the ground with forehead.

69. O'Leary, op. cit., p.147.

70. Hitti, op. cit., p.147.

71. Pedersen, op. cit., p.315.

72. O'Leary, op. cit., pp.27-29.

	Arabic	Hebrew/Aramaic
ṣ	س	ס
ġ, ĝ, ɣ	ج	ג
ḍ	د	ד

Therefore سجد = סגד

73. Semites, op. cit., p.626.

74. Supra, p. 471, N.17-21.

75. Nicholson, op. cit., p. Intro. XXV.

76. Hitti, P. K., op. cit., p.70.

77. O'Leary, op. cit., p.13.

He says that Aramaic is the language of the Semitic invaders of Palestine and Syria, who advanced further north and settled in Aram or "High lands". With the decline of the Phoenicians, it became the common language of political and commercial life throughout all Western Asia and Egypt under the Persians, except the Coptic and Ethiopia. (Goitein, op. cit., p.13.).

78. Semites, p.624. See also Dussaud, M., Mission dans la Syrie Moderne, Paris, 1903, p.315.

79. Margoliouth, op. cit., p.10-11.

80. Goitein, op.cit., p. 204. See also Doughty, op.cit., vol. II, p. 629. Masjid is corrupted into Spanish term Mezquita, whence the French Moschée and the English mosque came into use.

81. Pedersen, p. 315.

82. Pedersen, op.cit., p. 315.

83. Jeffery, op.cit., p. 263.

84. See Supra, p. 476, N. 48.

85. Pedersen, op.cit., p. 315.

APPENDIX II TO CHAPTER IV

Details of proportions of various features of the Adīna Masjid.

Detail of proportions of pillars.

Lower pillars of Ladie's plarform, probably Muhammadan--

Height of shaft	...	3 Semidiameters.	
Height of capital	...	$\frac{2}{5}$ "	
" " corbel	...	$\frac{2}{5}$ "	nearly.
" " base	...	$\frac{1}{3}$	
Projection of corbel	...	$\frac{2}{5}$ "	"

And in the upper fluted pillars of the Ladies' platform which are probably Muhammadan--

Height of fluted shaft	...	4 Semidiameters.	
" " base	...	$\frac{3}{4}$ "	
" " neck of capital	...	$\frac{3}{4}$ "	
" " capital	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$ "	
Diminution of shaft	...	$\frac{1}{9}$ "	
Breadth of base	...	$\frac{2}{3}$ "	
" " capital	...	3 "	

In the pillars on the sides of the minor prayer niches as well as those of the Ladies' platform which appear to be all Hindu, the proportions are (the pillars are indented rectangular, the Semidiameter here means the breadth including the projections in the centres of the faces.)

Height of shaft	...	11 Semidiameters.	
" " base	...	2 "	
" " capital	...	1 "	
" " corbelled sur capital	...	1 "	

Breadth of base	...	3 Semidiameters.
" " capital	...	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "
" " corbel	...	3 "

In the pillars of the prayer niche N. (see index plate and plate 23) which is certainly Hindu, the proportions are:-

Height of shaft	...	$12\frac{1}{4}$ Semidiameters.
" " base	...	2 "
" " Kumbha base of attached base)	...	1 "
Height of capital with neck	...	1 Semidiameters.
Corbelled sur-capital	...	1 "
" abacus	...	1 "
Breadth of base	...	3 "
" " corbelled capital	...	$2\frac{2}{3}$ "
Diminution of shaft	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ "

In the pillars of the main prayer niche the proportions are:-

Base ...	...	$1\frac{3}{4}$ Semidiameters.
Sur-base plain part	...	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Kumbha base ...	...	2 "
Neck ...	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$ "
Total of shaft including neck and sur-bases ...	...	$11\frac{3}{4}$ "
Capital ...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
Sur-capital or corbel and abacus	...	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Breadth of base ...	...	3 "
Diminution of shaft	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ "

In the pillars of the side prayer niches of vault, the proportions are:-

Base	...	...	2 Semidiameters
Shaft	...	...	11½ "
Capital	...	...	1 "
Sur-capital	...	...	1 "
Breadth of base	...	...	3 "
Diminution of shaft	...	...	Nil

In the upper pillars of the pulpit the proportions are:-

Base	...	...	1½ Semidiameters
Shaft	...	...	10 "
Capital	...	...	1½ "
Breadth of base	...	...	1½ "
Diminution of shaft	...	...	$\frac{1}{3}$ "

DETAILS OF PROPORTIONS OF BOSSES.

Distance between Centres.

Breadth of rectangular panel inclosing arch or opening.	Distance between centres of bosses.	Proportion.	Breadth of rectangular panel inclosing arch or opening.	Distance between centres of bosses.	Proportion.
49	39	.78	43	35	.82
49	40	.78	36	27	.75
18	13	.76	61	50	.82
61	49	.80	39	32	.88
41	32	.78	49	36	.73
34	29	.85	49	37	.75
50	38	.75	43	33	.77
40	30	.75	50	41	.82
46	36	.78	19	13	.68
83	64	.77			

DETAILS OF PROPORTIONS OF BOSSES.

Distance below upper Line.

Height from spring to top of panel.	Height from centre of boss to top of panel.	Proportion.
16	5	.31
15	$4\frac{1}{2}$	.30
60	20	.33
31	12	.37
25	5	.20
26	9	.35
17	$5\frac{1}{2}$	.32
27	9	.33
16	5	.31
47	21	.45
14	3	.21
53	13	.25

DETAILS OF PROPORTIONS OF CORNICES & BANDS.

Position and Particulars of Cornice or Band.	Height of its lowest member above base mouldings or above the next lower cornice.	Thickness or depth of cornice or band.	Proportion of depth of cornice or band to height at which it is placed.
Lowest band West wall on outside	97″	26″	1/4 nearly
Main cornice West wall (goes round building) outside.	198″	50″	1/4 "
Cornice above main cornice in the raised central portion of back of vault.	112″	26″	1/4 "
Ladies' Chamber band of floor plinth of chamber above base mouldings.	83″	22″	1/4 "
Main cornice above plinth of chamber.	222″	52″	1/4 "
Inner facade.	243″	55″	1/4 "
Interior cornice below domes.	240″	24″	1/10 "

APPENDIX V.

Some of the dimensions of the main features of the Adīna Masjid with their equivalents in cubits of $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Detail of feature.	Cubits of $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches.	Equivalent in feet or in.	Actual dimension.
Total length	330	515ft.$6\frac{1}{2}$"	516ft.
" breadth	200	312ft.6in.	313 "
" Interior Court length	268	418ft.9in.	419 "
" " " breadth	119	186ft.	186 "
Breadth of Masjid proper	48	905in.	900 "
Clear span across of nave	21	394 "	393 "
Breadth of nave its walls	30	563 "	566 "
Span of central great arch	26	487 "	480 "
Breadth of central block including the great arch and its abutments	33	619 "	626 "
Do. do. including the wings	50	937 "	926 "
Height of top of battlements of Masjid proper above plinth at back	18	$337\frac{1}{2}$"	333 "
Height of top of first row of battlements of central block above plinth at back	27	506 "	500 "
Height of battlements of Masjid proper inner or East face above floor	18	$337\frac{1}{2}$"	340 "
Height of topmost battlements of great central nave, front or East face above floor	44	825 "	825 "
Total length including walls Ladies' Chamber	35	656 "	650 "
Total length Ladies' vestibule	26	489 "	490 "
Height of floor Ladies' Chamber above plinth	5	94 "	95 "
Height of floor Ladies' platform above Masjid floor	6	110 "	112 "
Total height of battlements of Ladies' Chamber above its floor	18	337 "	333 "
Height of main cornice Masjid proper back, above plinth	16	300 "	298 "

Detail of feature.	Cubits of 18¾ inches.	Equivalent in feet or in.	Actual dimension.
Depth of cornice, total including footing of battlements	3	56in.	60ft.
Depth of first ornamental band, exclusive of footing	1	18¾ "	19 "
Span of arches in East facade Masjid proper	5	94 "	97 "
Span of side arches of great nave	6	112½ "	113 "
Back wall of nave thickness	7	131 "	123 "
Pulpit total height above floor	11	206 "	209 "
*Breadth of pulpit across	4	75 "	72 "
Thickness of wall at back Masjid proper	4	75 "	76 "
Diameter of domes in Ladies' platform	7	131 "	127 "
Diameter of domes in Masjid proper public aisles	7	131 "	128 "
Clear span of arches Masjid proper	7	131 "	126 "
Pillar to pillar Centres Masjid proper	8	150 "	153 "
Ordinary prayer niches	3	56½ "	56½"
Diameter of Semicircle of ditto	2	36½ "	37½"
Diameter of domes of cloisters	6	112½ "	117 "
Span of arches Cloisters	6	113 "	117 "
Pillar to pillar centres	8	150 "	149 "
Radius of arches, cloisters	4	75 "	78 "
Thickness of front wall Wast cloisters	5	94 "	92 "
Thickness of inner wall cloisters	5	94 "	87 "
Total breadth of East cloisters	27	506 "	511 "
Great circle of composition of plan of Masjid	66	1237½ "	1236 "
Main circle of Masjid wings	50	937½ "	930 "
Small " of Cloisters	33	619 "	618 "
Great circle of Elevant of Masjid proper back of vault	36	675 "	680 "
Small circle ditto	18	337½ "	340 "
Masjid proper inner or main facade great circle	55	1031 "	1032 "

Detail of feature.	Cubits of 18¾ inches.	Equivalent in feet or in.	Actual dimension.
Main circle of Masjid proper wings	21	394 "	387 "
Small circle of cloisters	18	337½ "	340 "

APPENDIX III TO CHAPTER IV

Inscription found in the ruins of the Adina Masjid at Hazrat Pandua. Gaud: Facsimile given by J.D. Beglar and deciphered by Dr. B.N. Mukherjee (see Fig. 73).

Script: Proto-Bengali:

Date: C. 14th or 15th century A.D.

Language: Incorrect Sanskrit, very much influenced by the local dialect.

Text:

.....Ilsametā (or a)

Brahmbhan I Kiñathaya (or du or ha or hu) Kīdāvi asherātam I Kiñchāpnalla Mānasaḥ II.....

Since the inscription is fragmentary, no full translation is possible. However, it appears that it contains an invocation to and praise for the God Brahmā.

APPENDIX IVI TO CHAPTER VII

Extracts from the Register of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh on a mihrāb. (see pl. CXXXVIII)

"Indian: 15th-16th century? Probably from the Chhota sona Masjid (Small Golden Mosque) at Gaud, Bengal, built 1493-1519. Total height 8' 3", width 4' 5". Total number of blocks in mihrāb 29 (including one restoration). The stone floor-slab is not original. Bought £100. Presented to the Elgin and Morayshere Literary and Scientific Association in 1852 by Mr. James William Grant of Wester Elchies, Morayshere. Mr. Grant served the East India Company in Bengal from 1805 to 1849 when he retired to Elchies. Entry: 1958, March 13th.

Mihrāb (prayer niche) of dark grey basalt carved with arches and formalised flower ornaments. The façade with two pillars and a lintel with ogival scalloped arch. The semi-circular interior composed of large blocks of stone, carved with arches and decorative bands and curving at the top into a dome.

The pillars are each cut from a single block. They are carved on two adjacent sides, the other two sides being left rough to set into the masonry of the original building. The bases and capitals are square in section: the columns between them are in three parts divided by

raised knobbed horizontal bands, the centre part being circular in section, the other two square. The base has a band of formal upright beams at the bottom, with a milled band above. The upper and lower parts of the column are carved with rectangles, each containing an arch and a formalised inverted tulip-like flower. The central part of the column is divided into long thin rectangles containing similar flowers. The capitals have a projecting rectangle at either side carved with a large formal curled petal. Height of pillars 5′ 6″.

The lintel arch is bordered round the edge and round the arch with a band of intertwined foliage. The arch has four scalloped either side and the point of arch is surmounted with a formalised flower head. On each side is a large open lotus flower with the petals in three concentric rings. Each flower has a wavy stem and tendrils and lotus flowers in profile, filling any empty spaces. Height of lintel 2′ 1″; width 4′ 5″.

Between the pillars and lintel are two small blocks containing the scallops of the arch. That on the left is a restoration, that on the right is partially broken, but has the lower part carved with a continuation of the border of intertwined foliage. Height of blocks 8″.

The interior curves into slightly more than a semi-circle, with an average arc of 5′ 10″, the top sections

curve inwards to form a dome. It is carved, from the bottom to the top, as follows:

(a) Three horizontal blocks, carved at the bottom with interlacing, and above with a band of arabesque. Height of blocks $9\frac{1}{2}$"; (b) Six blocks forming nearly five panels of carving. The panels are bordered all round and horizontally through the middle with a guilloche band, each loop of the guilloche containing a lotus head in profile. The ten rectangles thus formed contain arches with imbricated pillars and lintels similar to the main lintel of the mihrāb. Each arch contains a formalised inverted flower, the foliage filling the top of the arch, the flower head and a pair of stiff leaves hanging between the pillars. Each pair of rectangles differs in small details from its fellows. The pair at the extreme left are cut off, lacking their left hand pillars and guilloche border. Height of blocks, 3' 3": (c) Three blocks forming a border of long pendent flower heads with a slightly projecting band of shorter upright flower heads above. The left hand block is deeper as it has at its bottom the guilloche border belonging to the top of the two panels below. Height of blocks at right hand side $6\frac{1}{4}$"; (d) Three blocks (one broken), forming a horizontal border of guilloche containing lotus flower heads. Height of border $3\frac{1}{4}$"; (e) Four blocks forming an overhanging border of petals with a vertical border of lotus buds above. Height of blocks $4\frac{3}{4}$"; (f) Five blocks

curving inwards to form a dome (half). The bottoms of the blocks carved with a narrow border of sloping petals; the blocks forming five panels containing inverted pendent tulip-like flower, the panels being divided by bands of guilloche containing lotus flowers. Height of blocks 1' 8". Arc at top of block 2' 2½". The top stone of the dome is missing."

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DEVELOPMENT OF MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PRE-MUGHAL BENGAL

Volume II. Figures and Plates

Syed Mahmūd al-Ḥasan

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(b) Takht-i-Sulaiman: Façade of vaulted hall, showing blind arches in the screen.

XLVIII. (a) Jaunpur: The Jhangri Masjid: The līwān arch screen.

(b) Ajmer: The Arhaī Din-kā-Jhompra: The central mihrāb.

XLIX. (a) Old Delhi: The Begumpuri Masjid: the līwān with arch screen.

(b) Old Malda: The Jāmi' Masjid: exterior view.

L. (a) Bidar: Madrasa of Mahmūd Gawan: Minar at the corner of the Madrasa.

(b) Warangal (Daccan): The Hall of Shitāb Khān: Transverse arches.

LI. (a) Top: Presumed origin of curved cornice: Left: Reconstruction of Chhoto Sonā Masjid: Right: Squat pillar from the Mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi.

(b) Types of arches used in Indian Muslim monuments.

LII. (a) Tribeni (Hughli): The Mosque of Zafar Khān. The central Mihrāb.

(b) Chhoto Pandua (Hughli): entrance to the Mīnar.

LIVI. (a) Chhoto Pandua (Hughli): The Mosque: the central mihrāb.

(b) Chhoto Pandua: (Hughli): The Minar.

LIV. Mandu: The Jāmi' Masjid: Top left: crumbling masonry in the south dalan or riwaq before repair: Top right: The south takht before repair looking west: Below left: Minbar or pulpit: Below right: One of the restored mihrābs.

LV. (a) Rajmahal: Detail of pillar.

(b) Makara-gargoyle from Hazrat Pandua.

(c) Makara-gargoyle from Patna Museum.

LVI. (a) Mandu: The Jāmi' Masjid: The līwān.

(b) Sonargaon: The Tomb of Ghiyas-ud-Din 'Azam Shah: panel decoration.

LVII. (a) Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: Minbar.

(b) Central mihrāb before restoration.

LVIII. (a) Chhoto Pandua (Hughli): The Mosque: The minbar.

(b) Molla Simla (Hughli): Old Masjid: exterior view.

LIX. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid northern prayer hall.

LX. (a) Old Delhi: The Khīrkī Masjid: Half plan and perspective elevation.

LX. Contd...
(b) Chhoto Pandua (Hughli): the līwān.

LXI. (a) Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The northern prayer hall showing zenana gallery.

(b) The northern prayer hall, from the courtyard.

LXII. (a) Tribeni: The Mosque of Zafar Khān Ghazi: The līwān.

(b) Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The zenana gallery.

LXIII. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: Restoration of the platform.

LXIV. (a) Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The gateways leading from the zenana prayer hall into the zenana chamber.

(b) The northern prayer hall showing the zenana gallery.

LXV. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) The zenana gallery before restoration.

(b) A mihrāb in the zenana gallery numberedIIV

LXVI. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) Detail of the semi-circular concave mihrāb in the zenana gallery, numbered IV.

(b) A semi-circular concave mihrāb in the zenana gallery numbered III.

LXVII. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: A semi-circular concave mihrāb numbered II.

LXVIII. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) A semi-circular concave mihrāb numbered III.

(b) A flat mihrāb formed of Hindu door jambs numbered IV.

LXIX. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid.

(a) The aisles from the zenana gallery, looking north.

(b) The aisles from zenana gallery, looking south.

LXX. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The doorway formed of fragments of Hindu sculpture, leading from the zenana chamber.

LXXI. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) The zenana chamber from south-west, adjoining the western wall.

(b) The vestibule leading to the zenana chamber.

LXXII. Tribeni: (Hughli): The Tomb of Zafar Khān Ghazi.

LXXIII. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) The western wall showing the zenana chamber and the vestibule.

(b) The southern prayer hall showing a modern wall for restoration.

LXXIV. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The southern prayer hall.

LXXV. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) Corner tower.

(b) Postern entrance.

LXXVI. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: Southern prayer niches.

LXXVII. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: A semi-circular concave mihrāb in the northern prayer hall.

LXXVIII. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: A mihrāb in the northern prayer hall.

LXXIX. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) Top: Section of the zenana gallery after Buchanan: Below: Section of the western wall.

(b) Eastern riwaq.

LXXX. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) The north western corner.

(b) A mihrāb in the north-western corner.

LXXXI. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) A mihrāb in the north-west corner.

(b) The eastern wall.

LXXXII. (a) Mangrol (Gujarat): Jāmi' Masjid: the zenana gallery.

(b) Ahmadābād: The Jāmi' Masjid: the zenana gallery.

LXXXIII (a) Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The pierced stone screen:

(b) A bell and chain motif in stone carving.

LXXXIV. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid:

(a) A hanging bell and chain motif in carved stone work.

(b) The interlocking design above the central mihrāb.

LXXXV. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The tympana of carved brick arched frames above the mihrāb in the southern prayer hall.

LXXXVI. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The postern gateway formed of fragments of Hindu material.

LXXXVII.(a) Gaud: The Fīrūza mīnār: after restoration.

(b) Chhoto Pandua: The Mīnār.

LXXXVIII(a) Sāmarrā: The Mosque: The detached mīnār or the Malwiyā tower.

(b) Sāmarrā: The Mosque: looking from the Malwiyā tower.

LXXXIX. (a) Chhoto Pandua: The Mosque: Carved brick work showing hanging bell and chain.

(b) Hazrat Pandua: The Eklakhī Tomb: exterior view.

XC. (a) Hazrat Pandua: The Eklakhī Tomb: entrance doorway formed with Hindu door jambs.

(b) Hissar: The Mosque: The detached mīnār.

XCI. Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: (a) The brick design in the tympanum over a mihrāb in the western wall of the northern prayer hall.

(b) The eastern riwaq.

XCII. (a) Hazrat Pandua: Adīna eastern riwaq.

(b) Gaud: The Tāntīpārā Masjid: Detail of the carved brick decoration over the entrance archway.

XCIII. Gaud: The Chikā Masjid: Exterior view.

XCIV. Gaud: The Chikā Building:

(a) exterior view, showing traces of adjoining structure.

(b) Another view.

XCV. Gaud: The Dakhil Darwazā:

(a) Reconstruction.

(b) Before restoration.

XCVI. (a) Delhi (Kotlā): The Mosque of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq.

(b) Hazrat Pandua: The Adīna Masjid: The northern prayer hall.

XCVII. Gaud: The Chamkattī Masjid: exterior view.

XCVIII. Gaud: The Chamkattī Masjid: The foundation inscription.

XCIX. (a) Gaud: The Kotwalī gate:

(b) Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: exterior view.

C. Gaud: The Darasbarī Masjid:

(a) The western wall.

(b) Mihrāb and minbar.

CI. Gaud: The Tantīpara Masjid: before restoration.

CII. Gaud: The Tantīpara Masjid:

(a) exterior view before restoration.

(b) The western wall with a mihrāb projection.

CIII. Gaud: The Tantīpara Masjid: The mihrāb wall.

CIV. Gaud: The Tantīpara Masjid: The north-western wall showing the remains of the zenana gallery.

CV. Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: The central semi-circular concave mihrab.

CVI. Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: A semi-circular mihrab.

CVII. Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: A mihrab below the zenana gallery, now fallen.

CVIII. Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: The central mihrab with panel for inscription above.

CIX. Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: The western wall containing mihrabs.

CX. Gaud: The foundation inscription of the Tantipara Masjid.

CXI. (a) Examples of carved brick ornamentation probably from Gaud.

(b) Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: The carved brick ornamentation.

CXII. Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: The carved brick ornamentation.

CXIII. (a) Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid: carved brick design.

(b) Hazrat Pandua: The Eklakhi Mausoleum, carved brick designs.

CXIV. Gaud: The Tantipara Masjid:

(a) Mihrab below the zenana gallery.

(b) central mihrab.

CXV. Gaud: The Dhunichak Masjid:

(a) The ruined western wall.

(b) The western wall showing panels.

CXVI. Gaud: The Rajbībī Masjid: The exterior view.

CXVII. (a) Gaud: The Lattan Masjid: A corner mihrāb and arched squinch.

(b) Gaud: Gunmant Masjid: The decorated ceiling showing ribs.

CXVIII. (a) Gaud: Gunmant Masjid: exterior view.

(b) Gaud: Gumtī Gate.

CXIX. Gaud: Fragments from the ruined mosque of Firūz Shāh II at Guāmāltī.

CXX. Gaud: The Lattan Masjid: A corner tower.

CXXI. (a) Gaud: The Lattan Masjid: exterior view.

(b) A typical Bengali.village hut showing verandah in the front.

CXXII. Gaud: The Lattan Masjid: verandah.

CXXIII. Gaud: The Lattan Masjid: view from south-west showing mihrāb projection.

CXXIV. Gaud: The Lattan Masjid: The ceiling.

CXXV. Gaud: The Lattan Masjid:

(a) Sketch by Creighton

(b) Façade before restoration.

CXXVI. (a) Hemtabad (Dinajpur): mosque.

(b) Kusumba (Rajshahī) mosque.

CXXVII. (a) Gaud: The shrine of Qadam Rasūl.

(b) Gaud: The Tomb of Fath Khān.

CXXVIII. (a) Dimapur (Assam): Gateway leading to Kachari enclosure.

(b) Barnagar: Char Bangla Temple.

CXXIX. (a) Agra: The Fort: The Bengali Mahal.

(b) Lahore The Fort: The Bengali Mahal.

CXXX. Gaud: Rajbibi Masjid:

(a) south-west view.

(b) A mihrab niche.

CXXXI. Gaud: The Chhoto Sona Masjid: exterior view.

CXXXII. Gaud: The Chhoto Sona Masjid: a mihrab showing the zenana gallery.

CXXXIII. Gaud: The Chhoto Sona Masjid: The broken western wall.

CXXXIV. Gaud: The Chhoto Sona Masjid:

(a) Broken hut shaped roof.

(b) The northern prayer hall showing the zenana gallery.

CXXXV. Gaud: The Chhoto Sona Masjid: The aisle.

CXXXVI. Gaud: The Chhoto Sona Masjid:

(a) Fragments of Hindu sculpture with Muslim decoration on the reverse.

(b) The prayer hall sketch by Creighton.

CXXXVII. Gaud: The Chhoto Sona Masjid:

(a) Sketch by Creighton.

(b) exterior view before restoration.

CXXXVIII. A mihrāb in the Royal Scottish National Museum, presumably from the Chhoto Sonā Masjid.

CXXXIX. Gaud:

(a) The Bāra Sonā Masjid: exterior view.

(b) The Chhoto Sonā Masjid: showing entrance porch to the zenana gallery.

CXL. Gaud:

(a) The Lattan Masjid: The vestibule.

(b) The Bāra Sonā Masjid: veranda.

CXLI. Gaud: The Bāra Sonā Masjid: one of the gates.

CXLII. Gaud: The Bāra Sonā Masjid: one of the gates.

CXLIII. Gaud: The Bāra Sonā Masjid:

(a) one of the gates.

(b) Southern side.

CXLIV. Gaud: The Bāra Sonā Masjid: The prayer hall.

CXLV. Gaud: The Bāra Sonā Masjid:

(a) prayer hall before restoration looking south:

(b) prayer hall before restoration looking north.

CXLVI. Gaud:

(a) The Tomb of Alaul Huq: gateway.

(b) Gaud: The Jahāniya Masjid.

CXLVII. (a) Fragments of Hindu sculpture from the British Museum probably of Brahmāni on the obverse - sketch by Creighton No. XVIII.

(b) Islamic stone carving on the reverse - sketch by Creighton - No. XVIII. Bridge Collection, British Museum, 1872, 7-1, 42.

CXLVIII (a) Fragments of Buddhist sculpture - Buddha on the obverse.

(b) Islamic stone carving on the reverse, recalling that of CXLVII b.

Fig. 1.

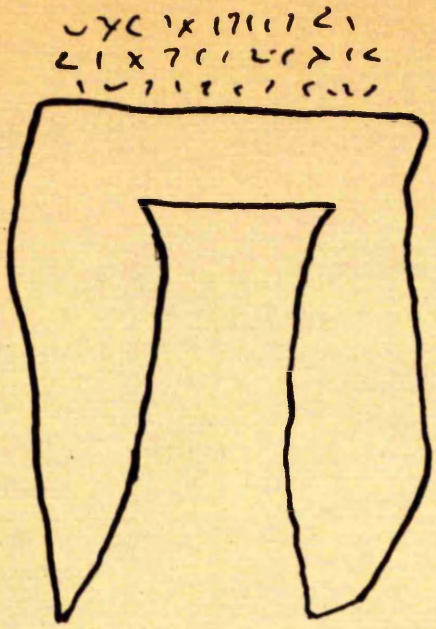


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

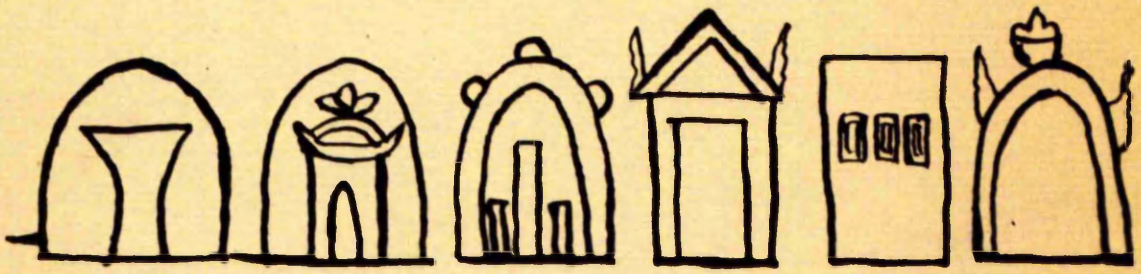


Fig. 3

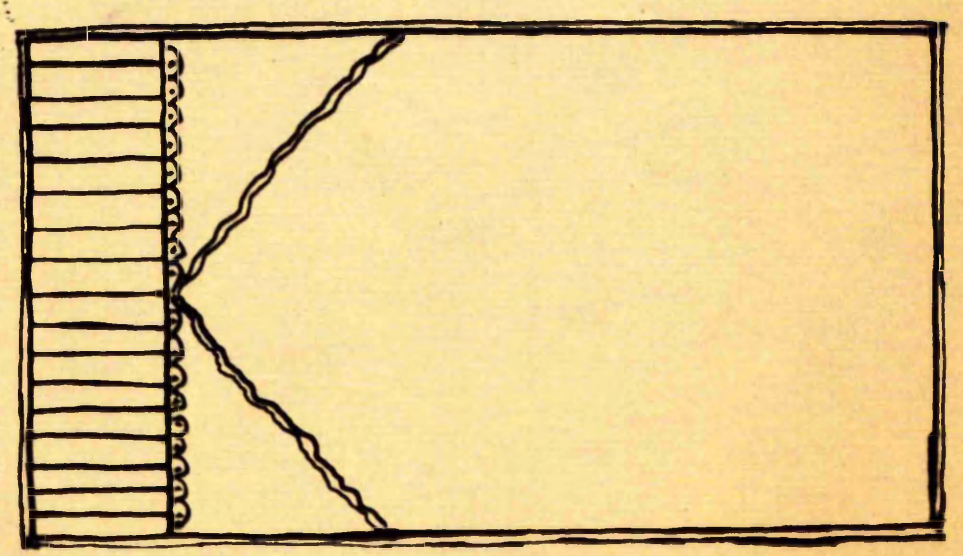
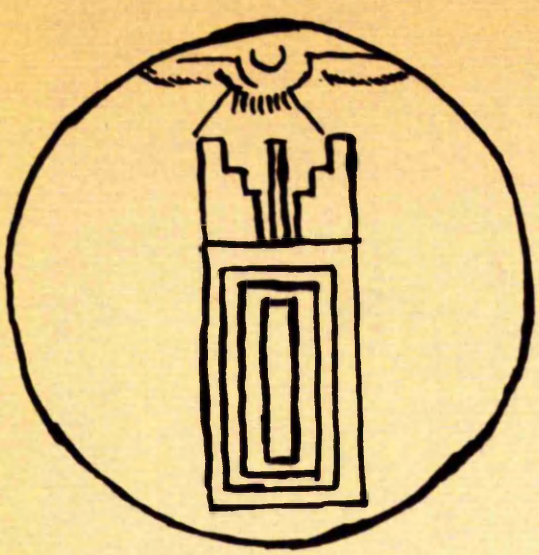


Fig. 4.

SMH.

Fig. 2.



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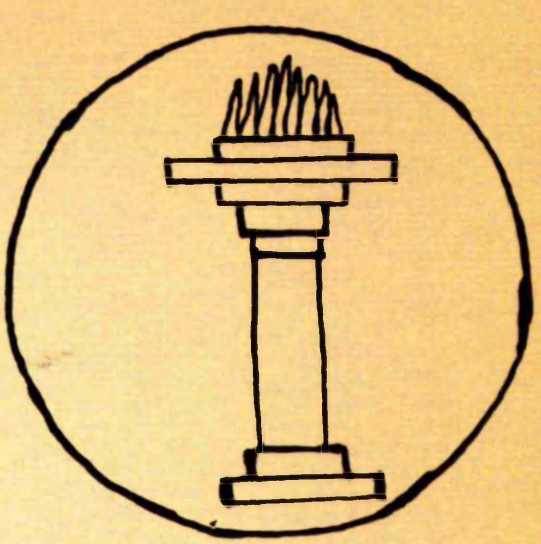


Fig. 6.

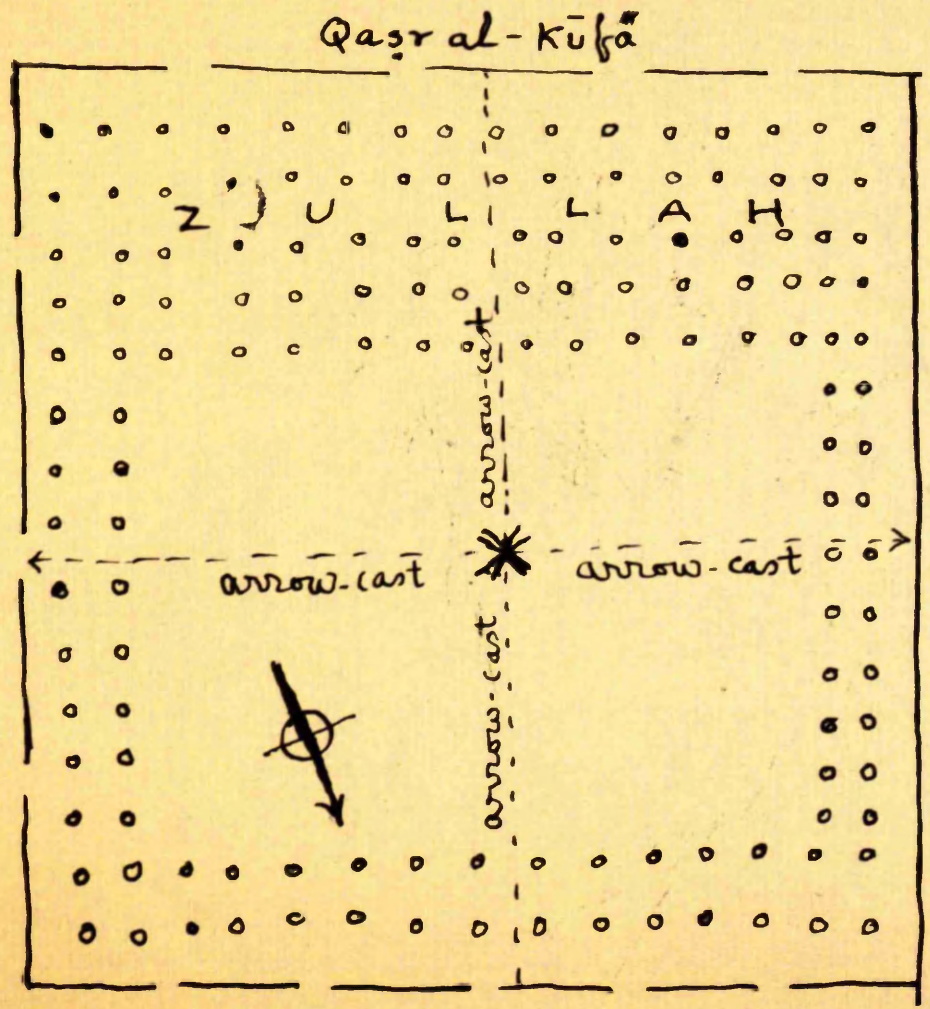
Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

S.M.H.

Fig. 9.

Fi



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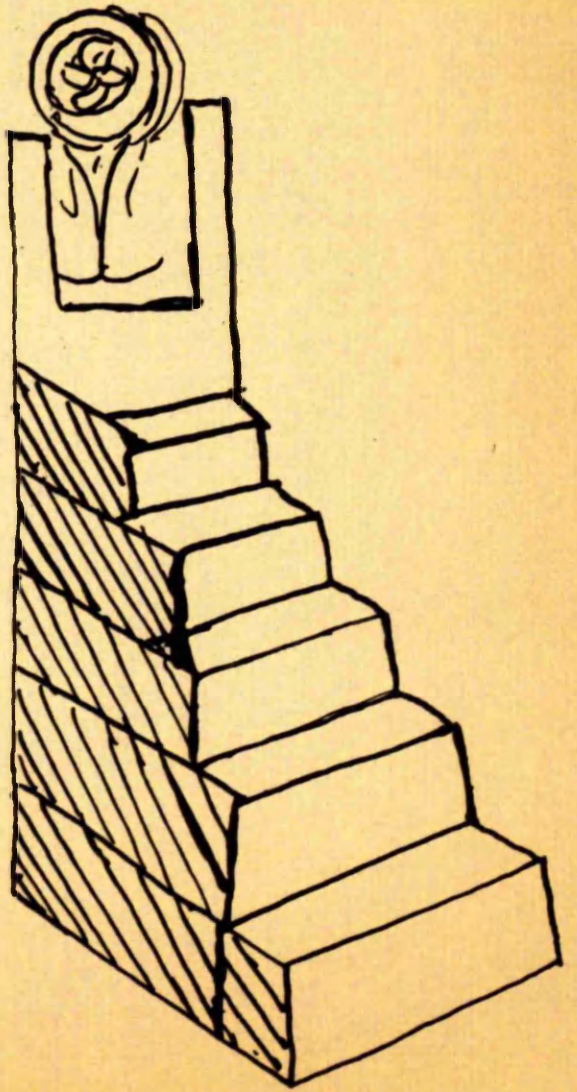

Fig. 12

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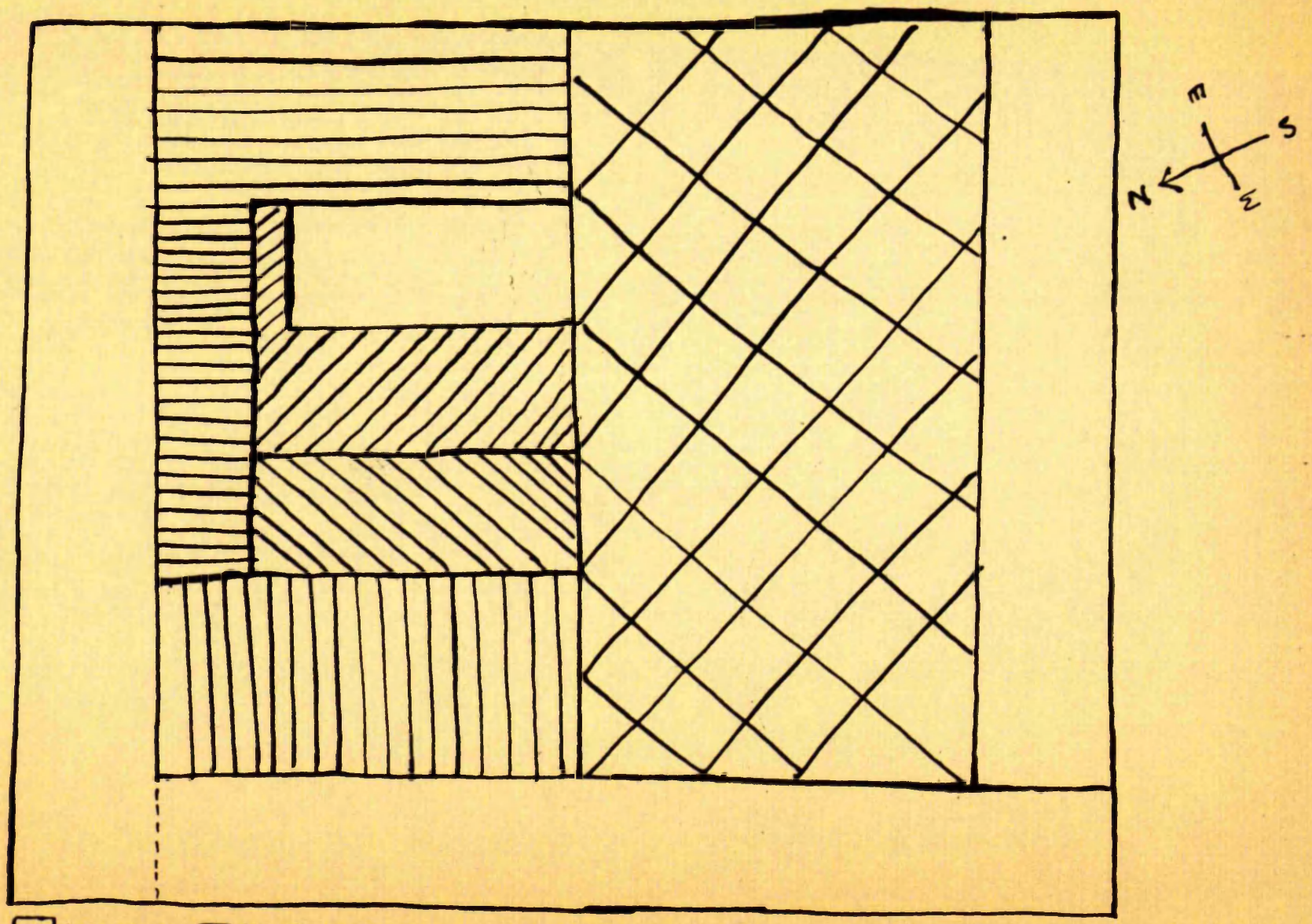
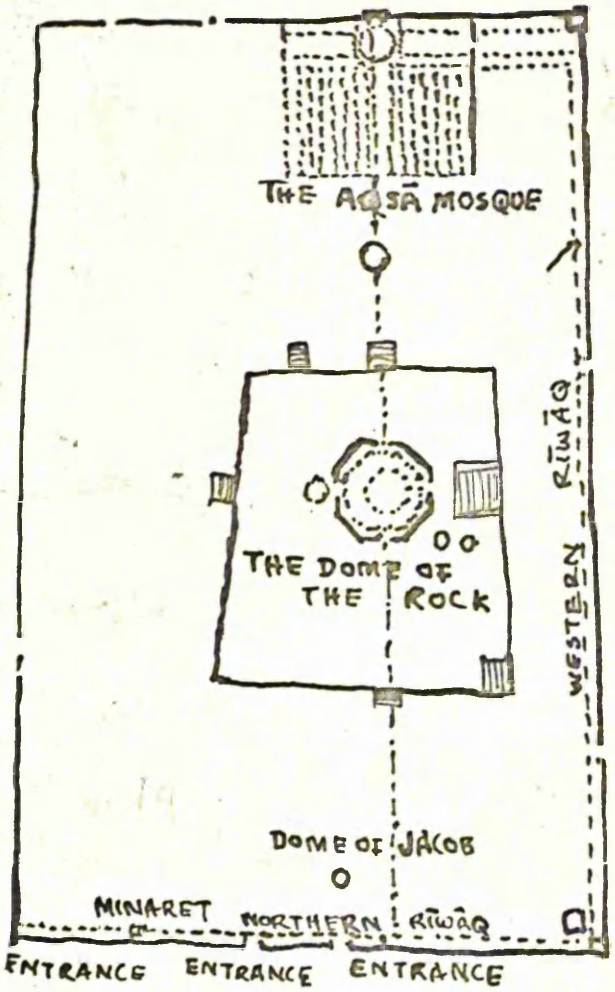


ORIGINAL ADDITION OF AH. 53 OF AH. 79 OF AH. 93 OF A.H. 133
OF A.H. 212

Fig. 13.

S.M.H. 41



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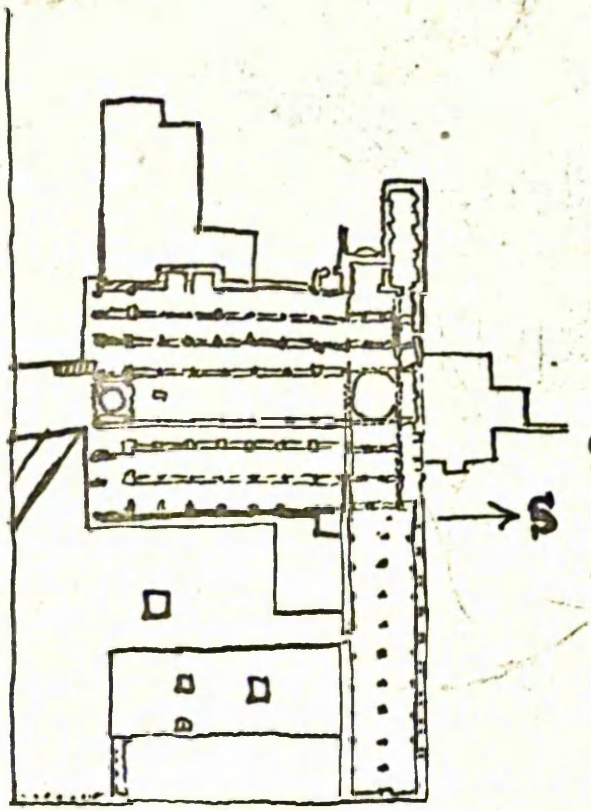

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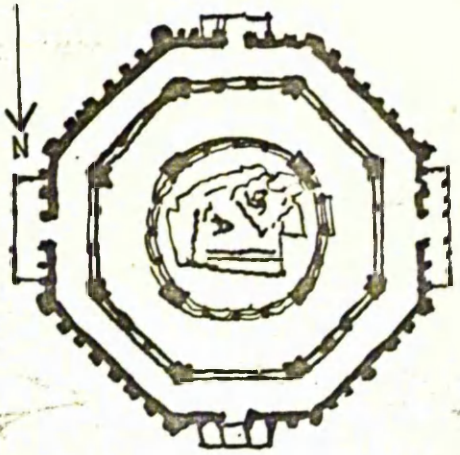
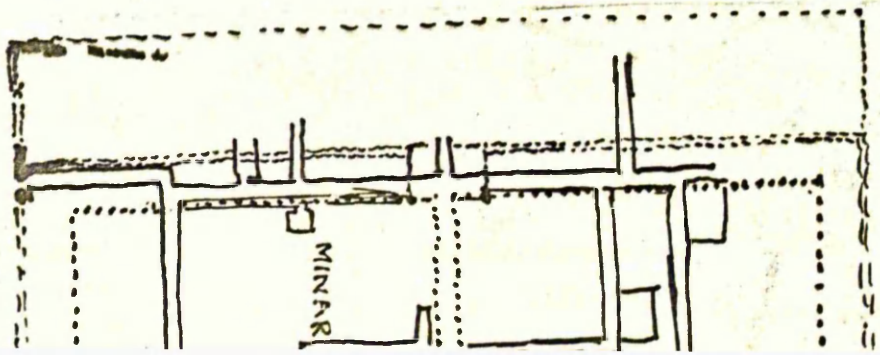
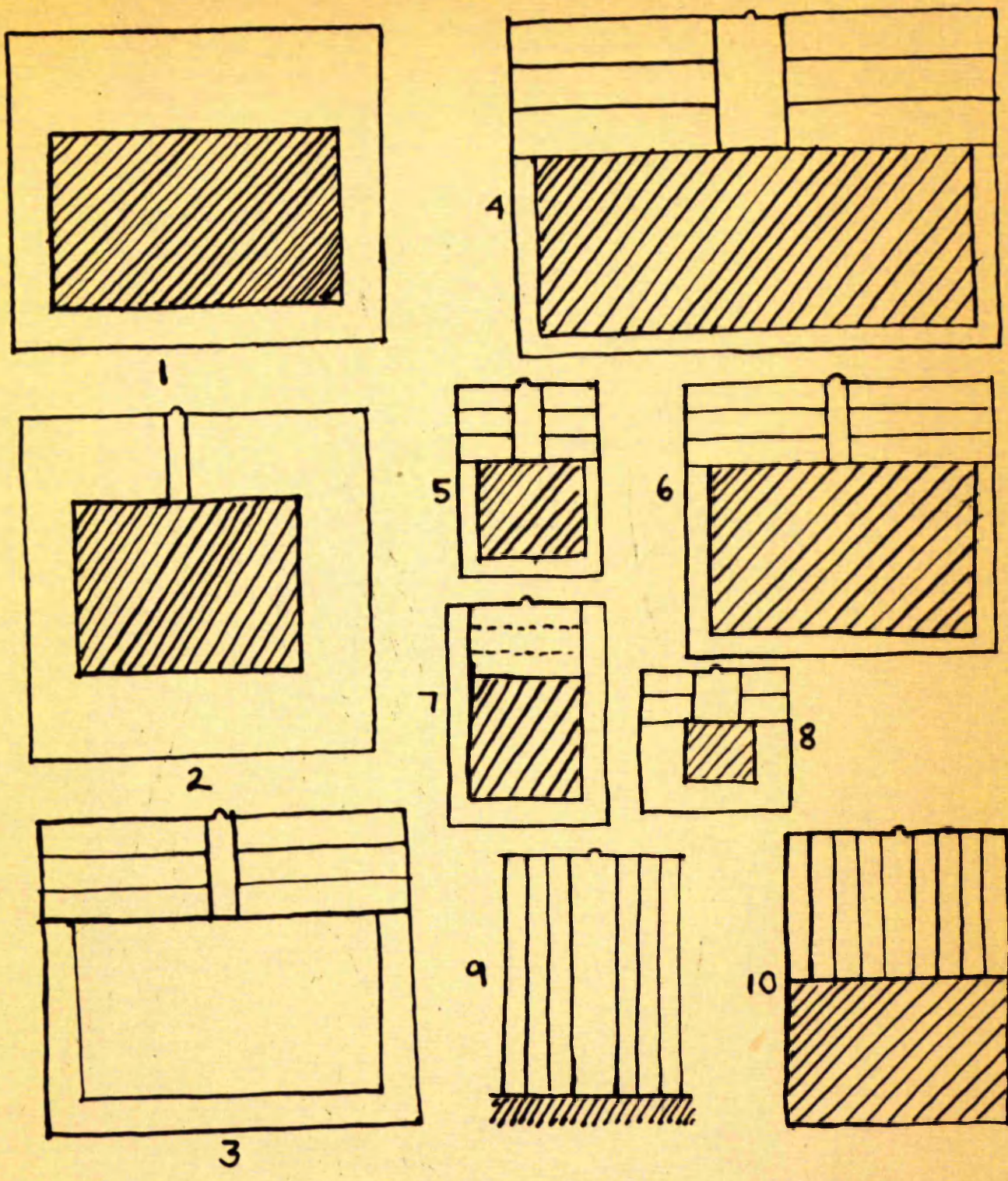


Fig. 14.

S.M.H





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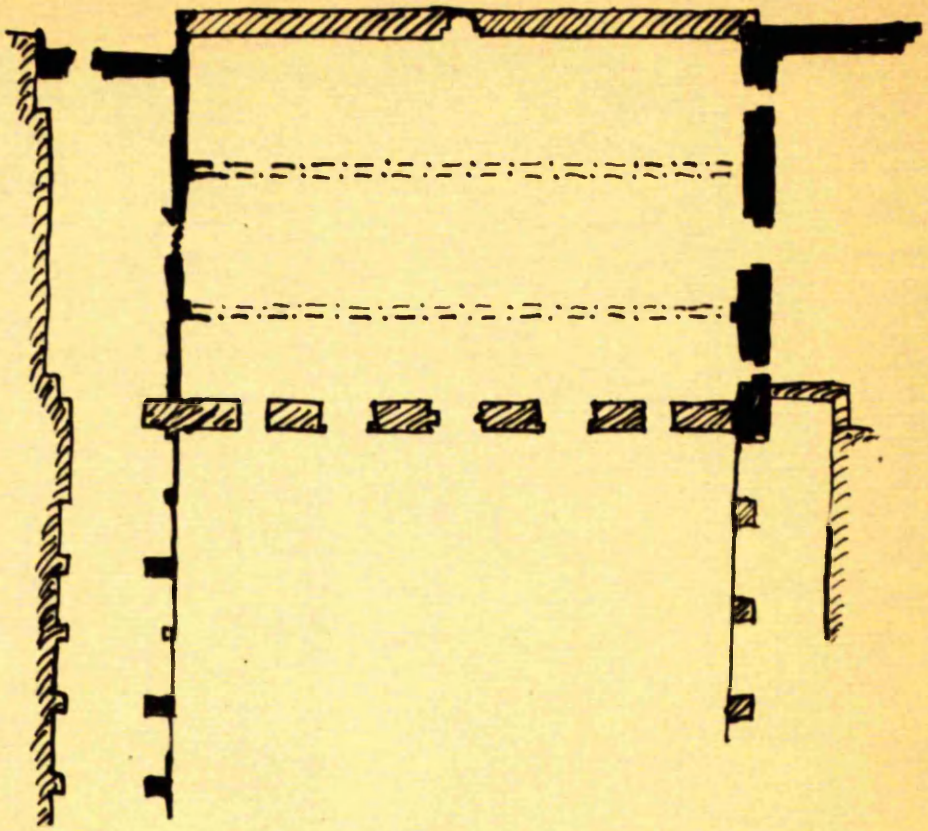

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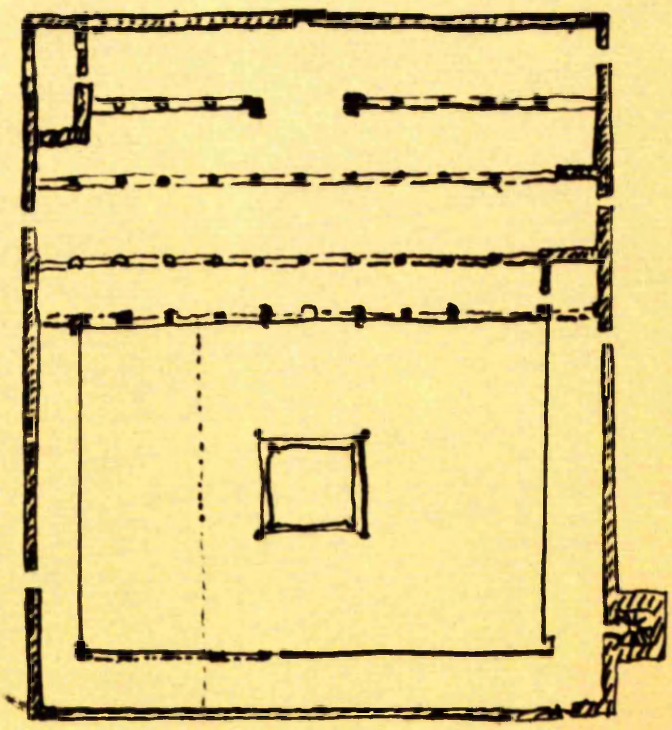

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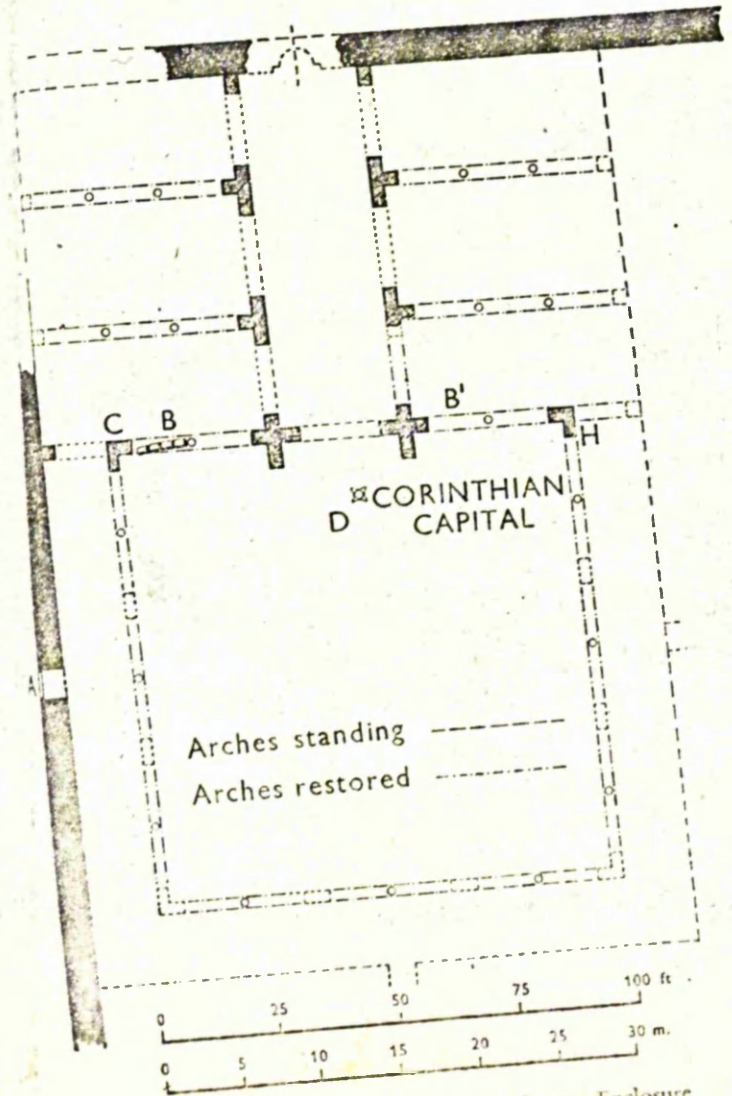


Figure 20. Qasr al-Hair: Mosque in Greater Enclosure

Fig. 21.

Fig. 21.

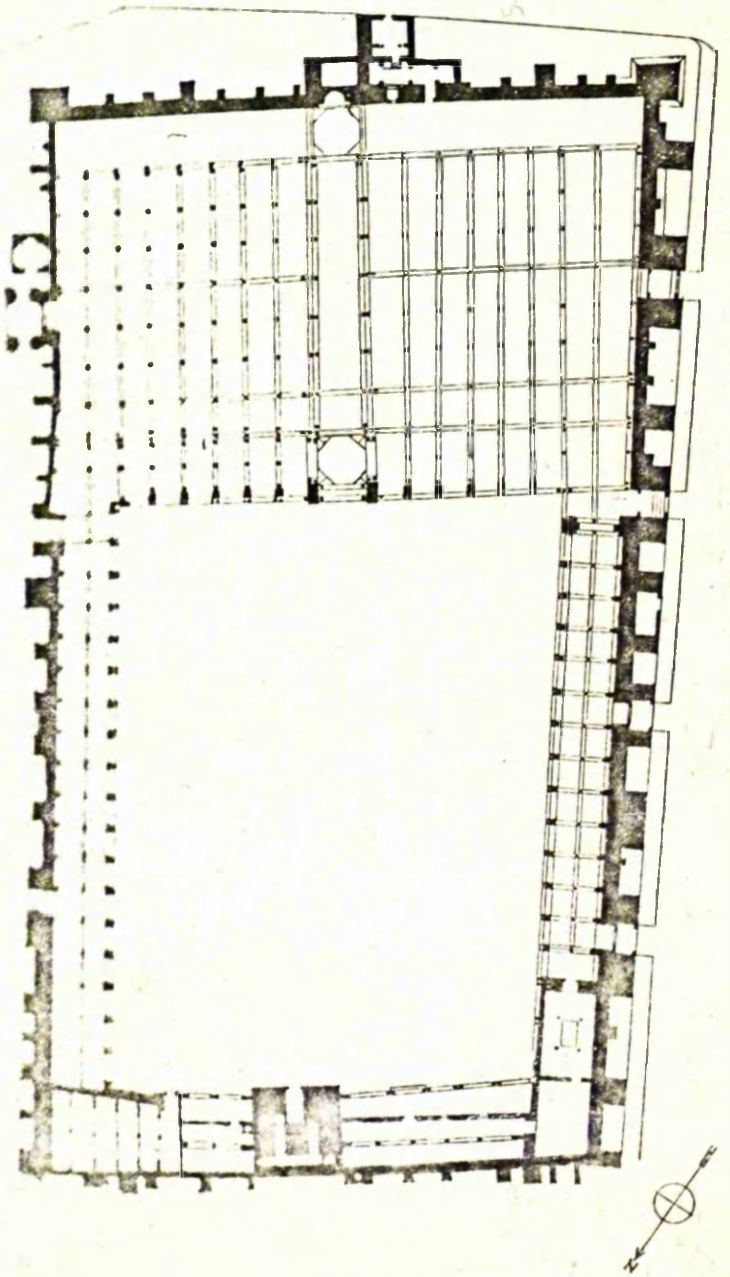
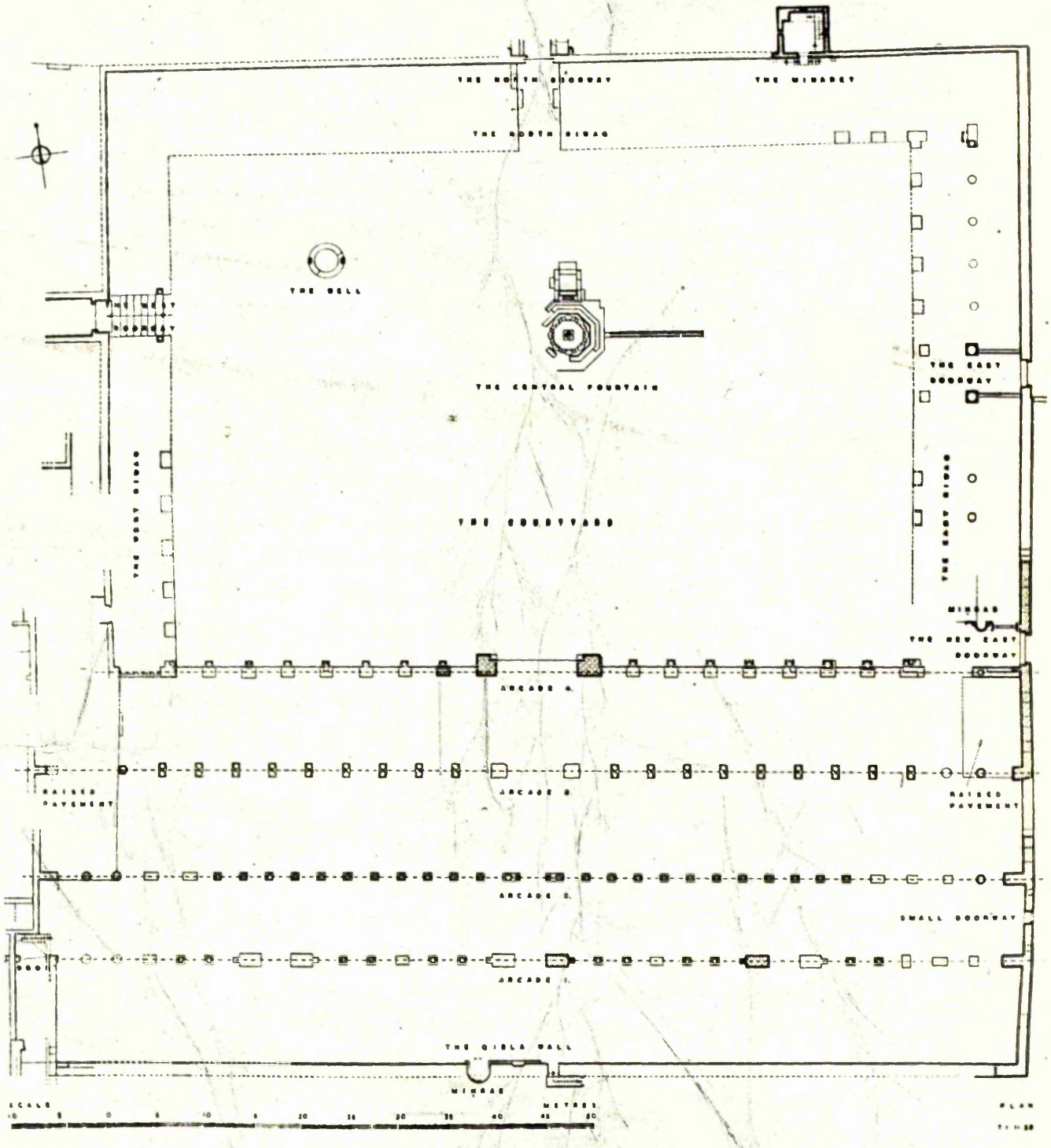


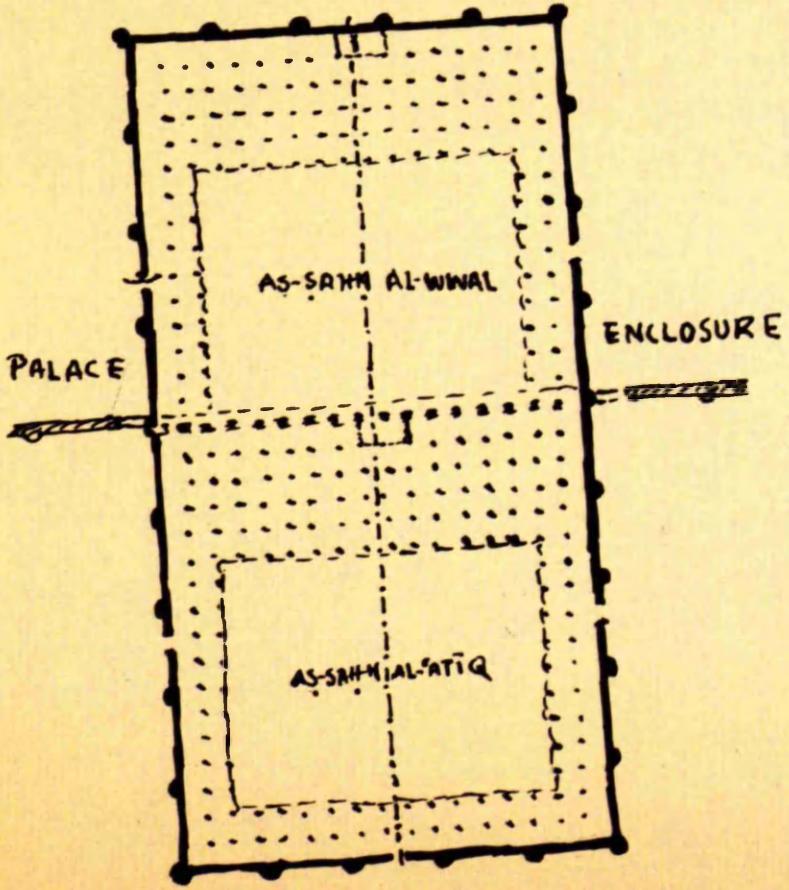
Fig. 22.

Fig. 22.



Architecture. Harran. Great Mosque, ground plan.

Fig. 23.



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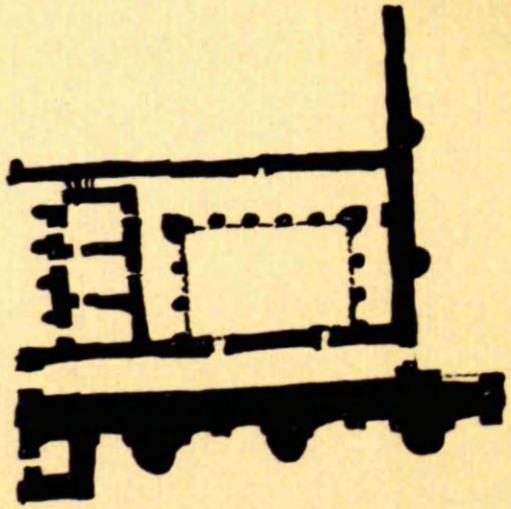

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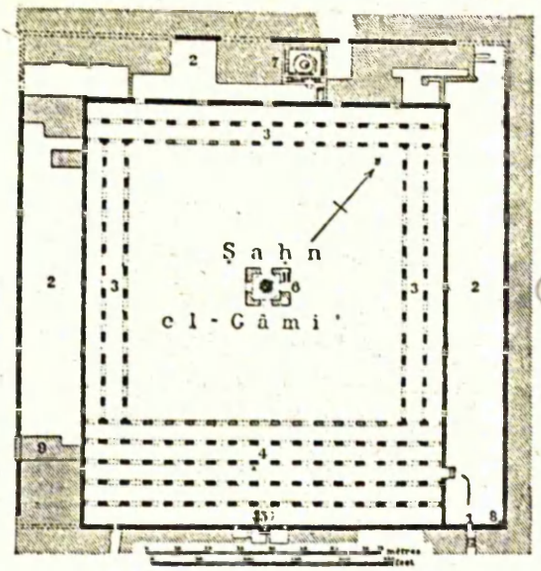


1. Haupteingang. 2. Außenhöfe. 3. Liwâne. 4. Hauptliwân. 5. Gebetnische und Kanzel. 6. Kuppelbau mit Brunnen. 7. Großes Minarett. 8. Kleines Minarett. 9. Sebil späterer Zeit.

Abb. 48. Kairo, Dschamiʿ ibn Ṭūlūn
(nach Bädeker).

Abb. 49. Raqqā, Große Moschee
(nach Sarre Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise).

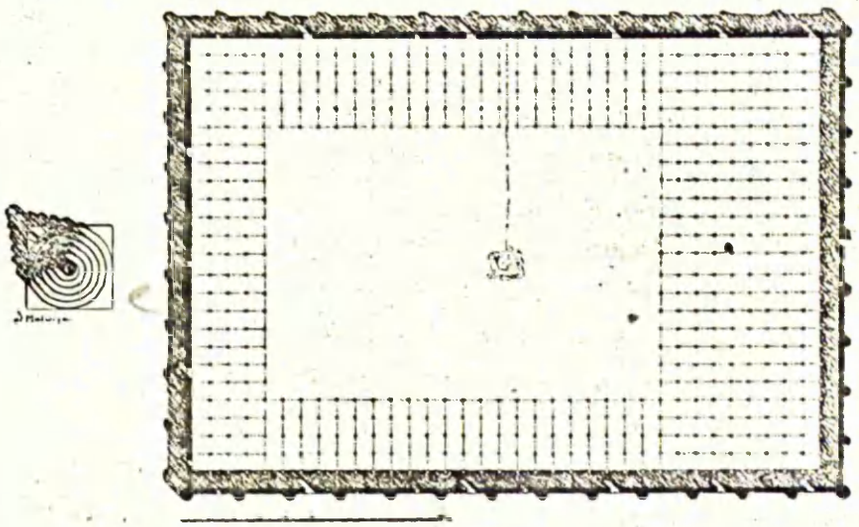


Abb. 50. Samarra, Große Moschee (die Ringe bedeuten Pfeiler nicht Säulen)
(nach Sarre-Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise).

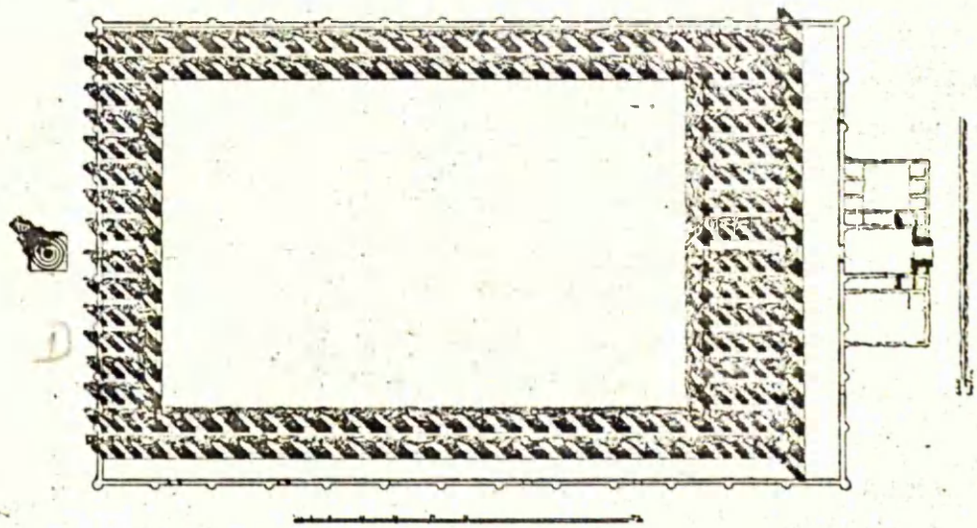


Abb. 51. Samarra, Moschee Abū Dilif im Stadtteil Mutawakkilija
(nach Sarre-Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise).

Fig. 26.

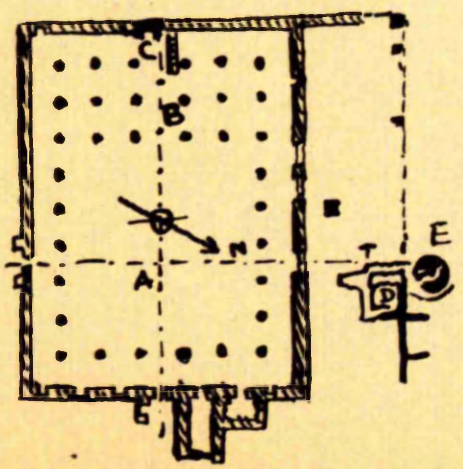


Fig. 27.

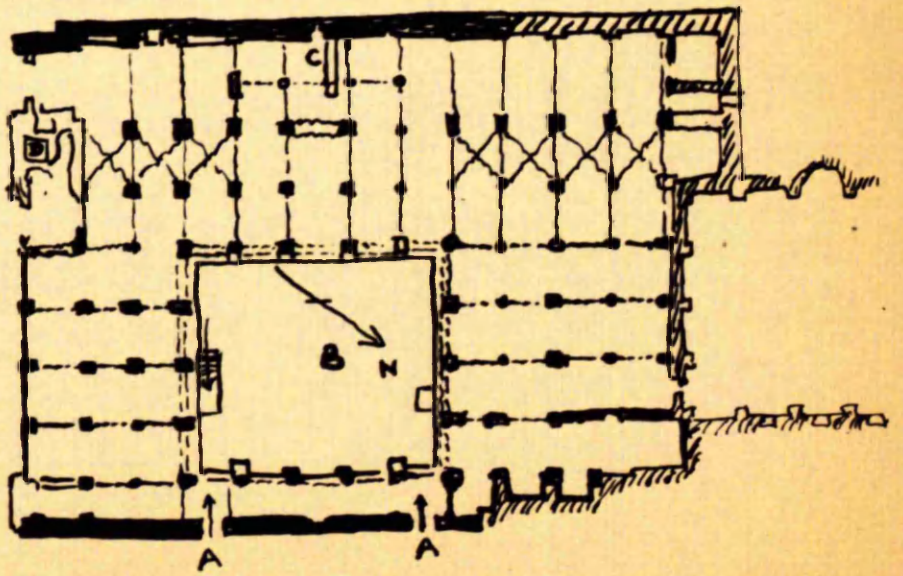


Fig. 28.

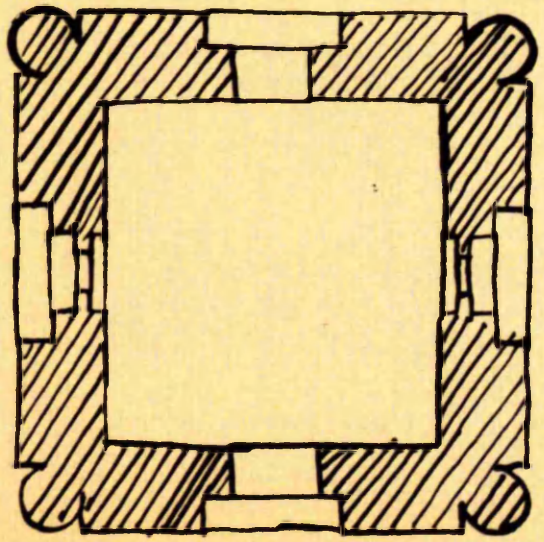


Fig. 29.

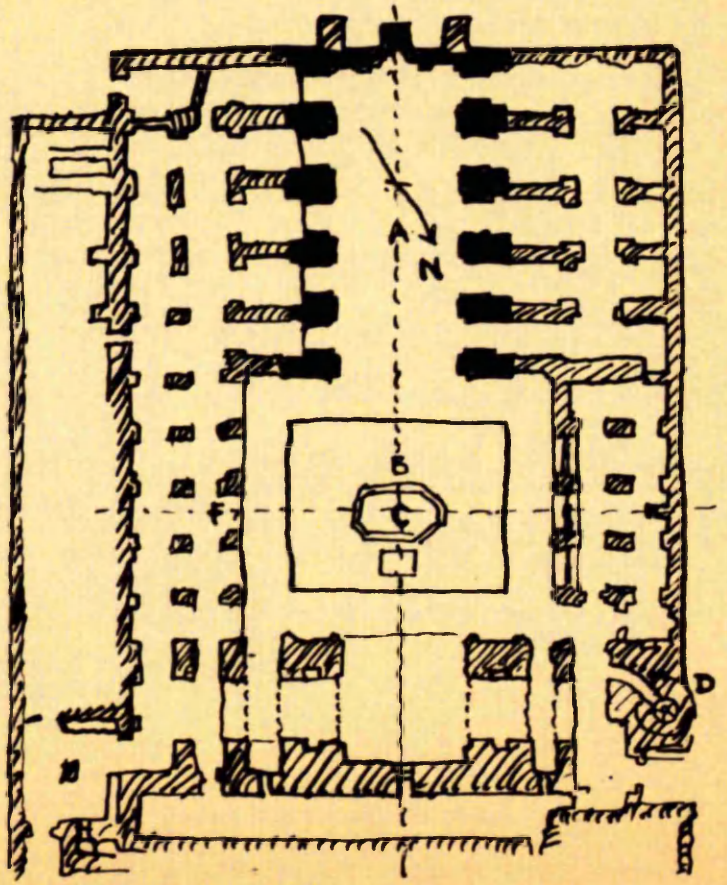


Fig. 30.

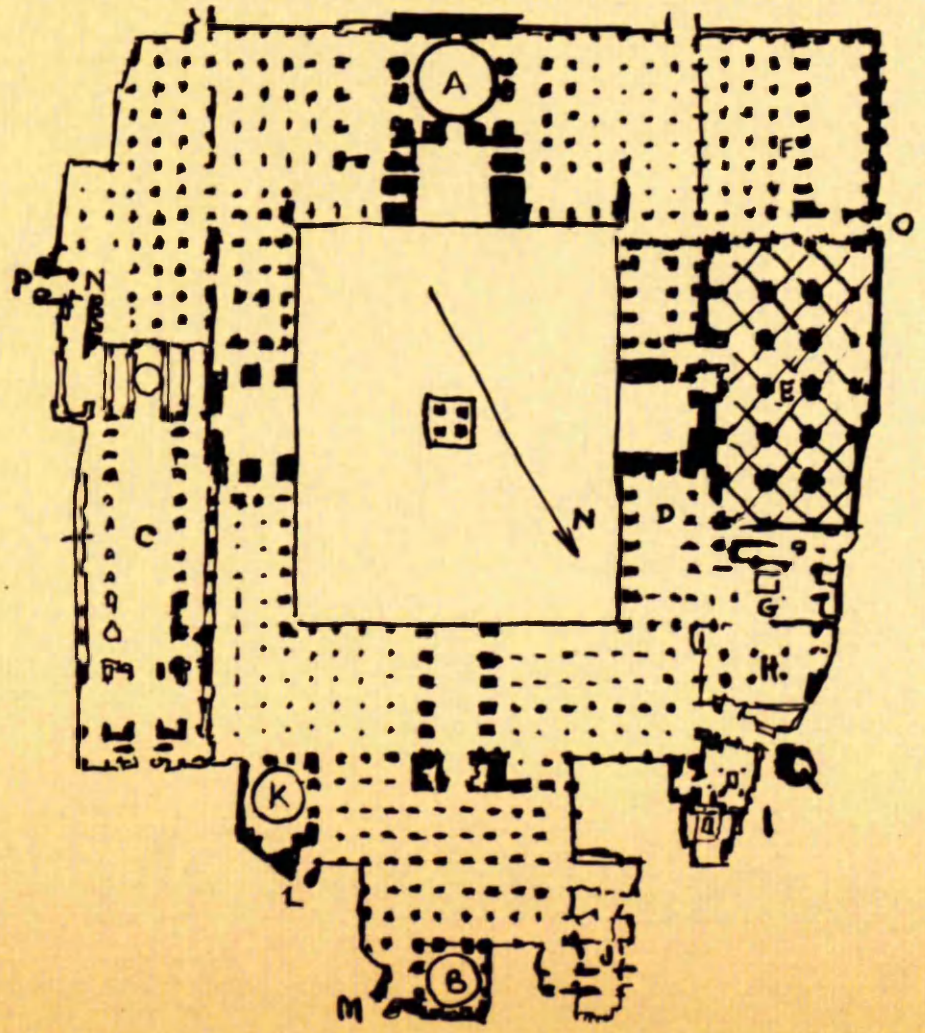


Fig. 31.

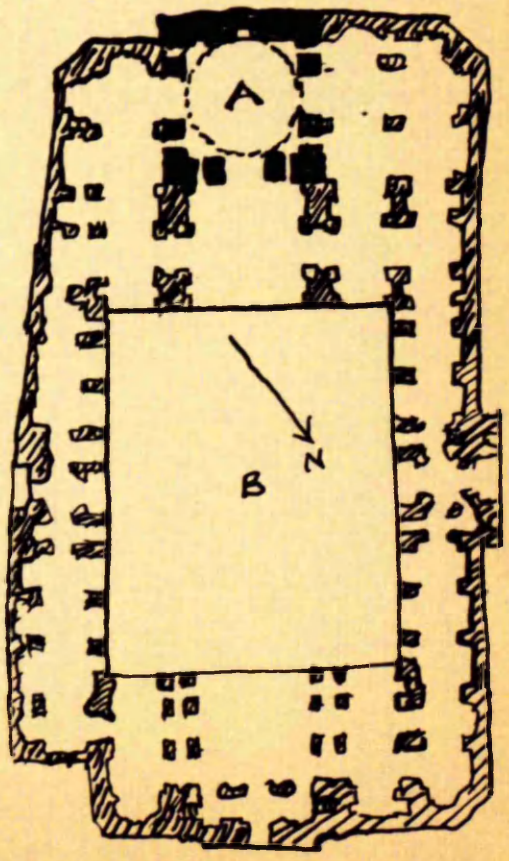


Fig. 32.

S.N.H.

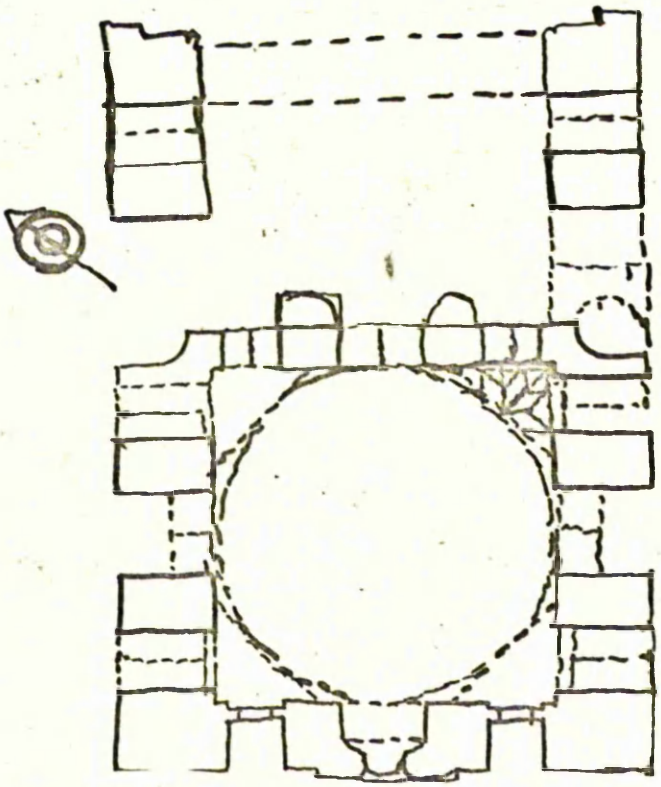


Fig. 33.

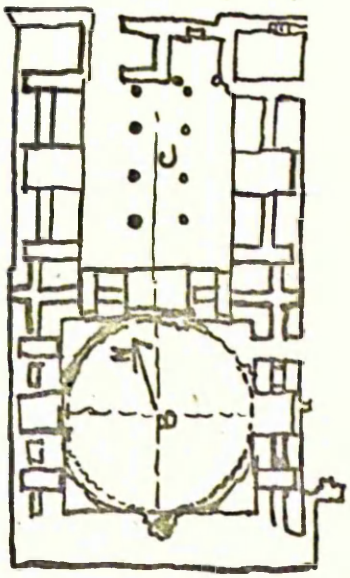
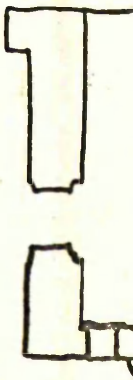


Fig. 34.



Fig

S.M.H.

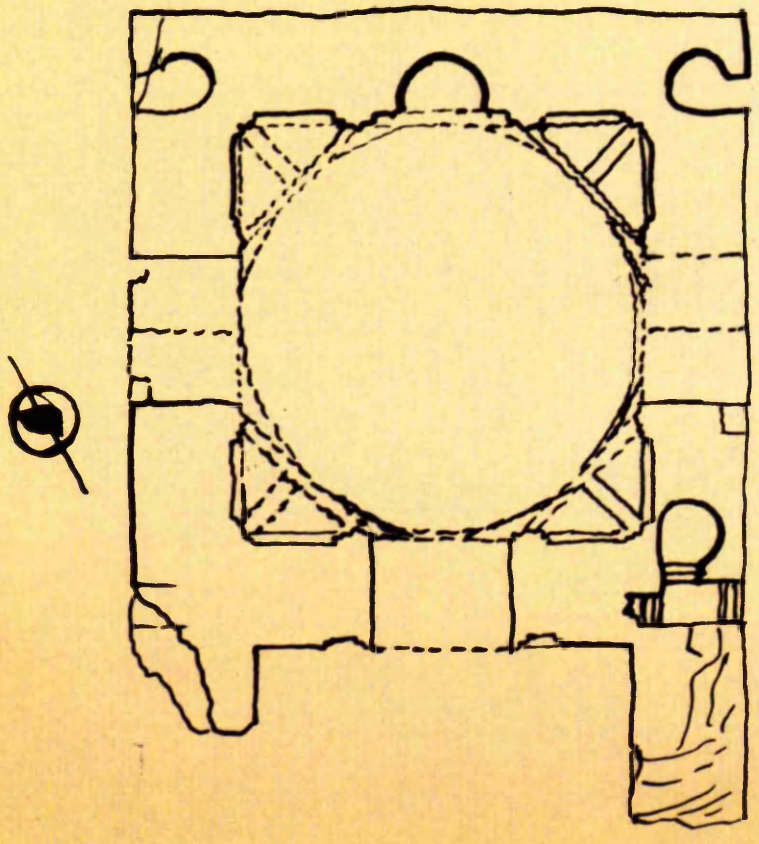


Fig. 36.

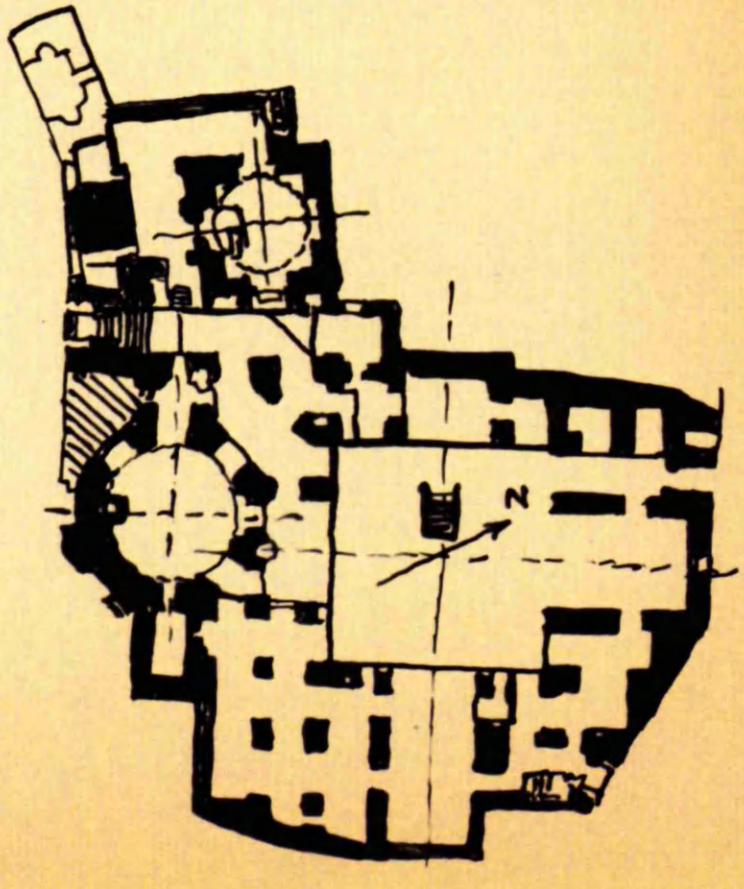


Fig. 37.

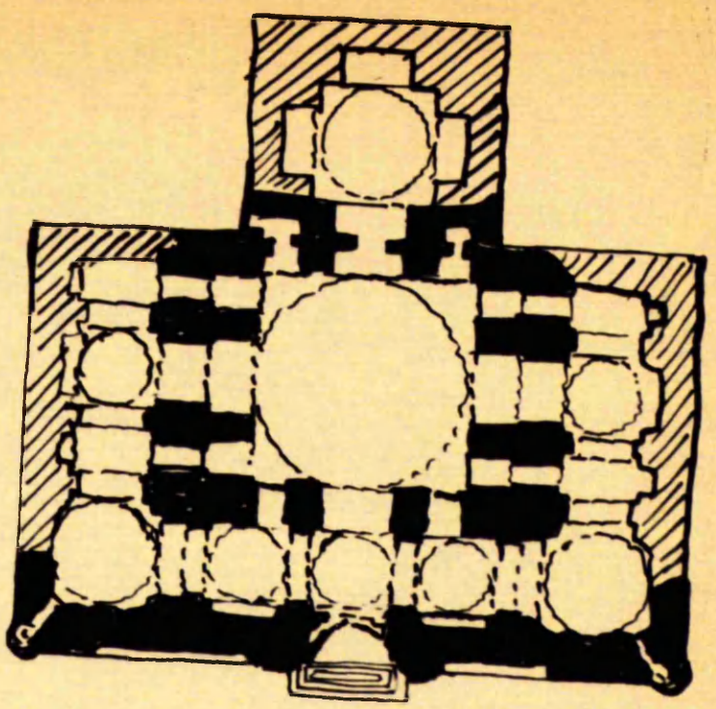


Fig. 38.

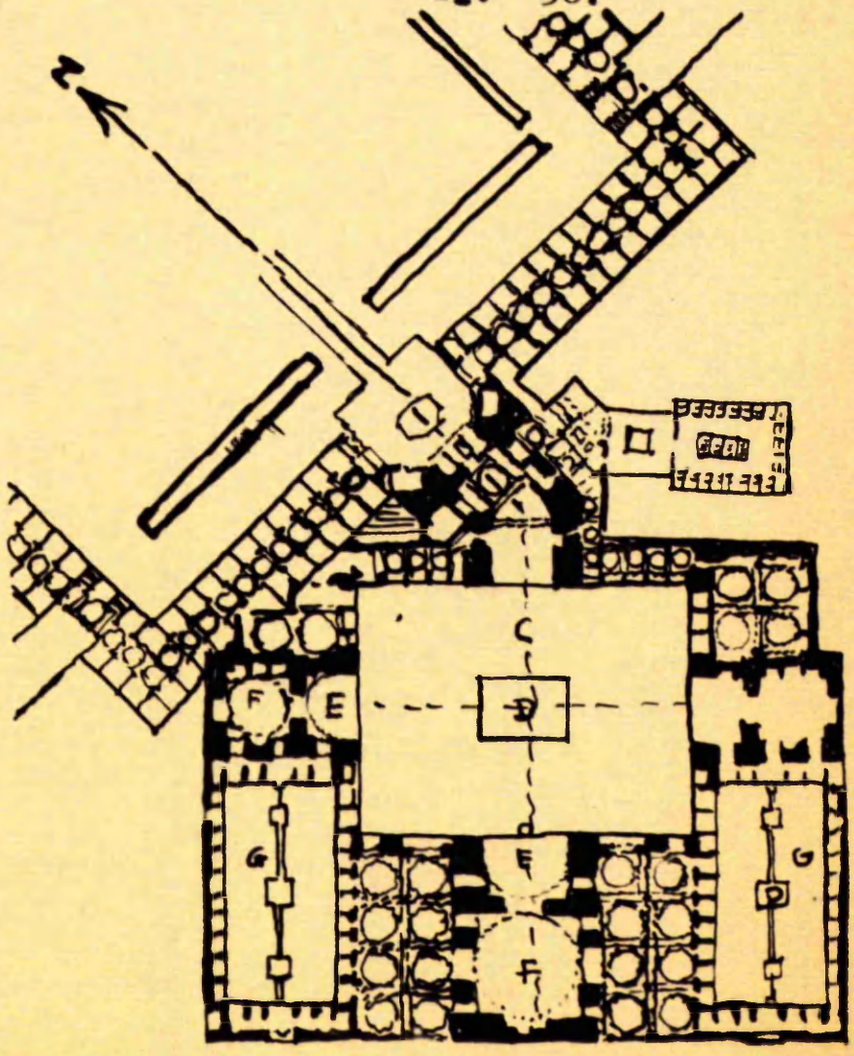
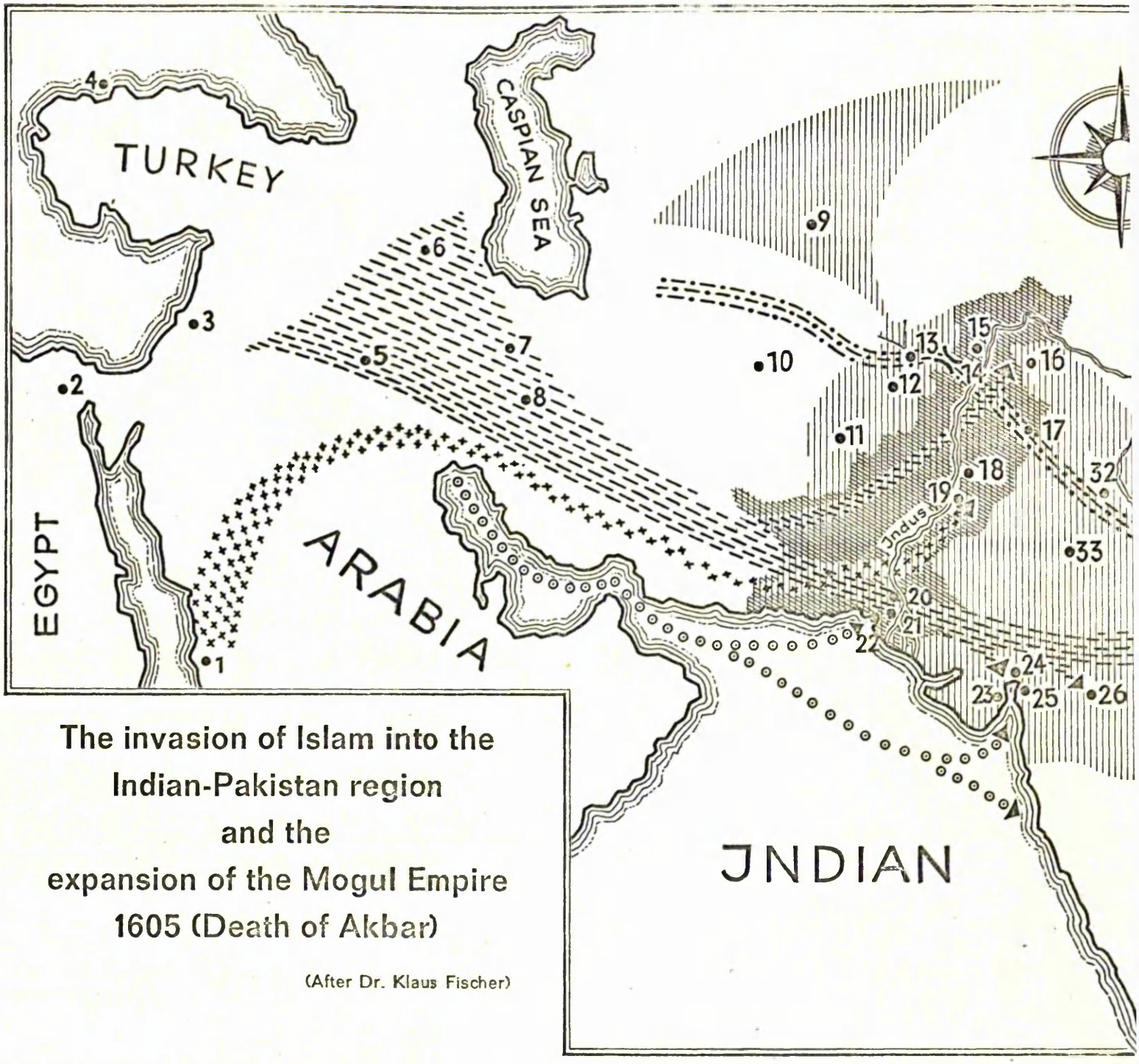


Fig. 39.

S.H.H.



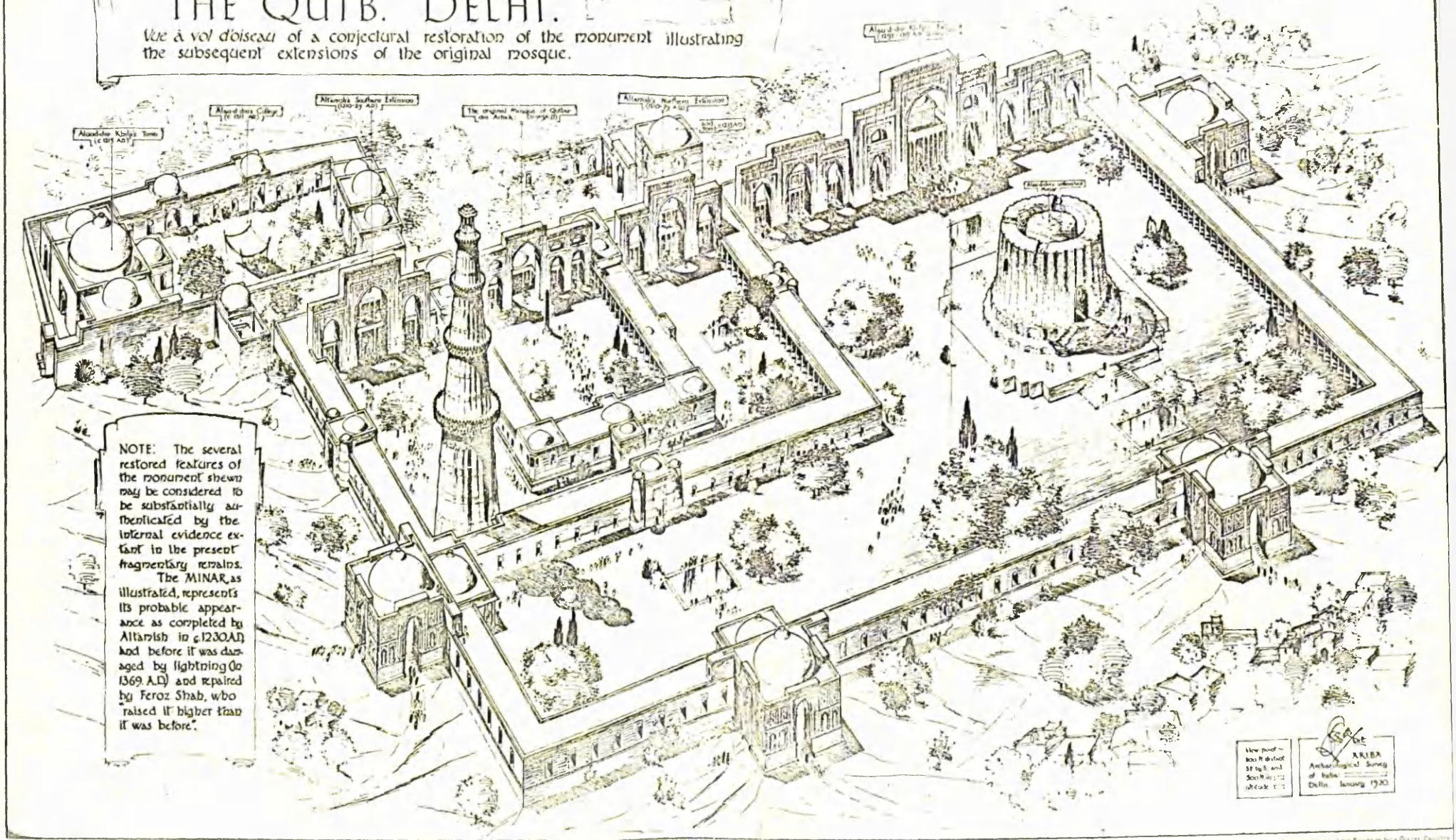
The invasion of Islam into the Indian-Pakistan region and the expansion of the Mogul Empire 1605 (Death of Akbar)

(After Dr. Klaus Fischer)

Fig. 40

THE QUTB: DELHI.

Vue à vol d'oiseau of a conjectural restoration of the monument illustrating the subsequent extensions of the original mosque.



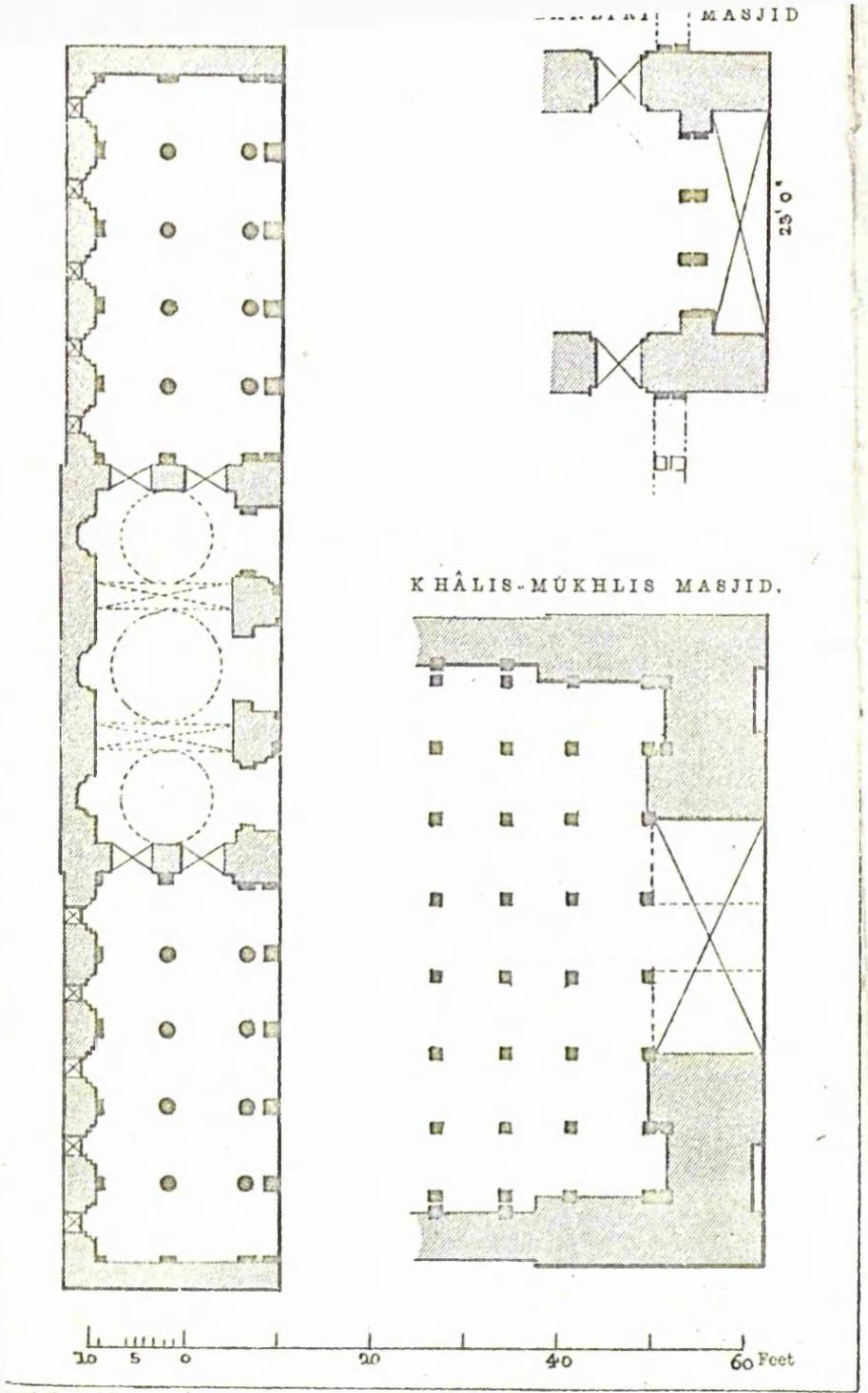
NOTE: The several restored features of the monument shewn may be considered to be substantially authenticated by the internal evidence extant in the present fragmentary remains.

The MINAR, as illustrated, represents its probable appearance as completed by Altamish in c 1230 A.D. and before it was damaged by lightning (in 1369 A.D.) and repaired by Feroz Shah, who "raised it higher than it was before".

View point — top N distant ... ft by E. and ... ft by ... altitude ...

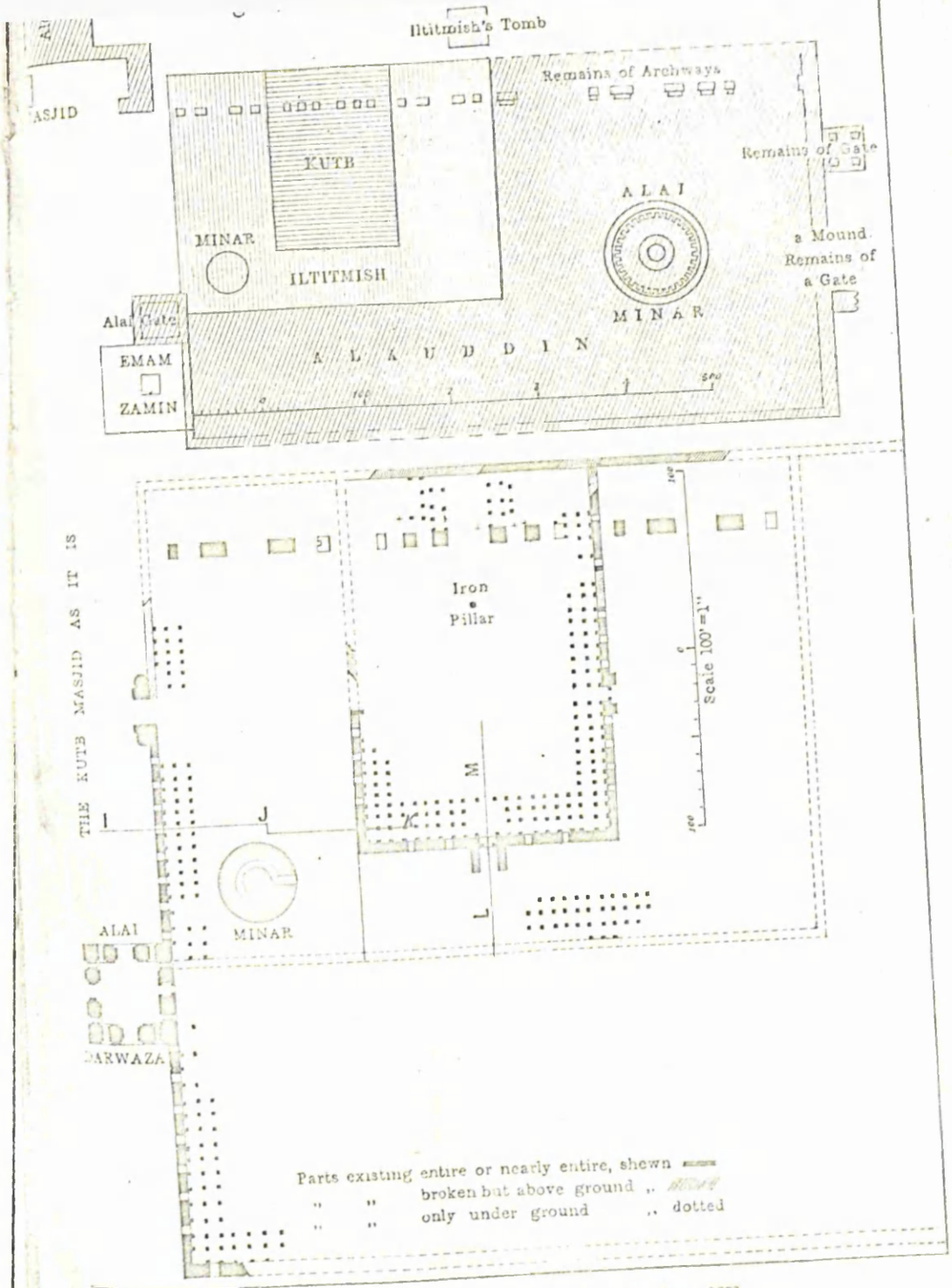
A.R.I.B.A.
Archaeological Survey of India
Delhi January 1920

Fig. 41.



unningham, del. Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

Fig. 42.



T. D. Beglar, del. Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Calcutta, June 1873.

Fig. 43.

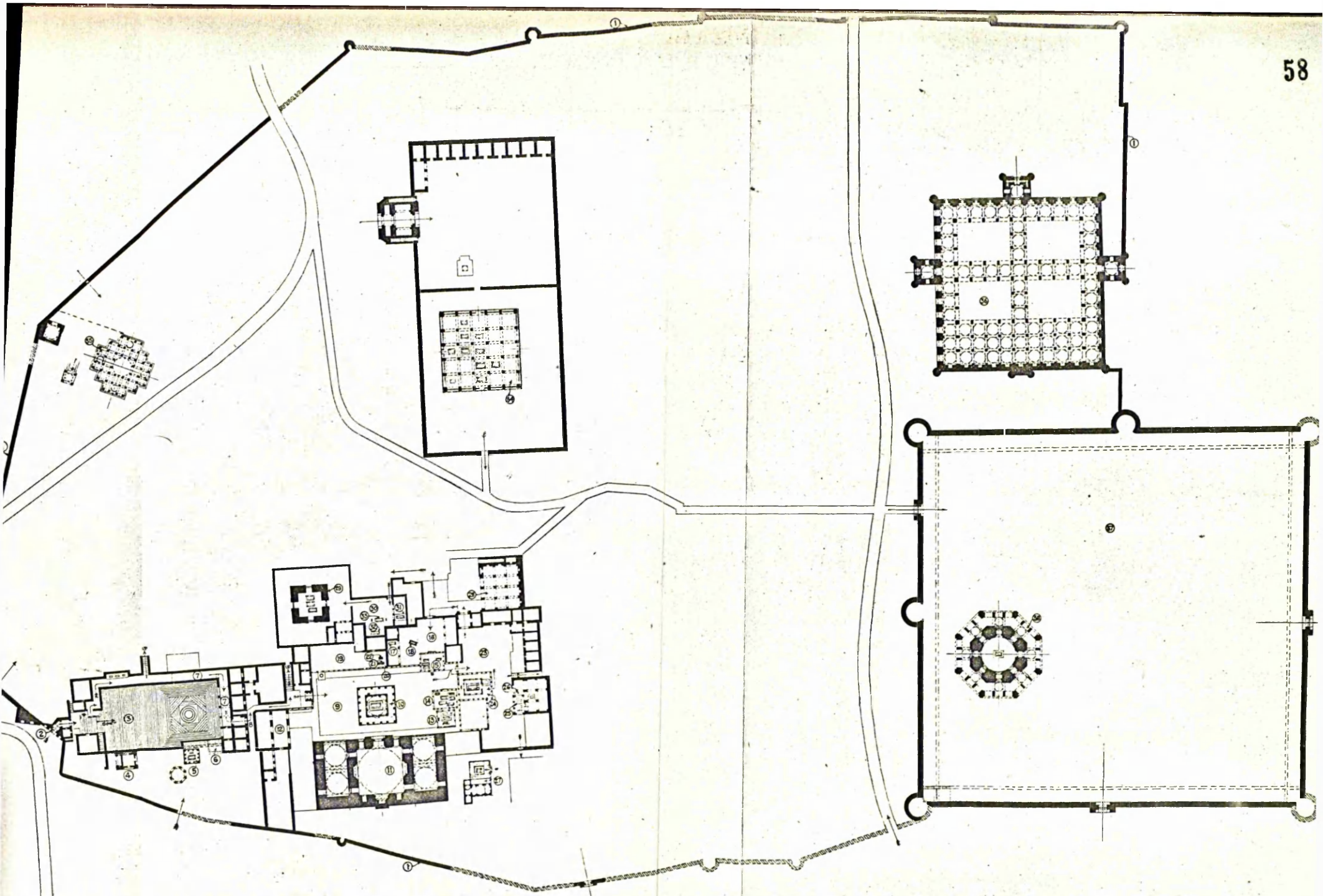
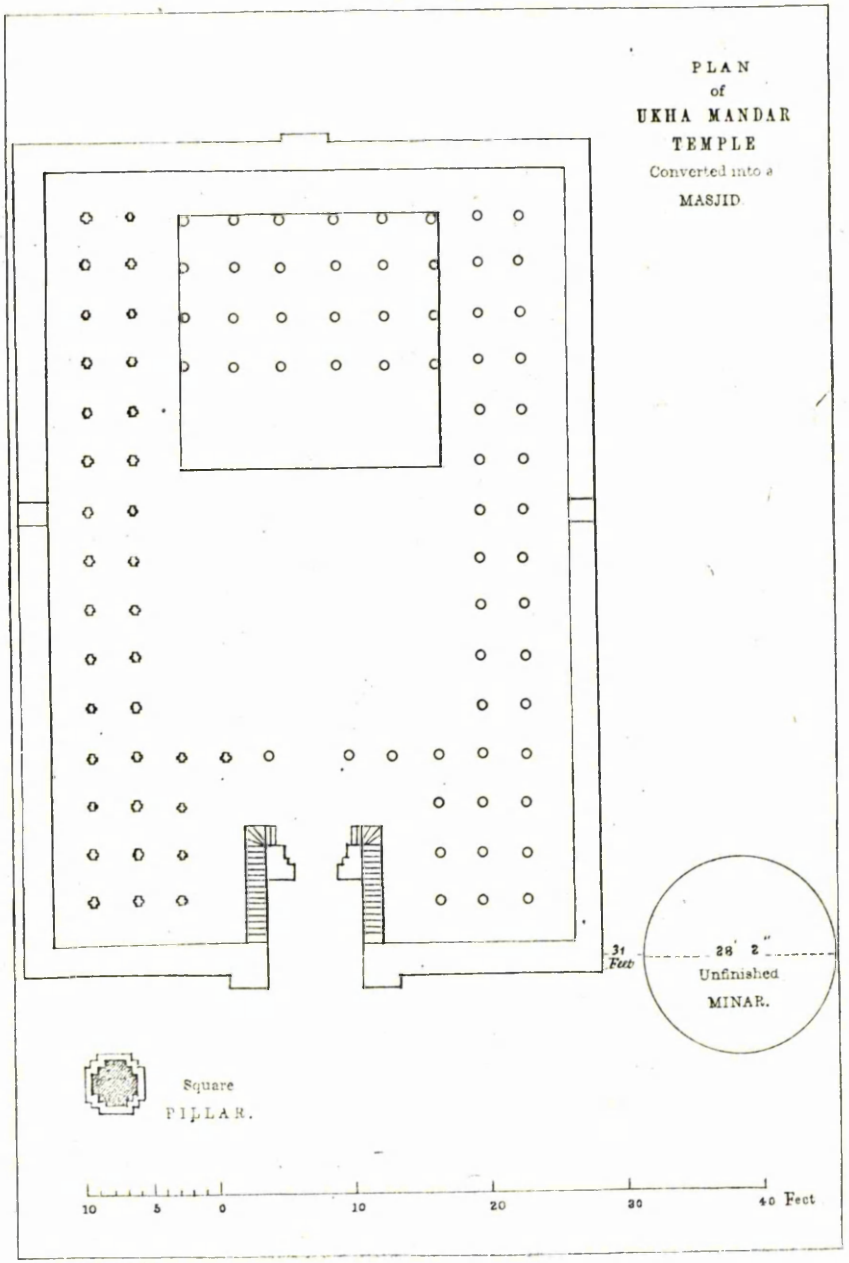


Fig. 44

BAIANA. PLATE IV.

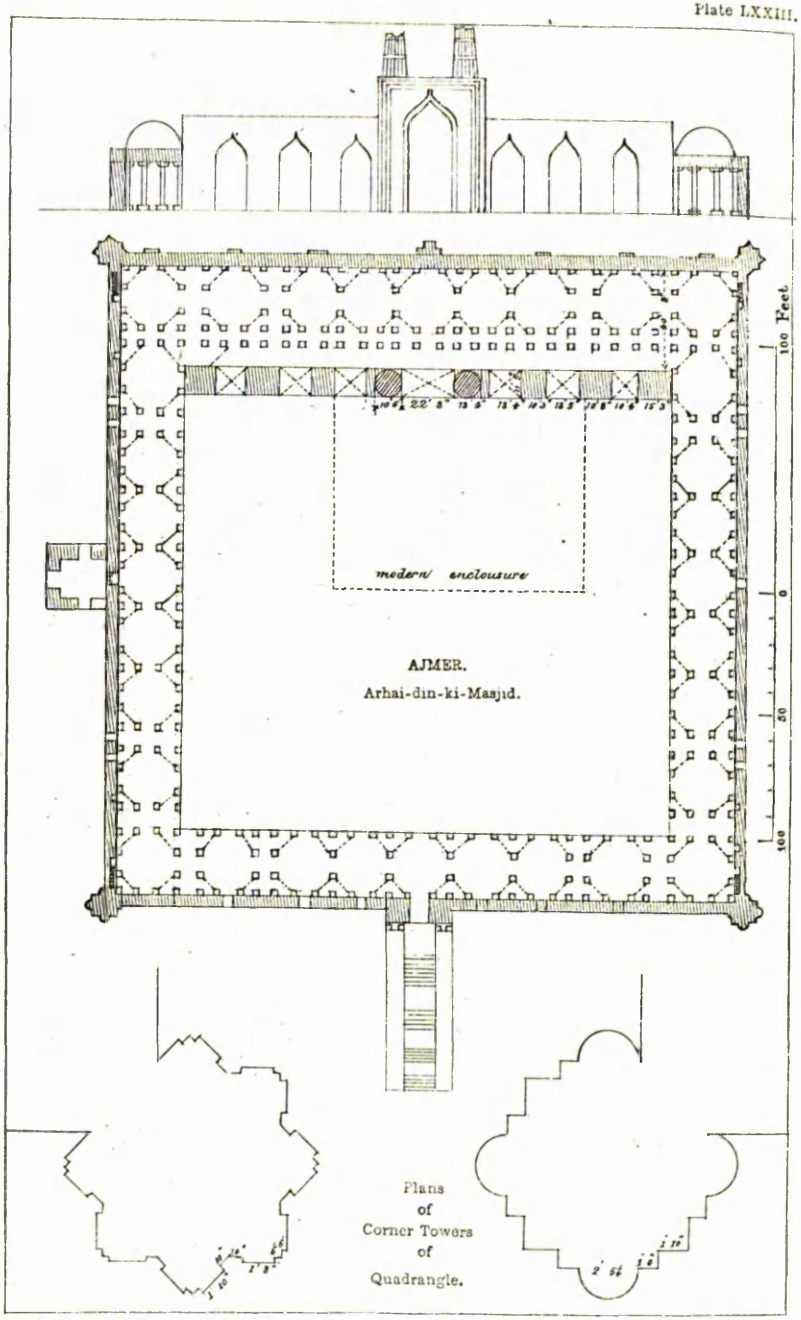


A. C. L. Carlleyle, del

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877

Fig. 45.

Plate LXXIII.



A Cunningham del: Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office. Cal. November 1871

Fig. 46.

BADAUN- JAMI MASJID.

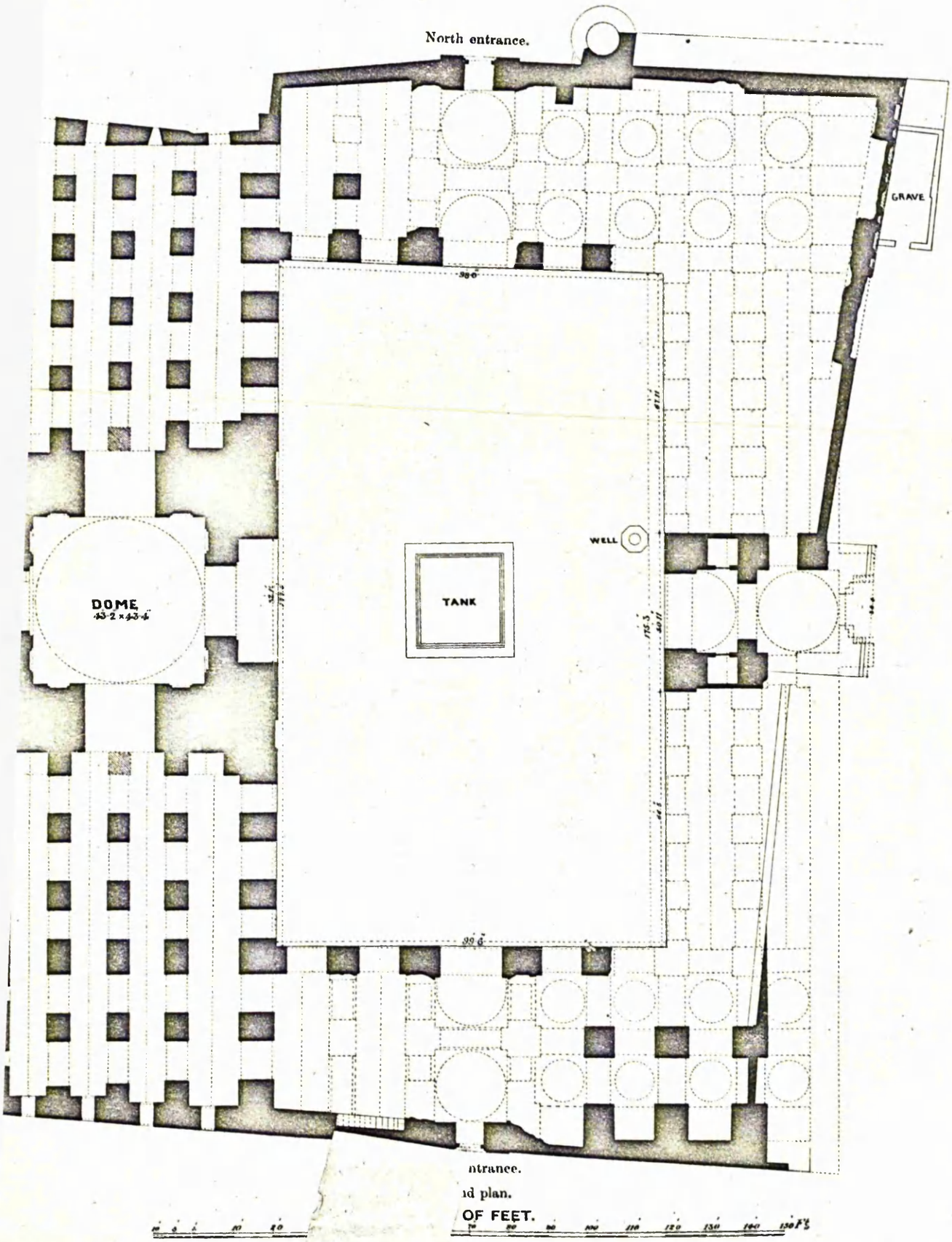


Fig. 47

HELIO S. I. O. CALCUTTA

Edmd. W. Smith
1888

Plate II

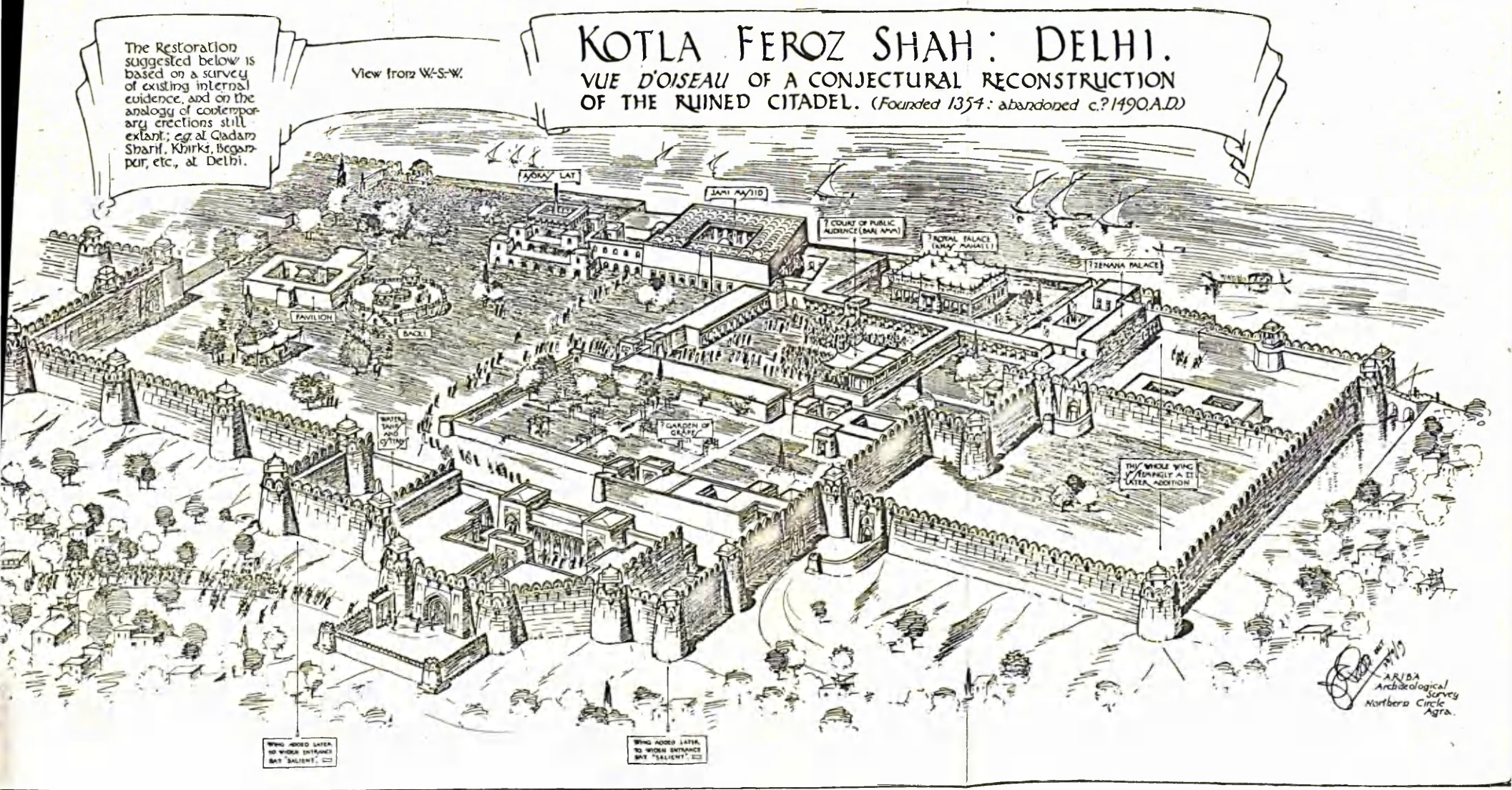


Fig. 48

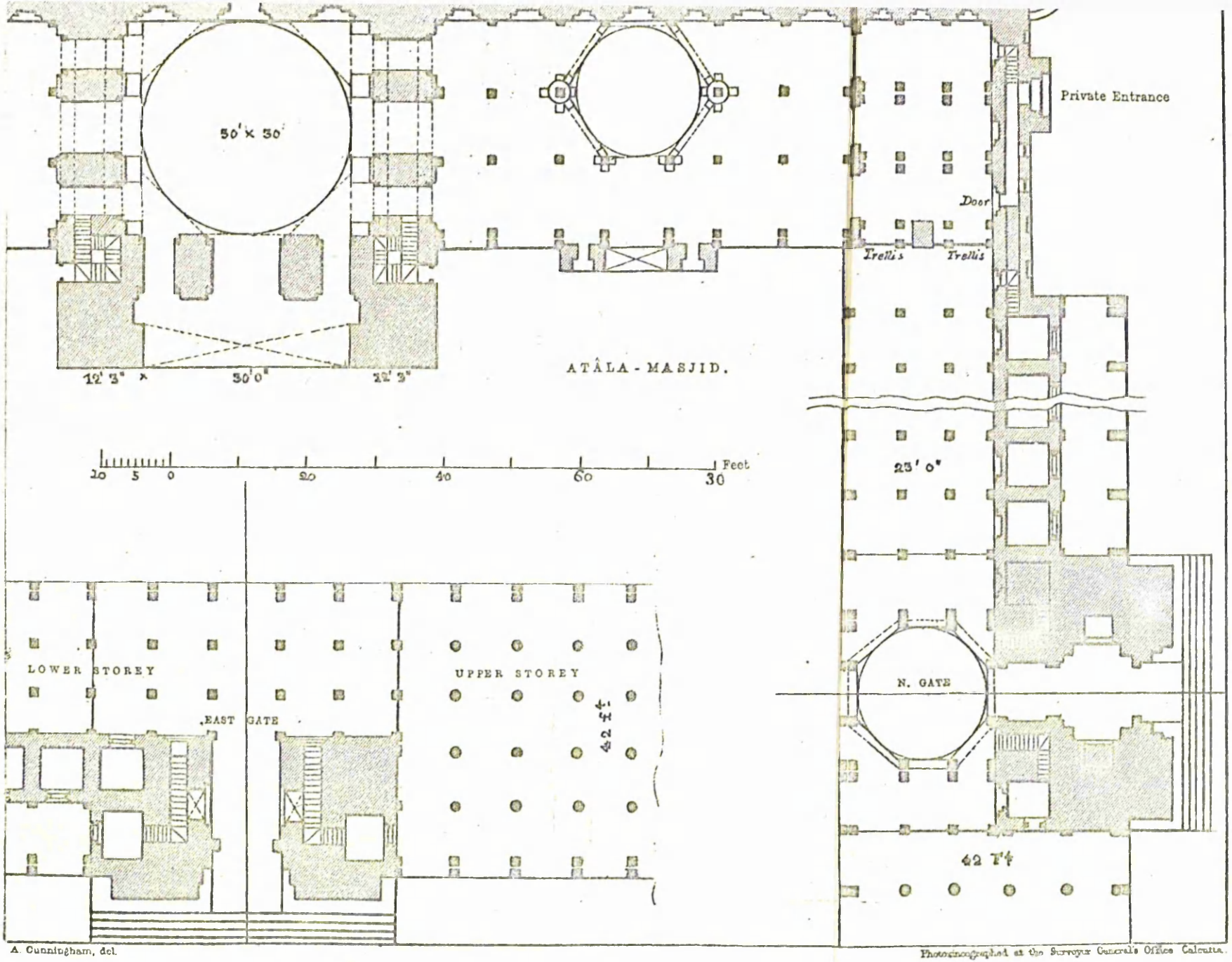
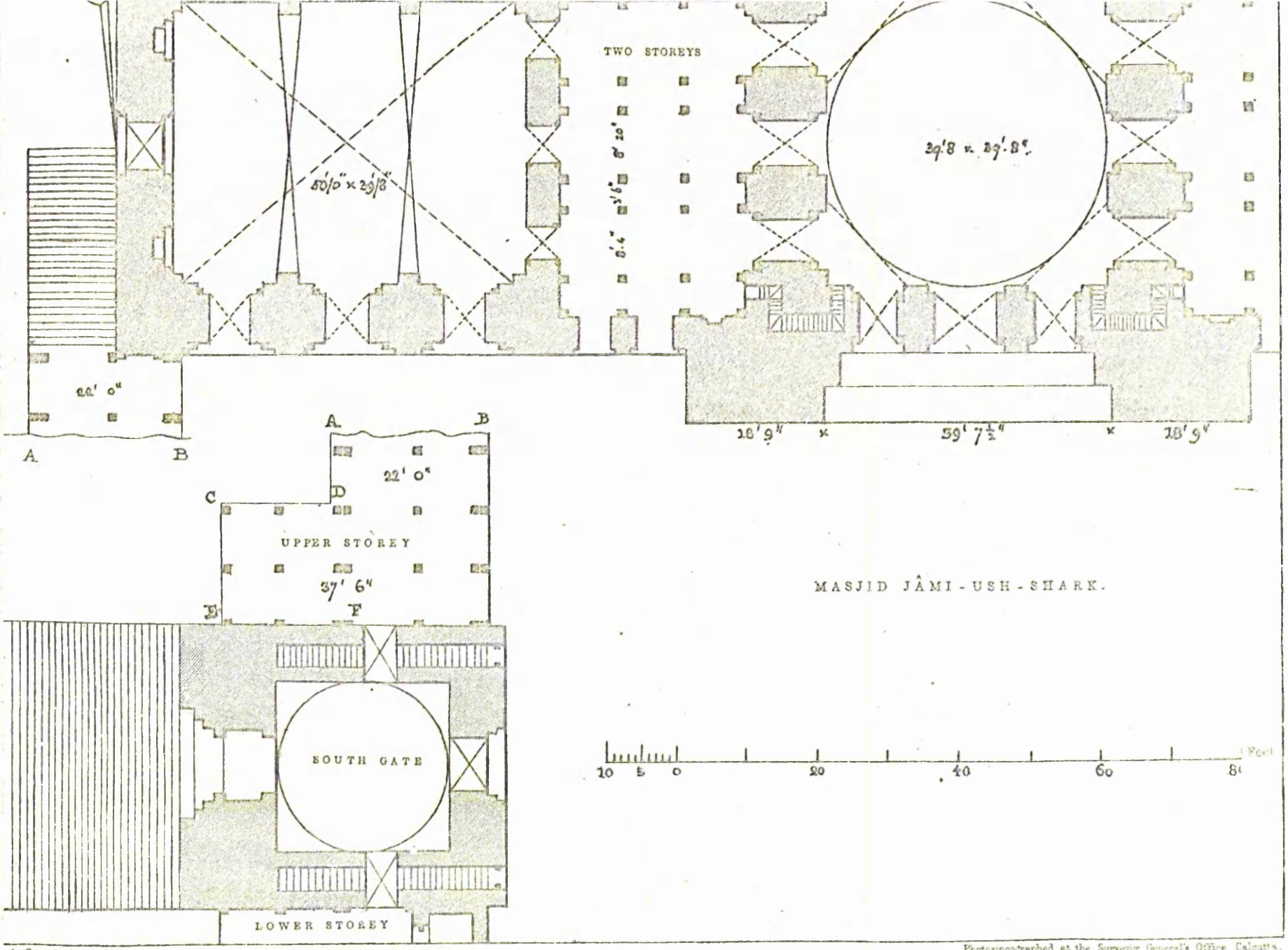

50' x 30'
12' 3"
30' 0"
12' 3"
ATÂLA-MASJID.
Private Entrance
Door
Trellis
Trellis
Feet
20 5 0 20 40 60 30
23' 0"
LOWER STOREY
UPPER STOREY
EAST GATE
42 4"
N. GATE
42 7"
A. Cunningham, del.
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

Fig. 49.



A. Cunningham, del.

Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

Fig. 50.

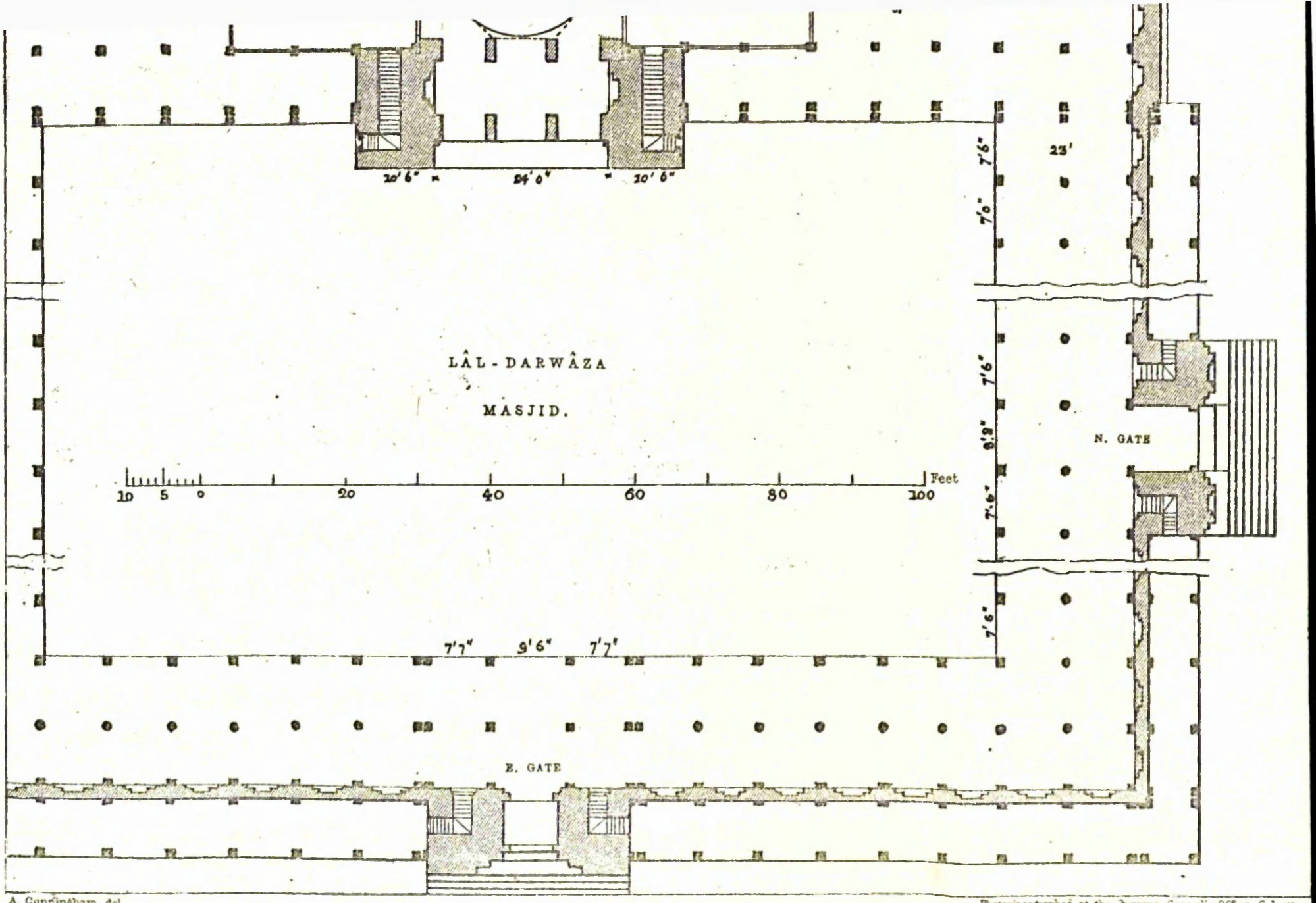

20' 6"
24' 0"
20' 6"
7'6"
23'
7'6"
LÂL-DARWÂZA
MASJID.
N. GATE
7'6"
9'8"
7'6"
7'6"
10 5 0 20 40 60 80 100 Feet
7'7"
9'6"
7'7"
E. GATE
A. Cunningham, del.
Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

Fig. 51.

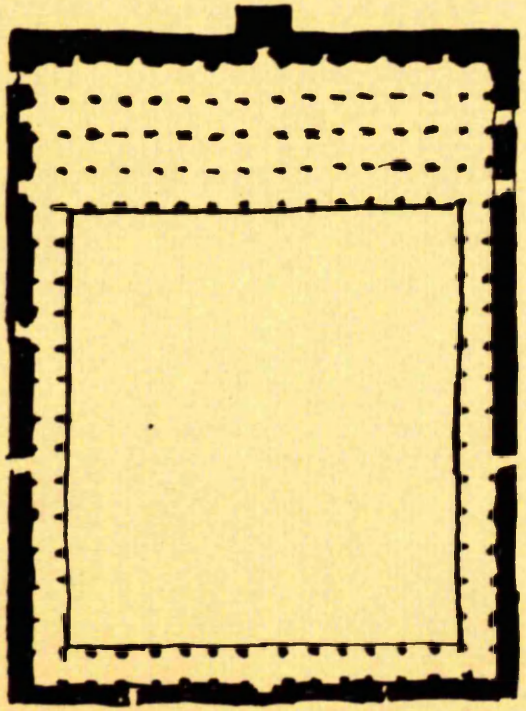


Fig. 52.

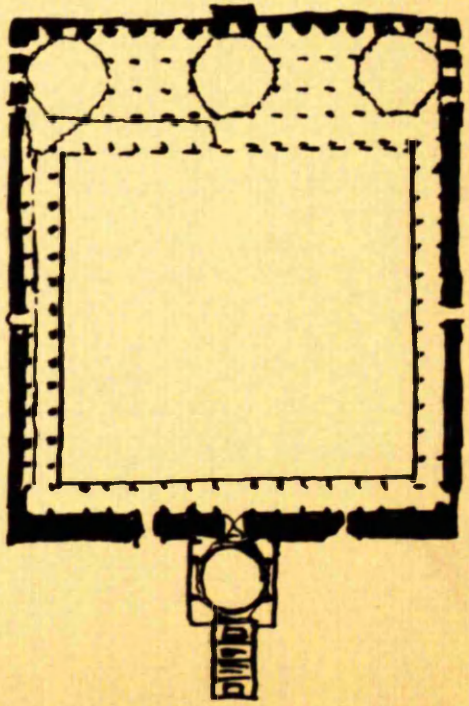


Fig. 53.

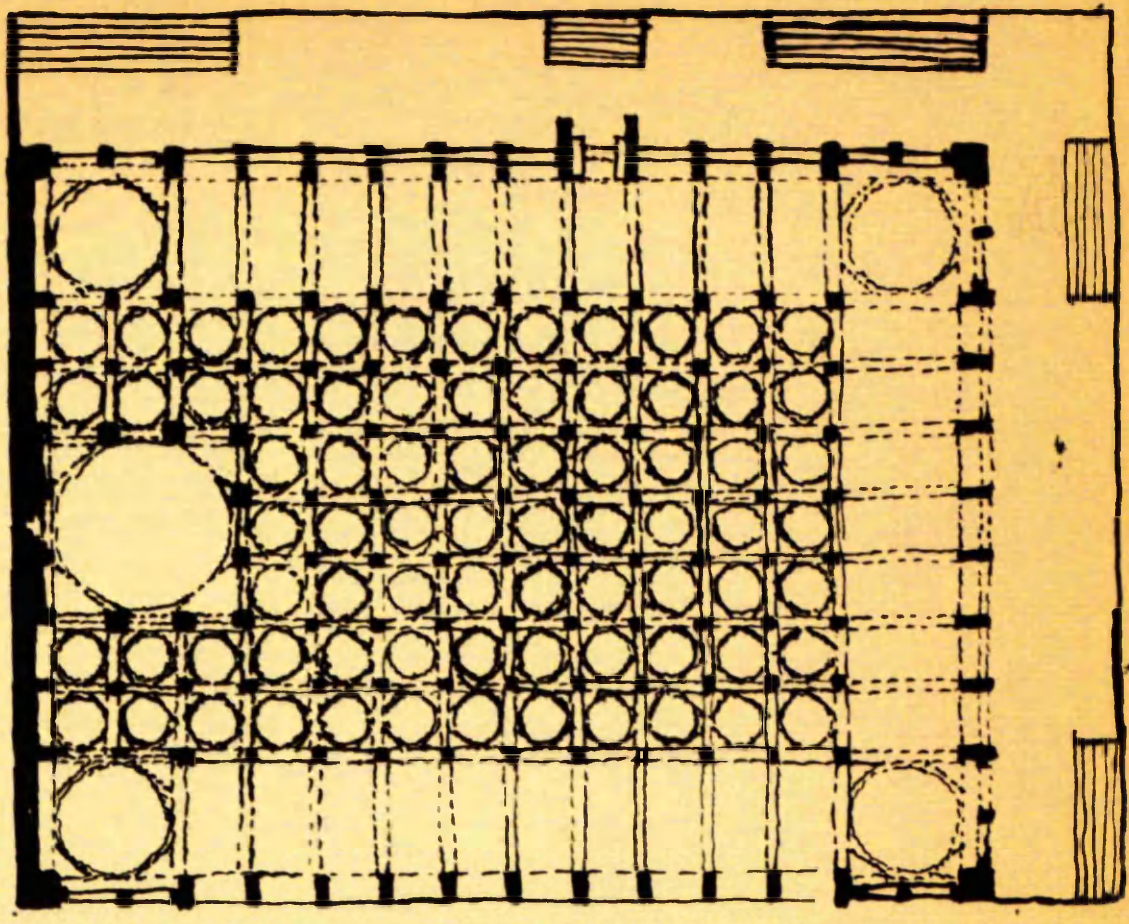


Fig. 55

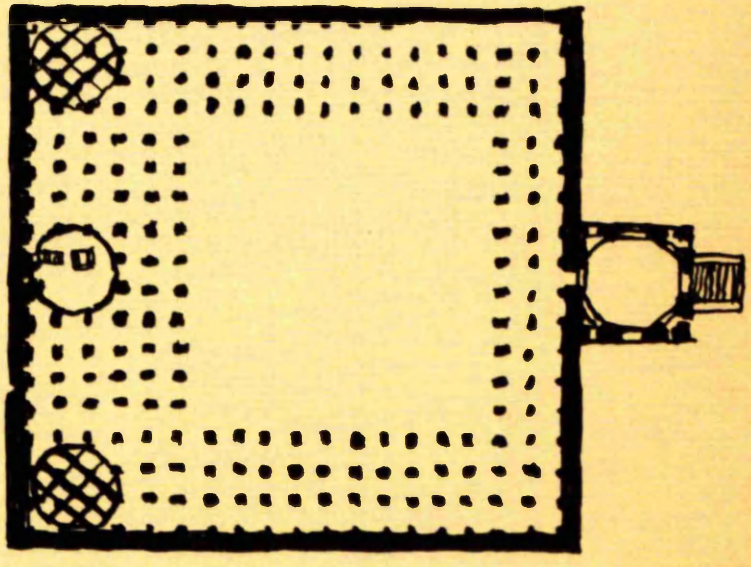


Fig. 54.

SMH.

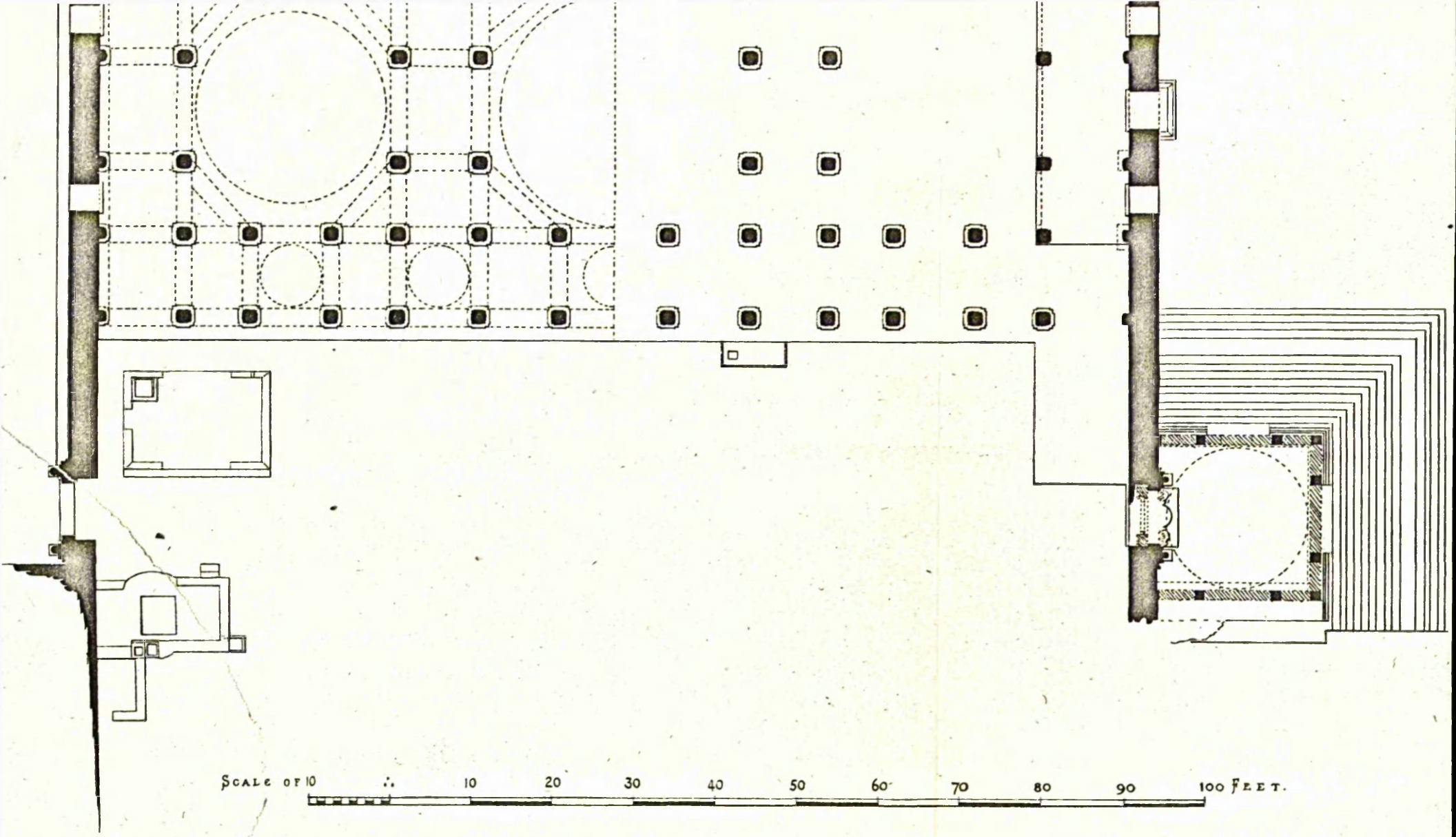

SCALE OF 10 ∴ 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET.
J. Burgess, dir.
H. Cousens, surv.

Fig. 56

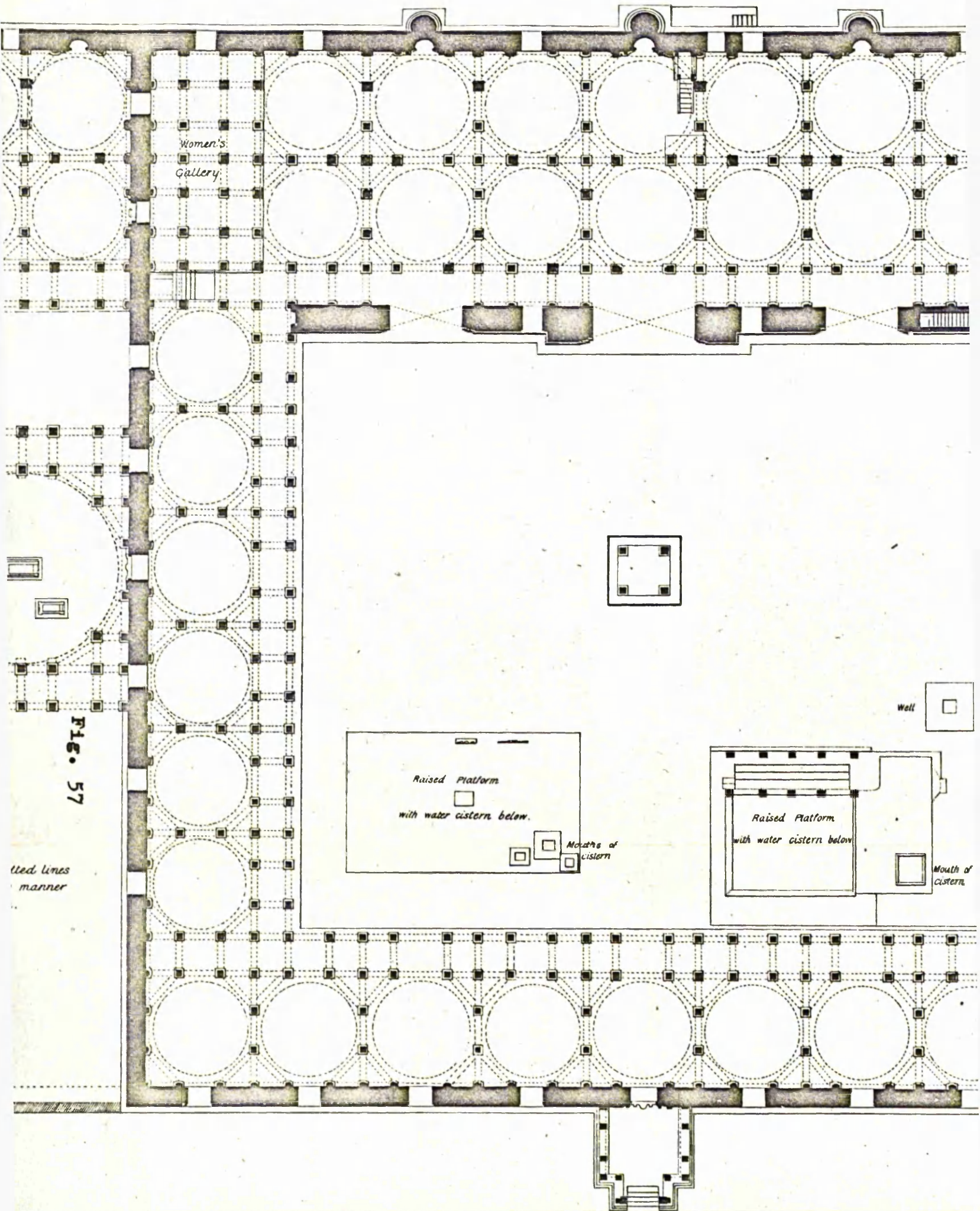


Fig. 57

lted lines
manner

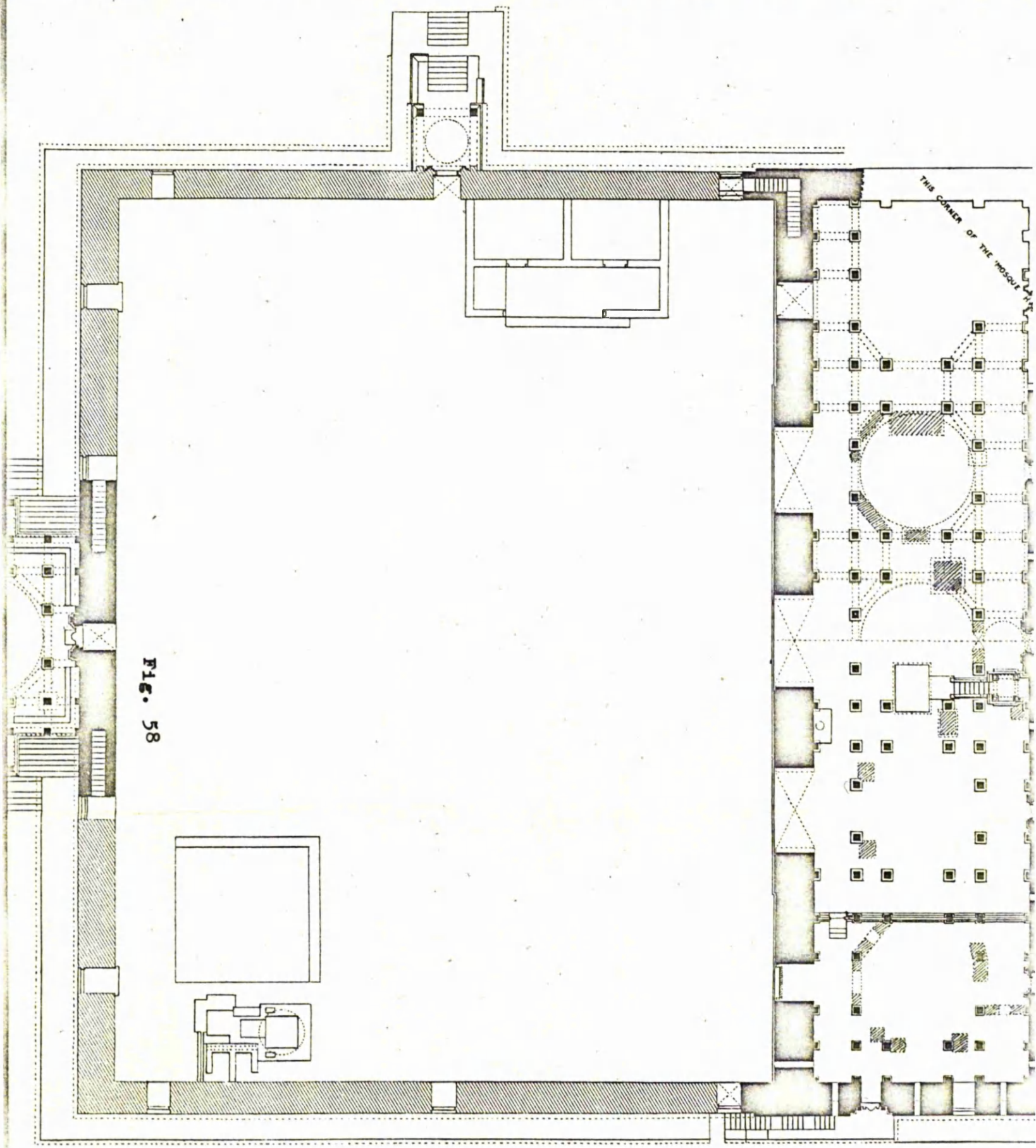
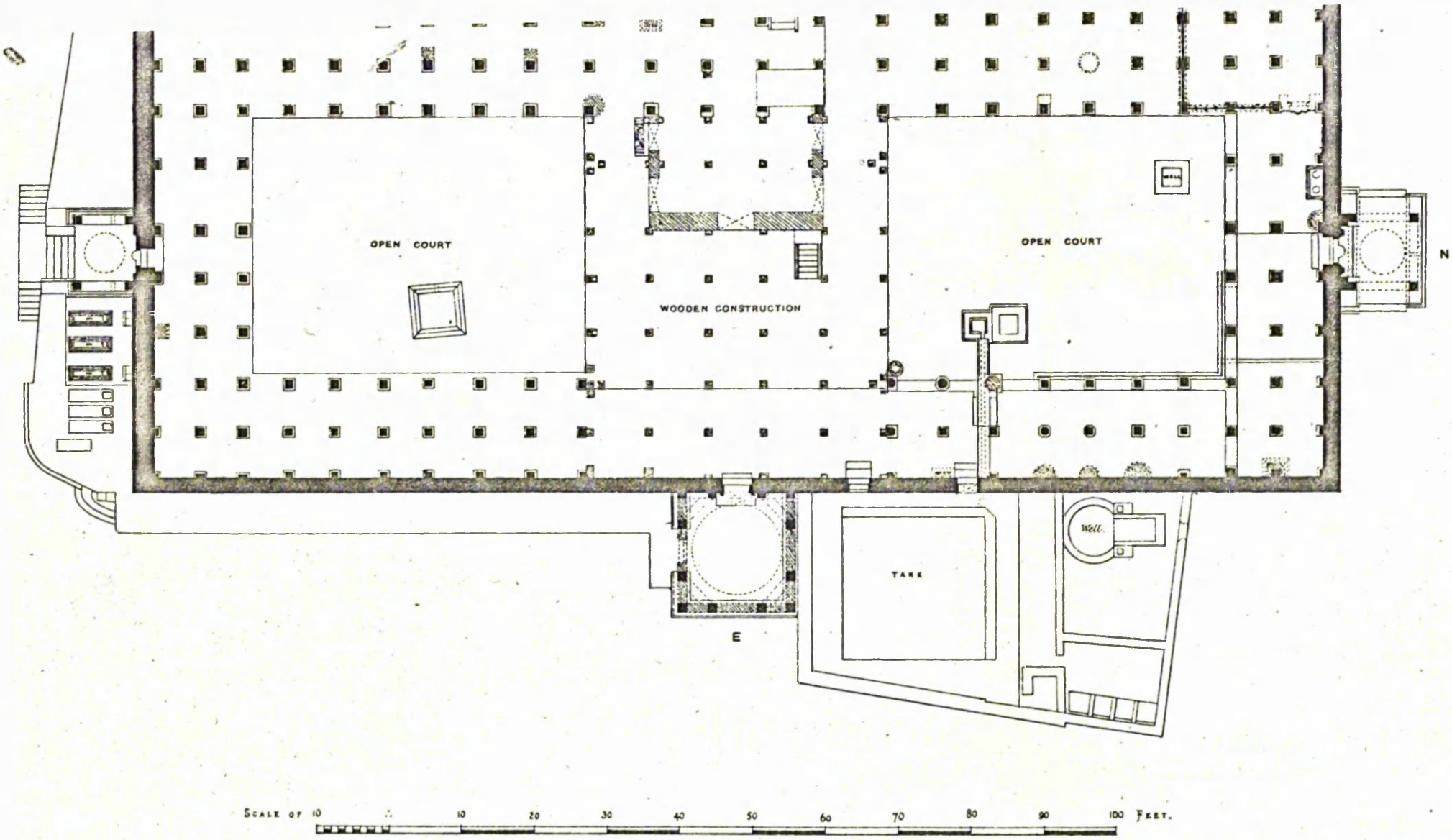


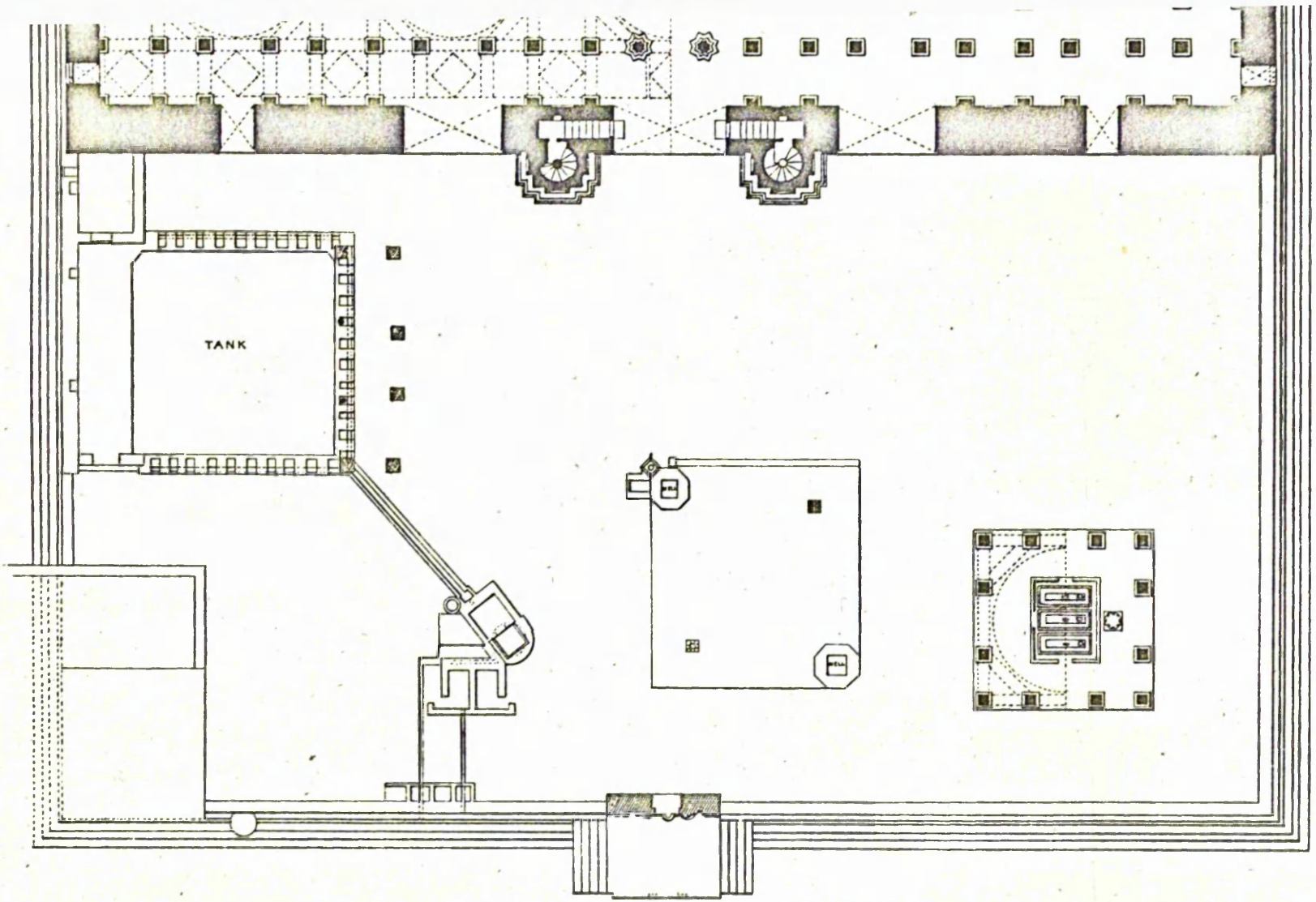
Fig. 58



J. Burgess. dir

H. Cousens. surv

Fig. 59



H. Cousens. surv.

SCALE OF 10 ∴ 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET.

Fig. 60

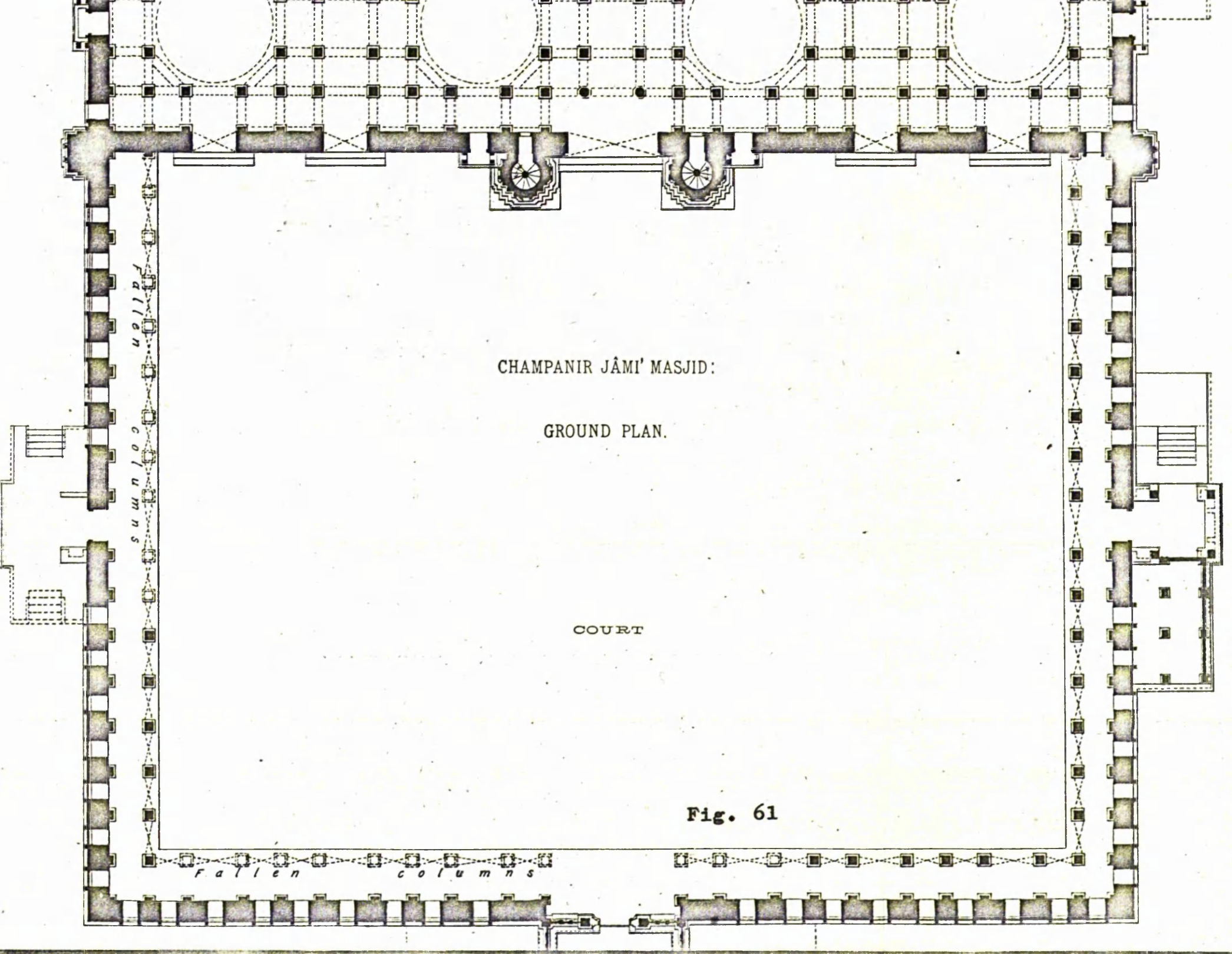
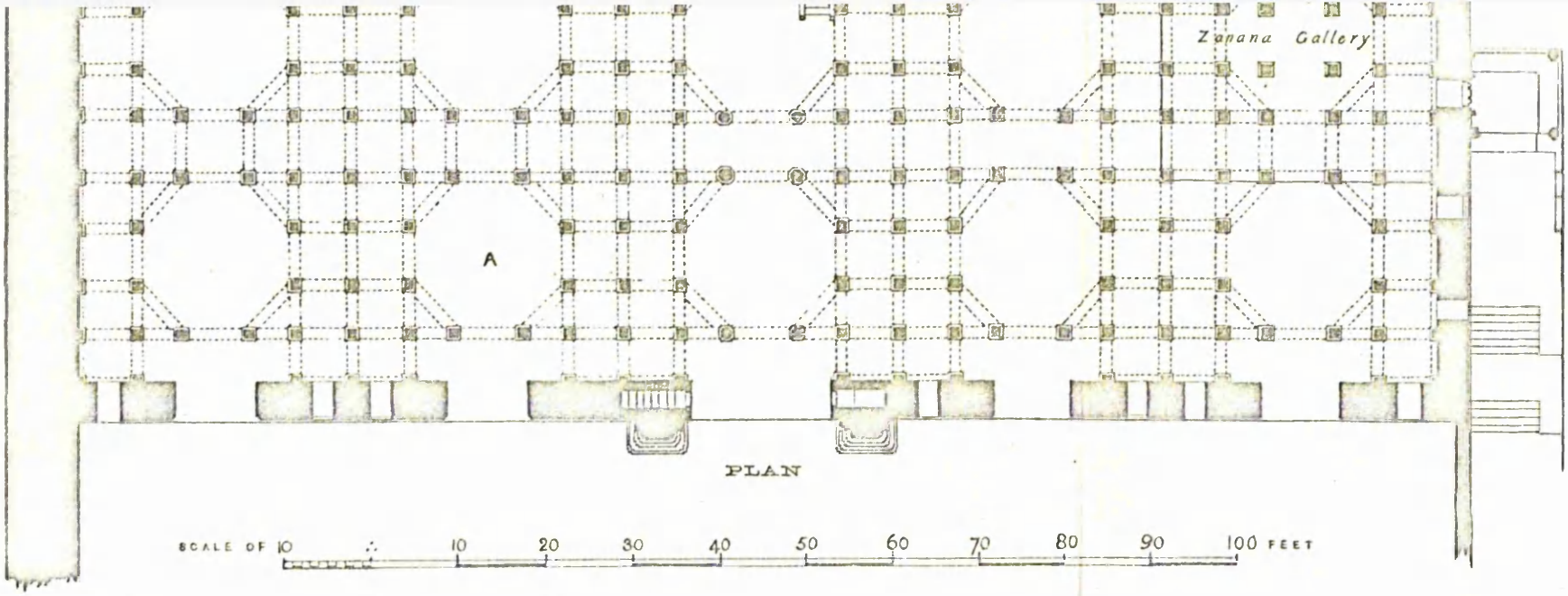
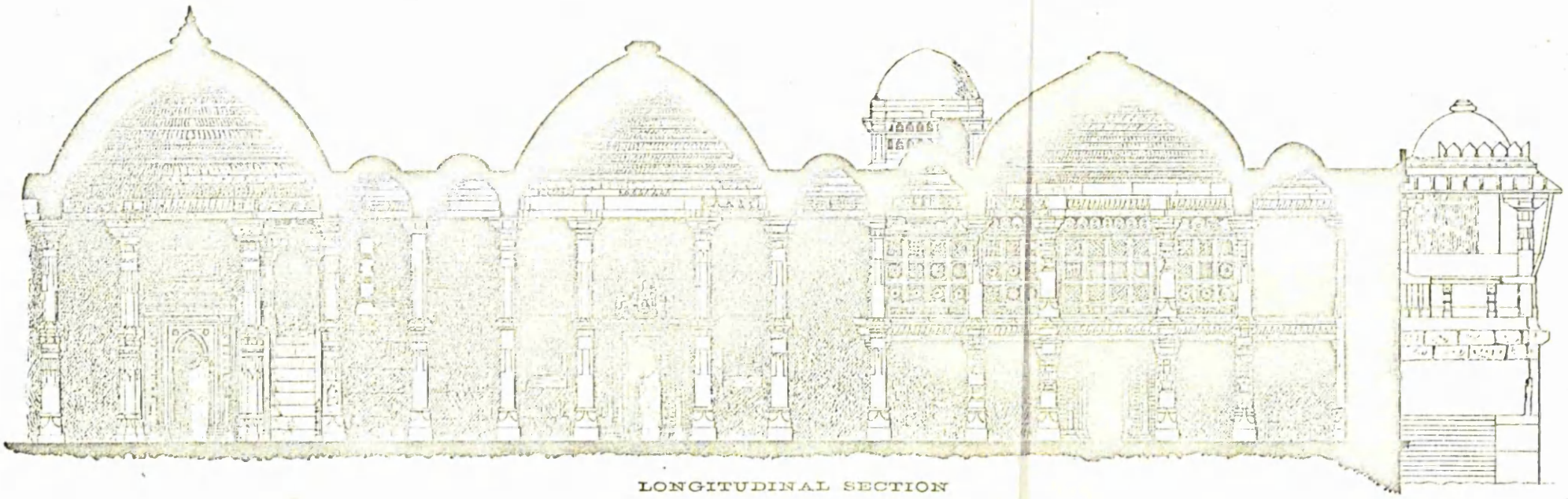

CHAMPANIR JÂMI' MASJID:
GROUND PLAN.
COURT
Fallen columns
Fallen columns

Fig. 61



PLAN

SCALE OF 10 ∴ 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET



LONGITUDINAL SECTION

SCALE OF 10 ∴ 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

J. Burgess, dir.

Fig. 62

SAYYAD 'ÂLAM'S MASJID, AHMADÂBÂD.

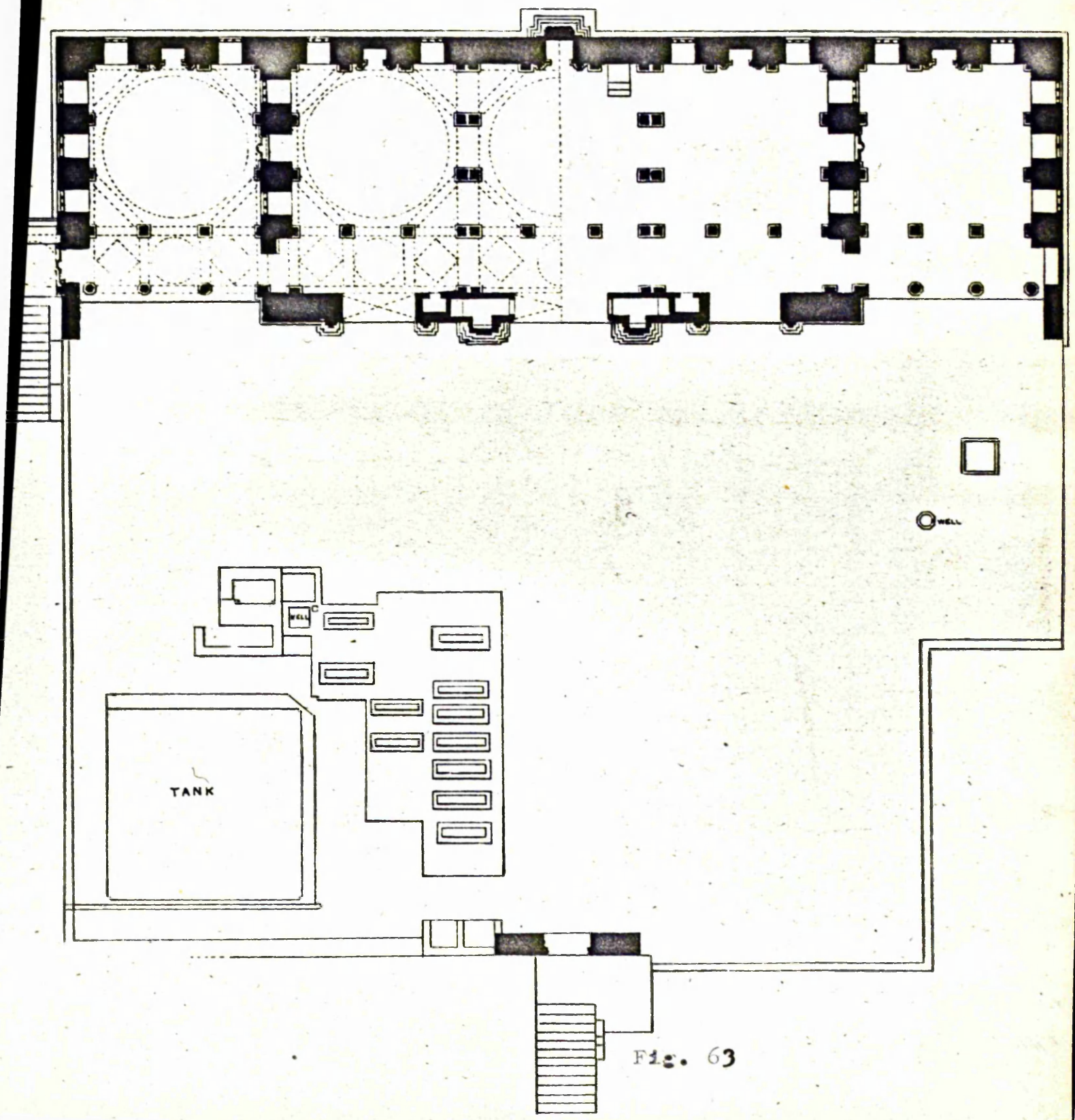


Fig. 63

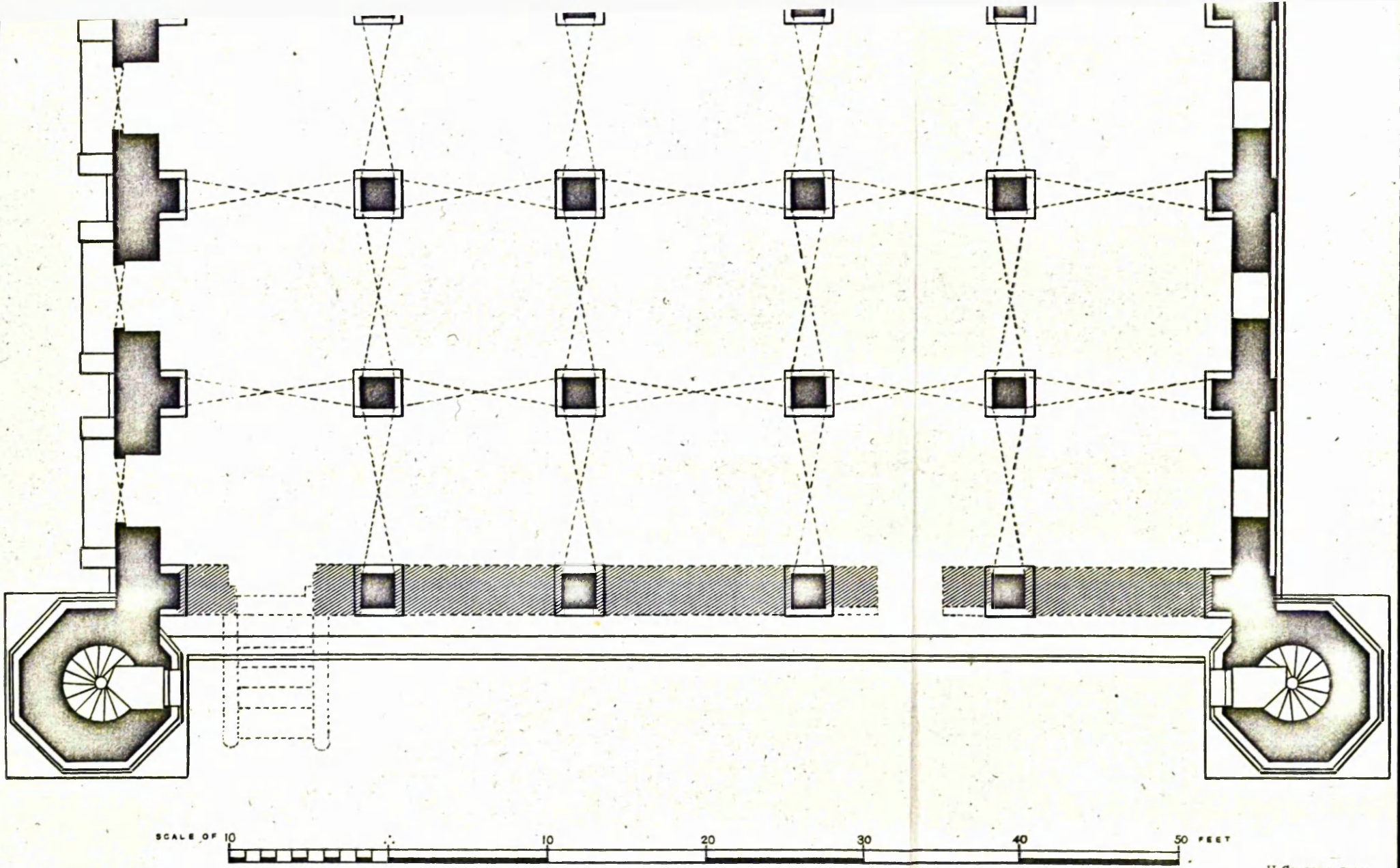


Fig. 64

PLAN

OF THE

MOSQUE AND TOMBS

AT SARKHEJ.

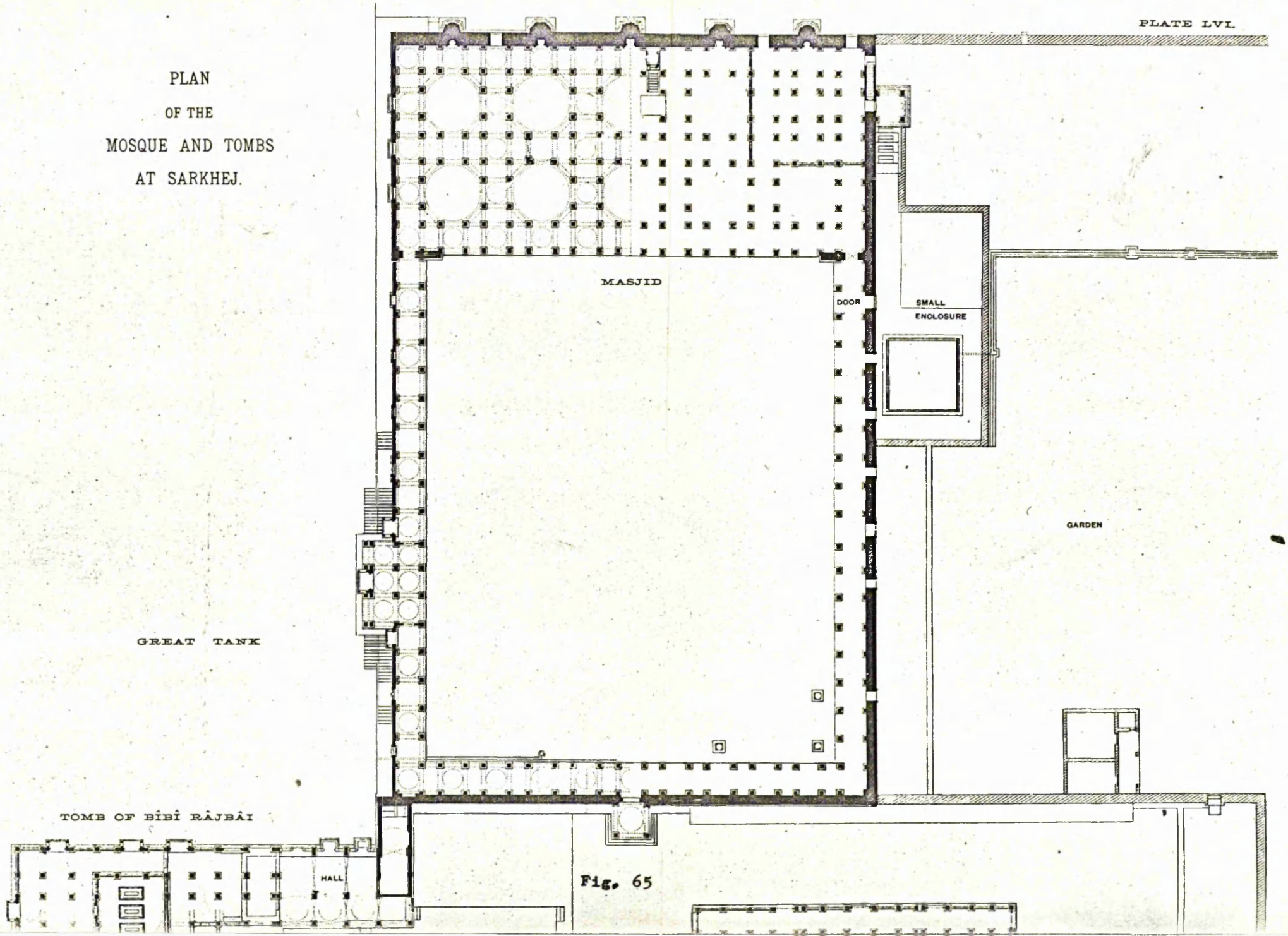
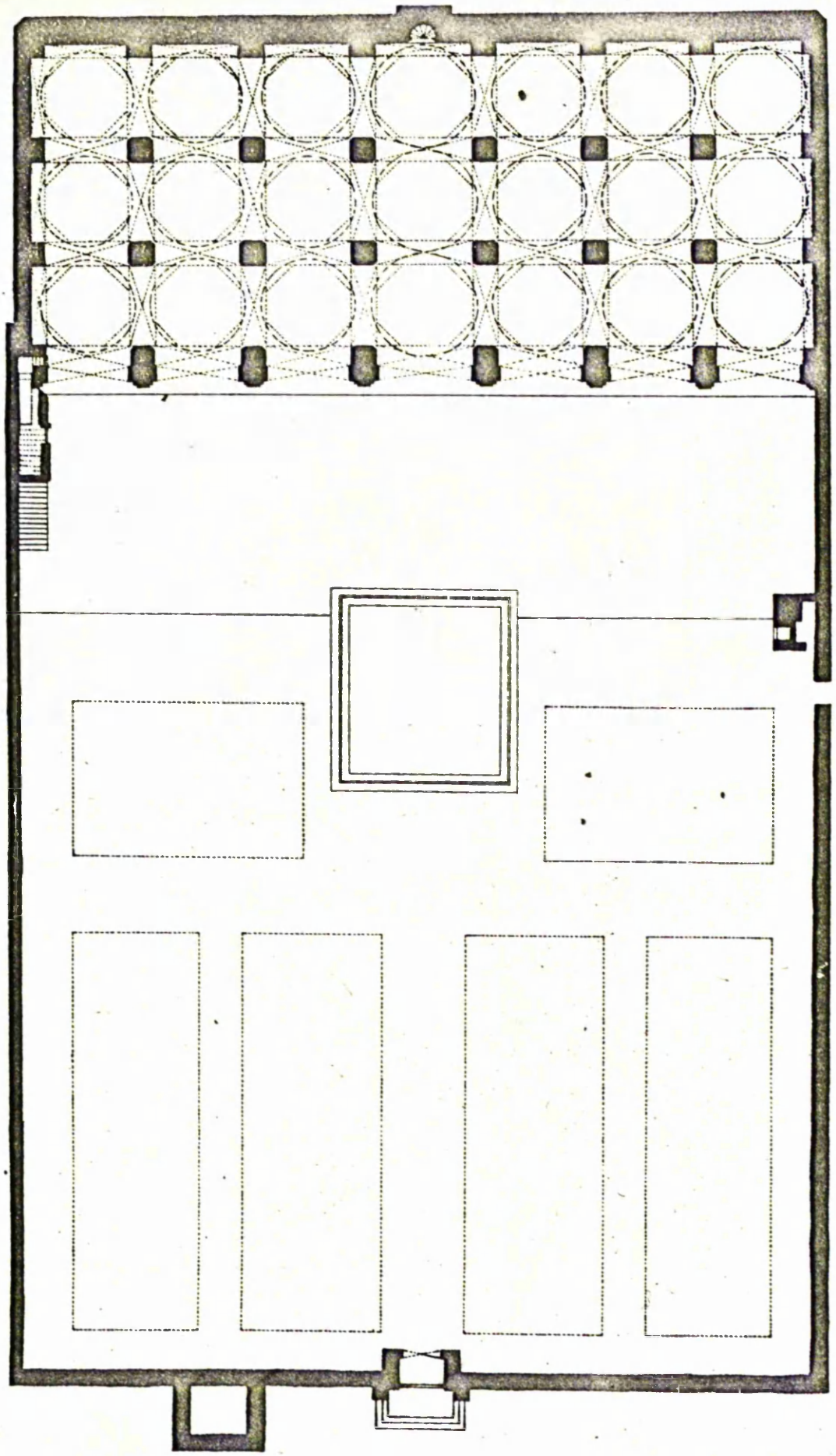


Fig. 65



PLAN OF THE JĀMI' MASJID

Scale 32 feet to one inch

Fig. 66


MAP
of the District of
MALDAH
Surveyed by
Mr J.J.PEMBERTON
Revenue Surveyor
in 1847-48-49
Scale 8 British Statute Miles = 1 Inch.
Reduced in the Revenue Surveyor Gen.l Office Calcutta 23rd June 1853
Deputy Surveyor General
PURNEAH
DINAJPOOR
RAJSHAHEE
MOORSHEDABAD
BHAUGULPOOR
Hutundah
Mahesnugur
Dhungur & Debeekote
Sankrol G.T.S.
Kumurdanga G.T.S.
Onah G.T.S.
Pultapoor & Cheraldunga G.T.S.
Dulalpoor G.T.S.
Alsapoor G.T.S.
Sundurpoor G.T.S.
Jhetia G.T.S.
Mudubpur G.T.S.
Sursuni G.T.S.
Burgachee
Dubeepoor G.T.S.
Gorhund
Munheeree
Teleeagurhee Fort
Curagola Ghat
GANGES RIVER
MALDAH
ANGREZABAD
ENGLISH BAZAR
RAJMUHAL
MEDABAD
Chandraie Bungaon
Basdeul
Kirpanuddee
Mahanuddee
Purnubhubba
Kurruttoa
Mahanuddee
NOTE
Portions of the following Districts, shewn on this Map, are included with the Survey of the Maldah District.
1 Dinajpoor 2 Purneah 3 Bhaugulpoor
4 Moorshedabad 5 Rajshahee

Fig. 67.

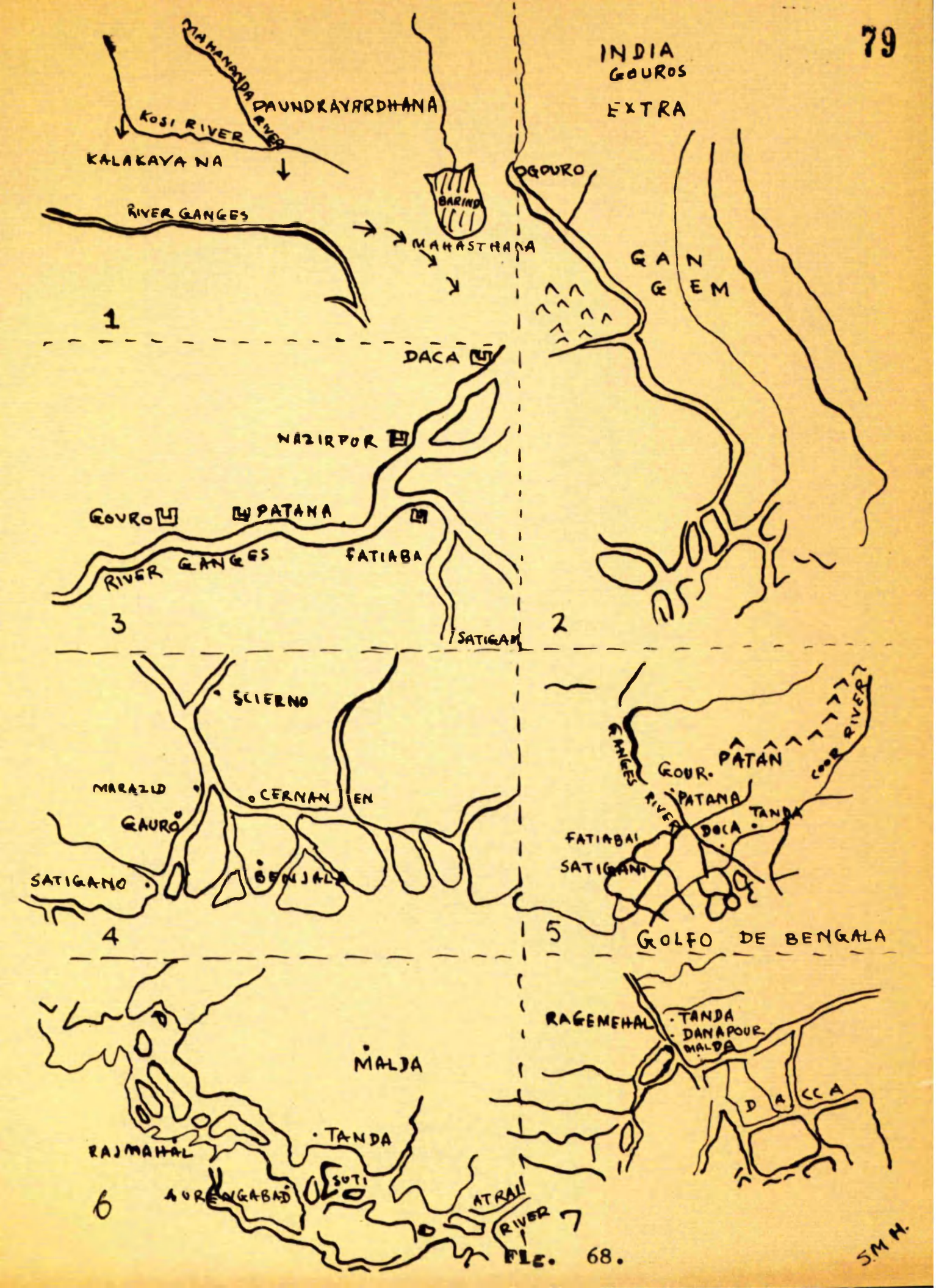

INDIA
GOUROS
EXTRA
MAHANANDA RIVER
PAUNDRAVARDHANA
KOSI RIVER
KALAKAVANA
RIVER GANGES
BARIND
MAHASTHANA
OGOURO
GANGEM
1
DACA
NAZIRPOR
GOURO
PATANA
RIVER GANGES
FATIABA
SATIGAM
3
2
SCIERNO
MARAZID
CERNANTEN
GAURO
SATIGANO
BENJALE
4
5
GANGES RIVER
GOUR.
PATAN
COOR RIVER
PATANA
TANDA
DOCA
FATIABAI
SATIGAN.
GOLFO DE BENGALA
RAGEMEHAL
TANDA
DANAPOUR
MALDA
MALDA
TANDA
RAJMAHAL
SUTI
AURENGABAD
ATRAI
RIVER
6
7
DACCA

FIG. 68.

S.M.H.

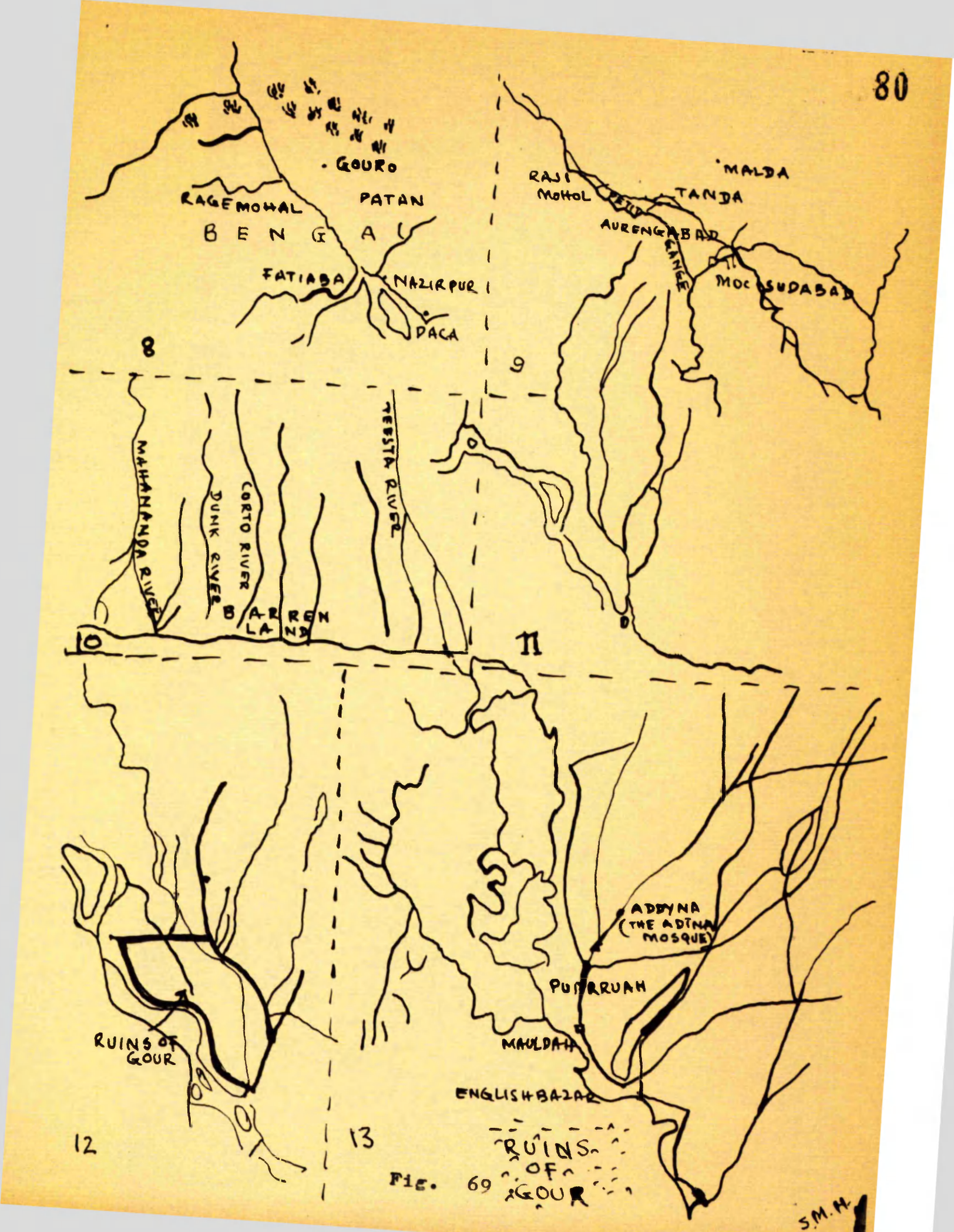

GOURO
RAGEMOHAL
PATAN
B E N G A L
FATIABA
NAZIRPUR
DACA
MALDA
RAJI MOHOL
TANDA
AURENGABAD
GANGE
MOCHSUDABAD
8
9
10
11
MAHANANDA RIVER
DUNK RIVER
CORTO RIVER
TEESTA RIVER
BARRENDRA LANDS
ADDYNA (THE ADINA MOSQUE)
PUNNRUAH
MAULDAH
ENGLISHBAZAR
RUINS OF GOUR
RUINS OF GOUR
12
13

Fig. 69

S.M.H.

A MAP of GOUR 1801

Explanations.

- Embankments surrounding the City.
- Extent of the City (apparently)
- Forts.
- Suburbs
- Large Tanks
- Small Tanks
- Mosques
- Bridges
- Raised Roads with remains of Brick pavement but the Bricks now mostly taken away
- Gates
- Present Foot Roads

Malda
Mahanadda R.
Nemaserai
Dwarka
Kajole Digga
S U B U R B S
Large Sanger Digga
Gate
Jodapur
Gate
Gate
Gate

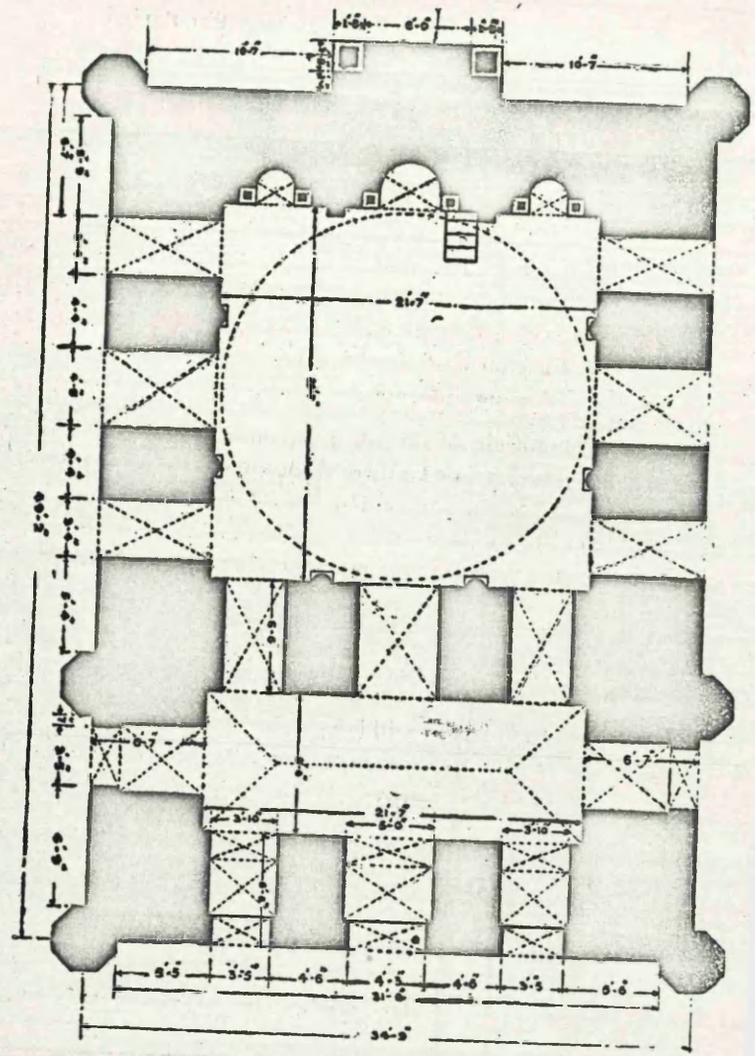


Fig 120

SITE PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF PANDUA

(Showing its geographical relations to the towns of Mālda, Nimāsarāi and English Bāzār, the northern area of the city of Gaur, as well as to the Mahānandā and Kālindrī rivers).

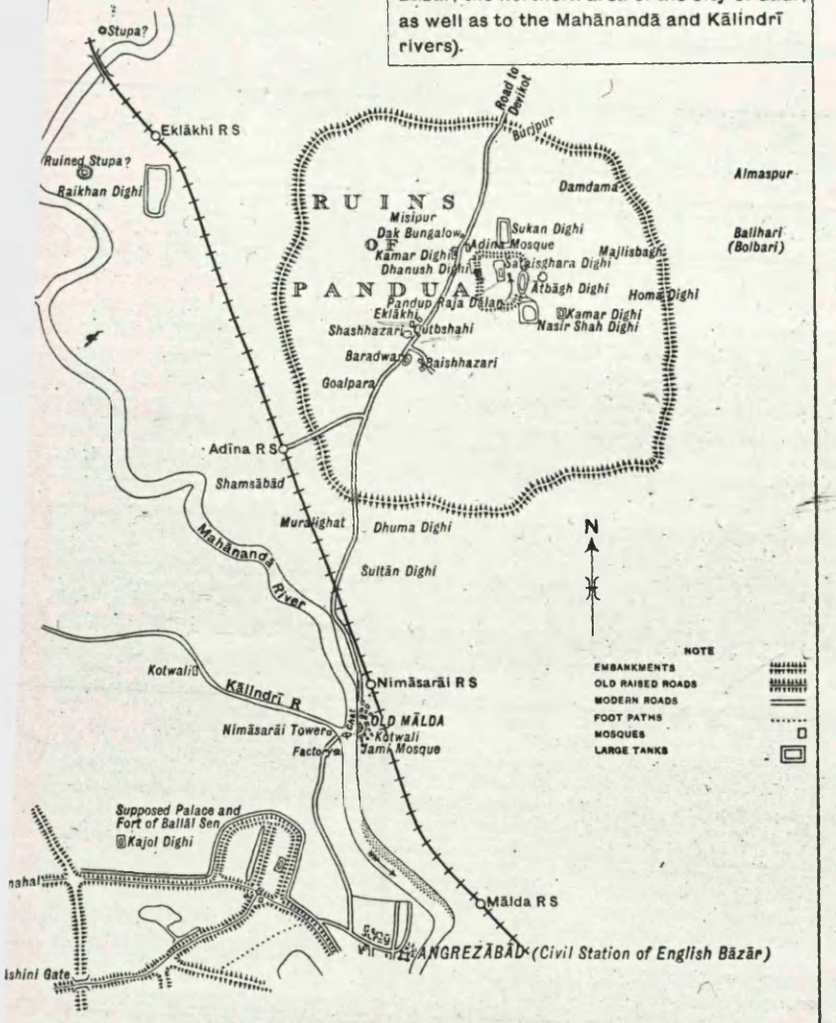


Fig. 71

After Pemberton: Revised by H.E.S. from Air Survey

Photos by courtesy of the Arch. Survey of India, 1930.

63

THE ADINA MASJID AT HAZRAT PANDUA DISTRICT MALDA

PLAN

SCALE $\frac{1}{1200}^{TH}$

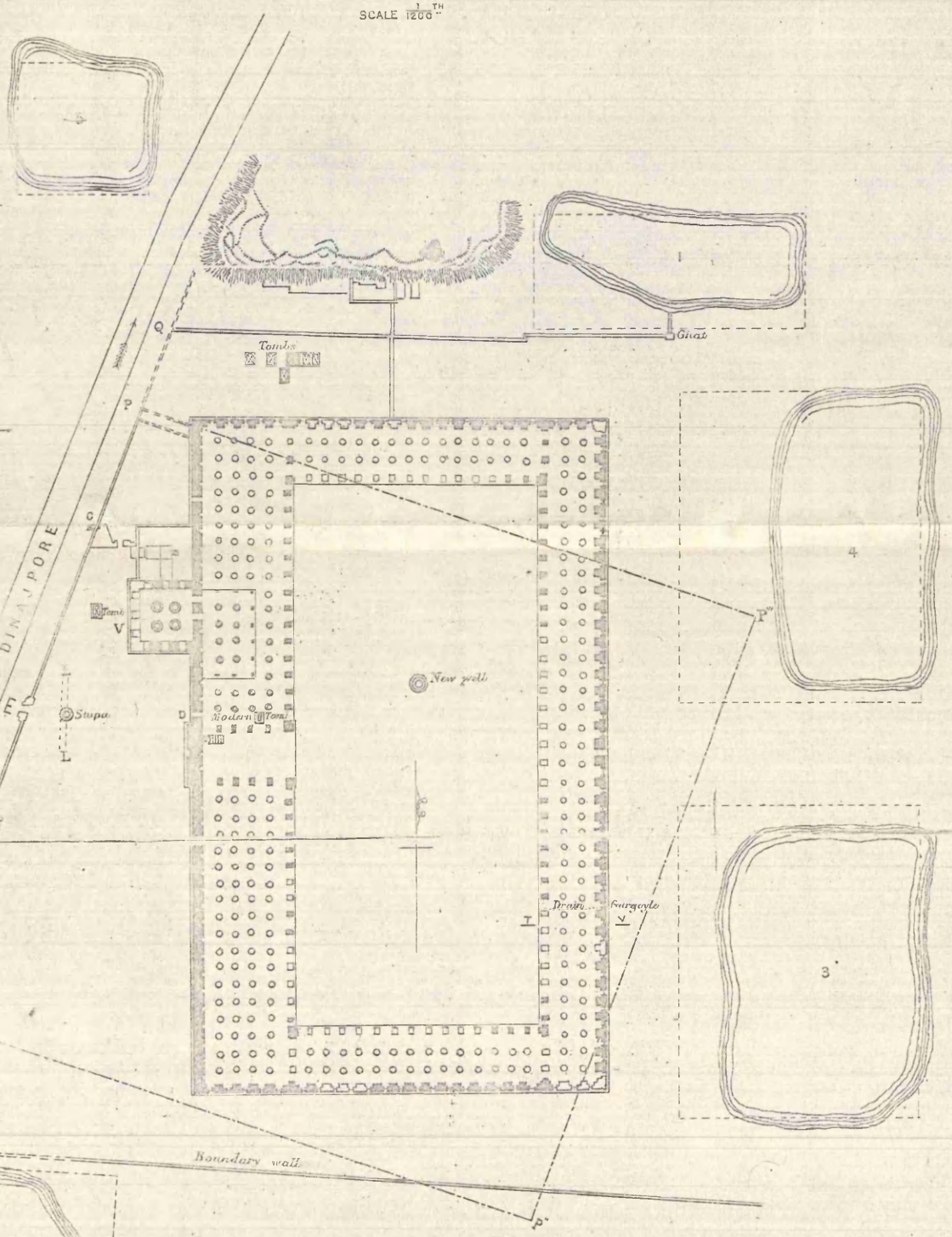


Fig. 72.

Lith: K. D. Chander, Student Govt: School of Art, Calcutta

Jas D Beglar C.E.
Archaeological Surveyor
Bengal

Plate 83

THE
ADINA MASJID
AT
HAZRAT PANDUA
DISTRICT MALDA

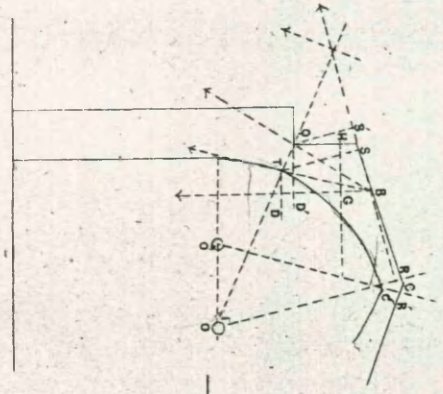
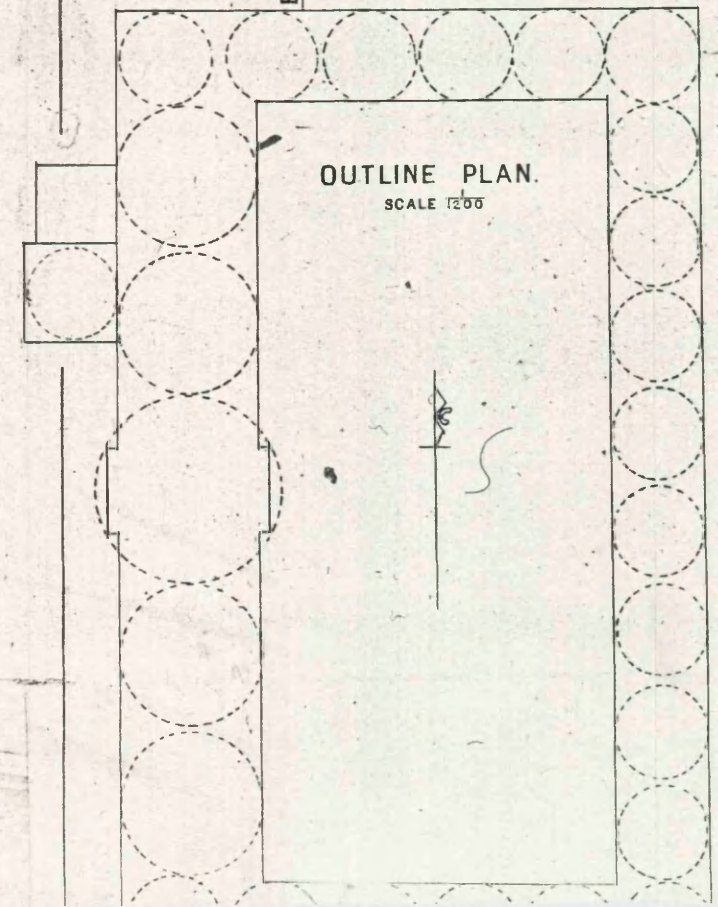
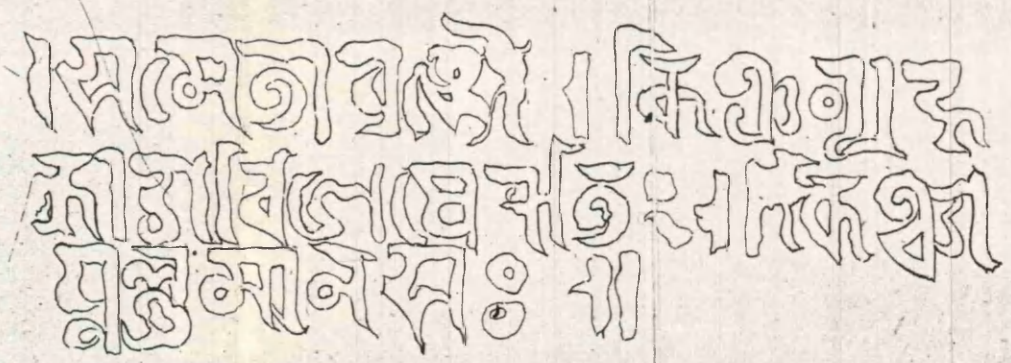


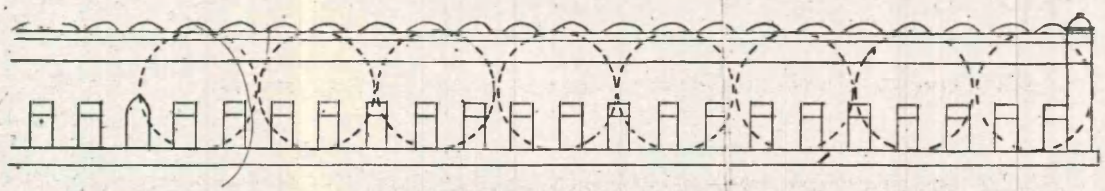
DIAGRAM OF FORCES
IN GREAT VAULT
Fig 6.
SCALE $\frac{1}{360}^{TH}$



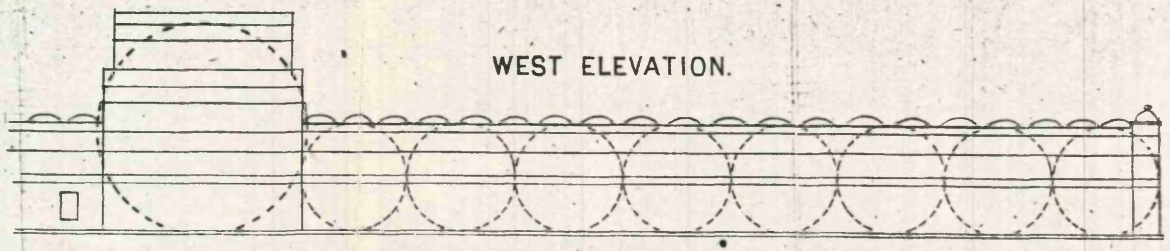
INSCRIPTION FOUND IN THE RUINS.



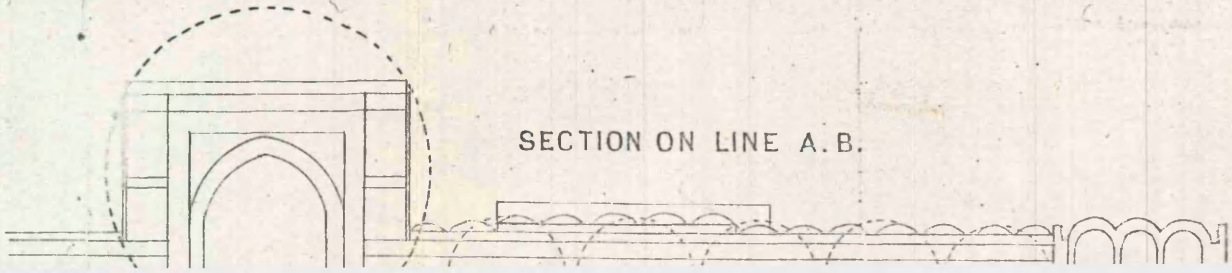
EAST ELEVATION. SCALE $\frac{1}{360}^{TH}$



WEST ELEVATION.



SECTION ON LINE A.B.



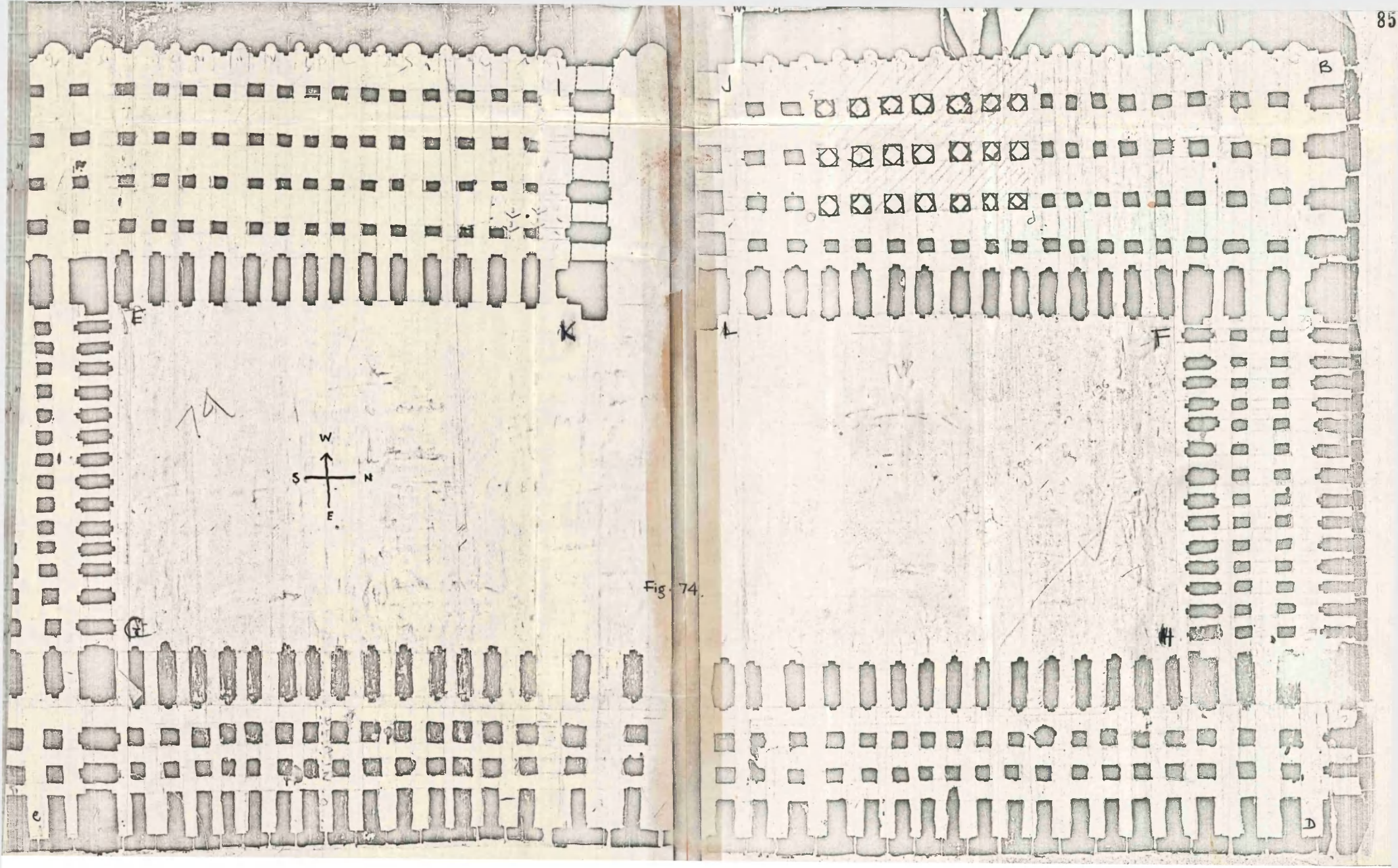


Fig. 74.

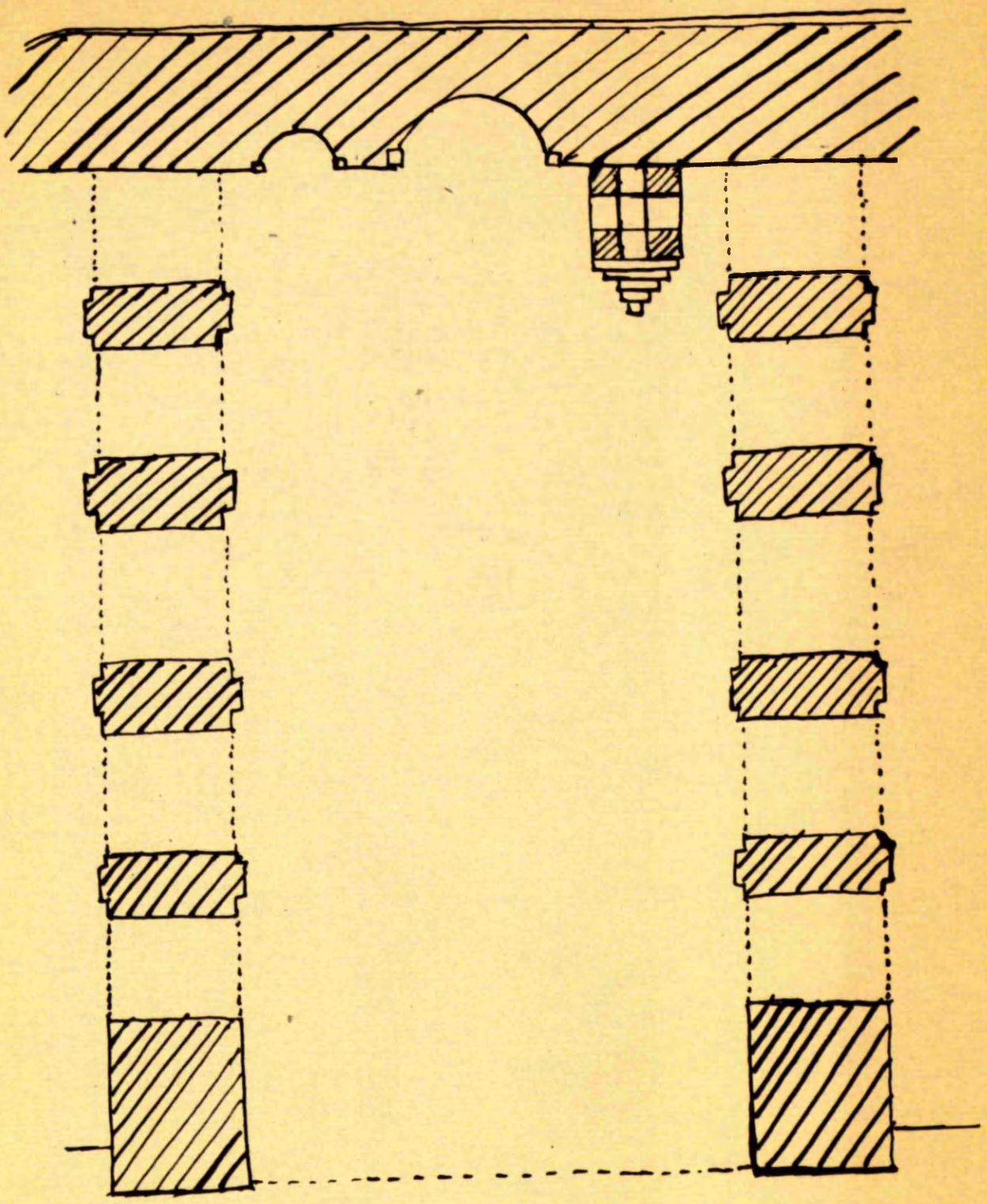
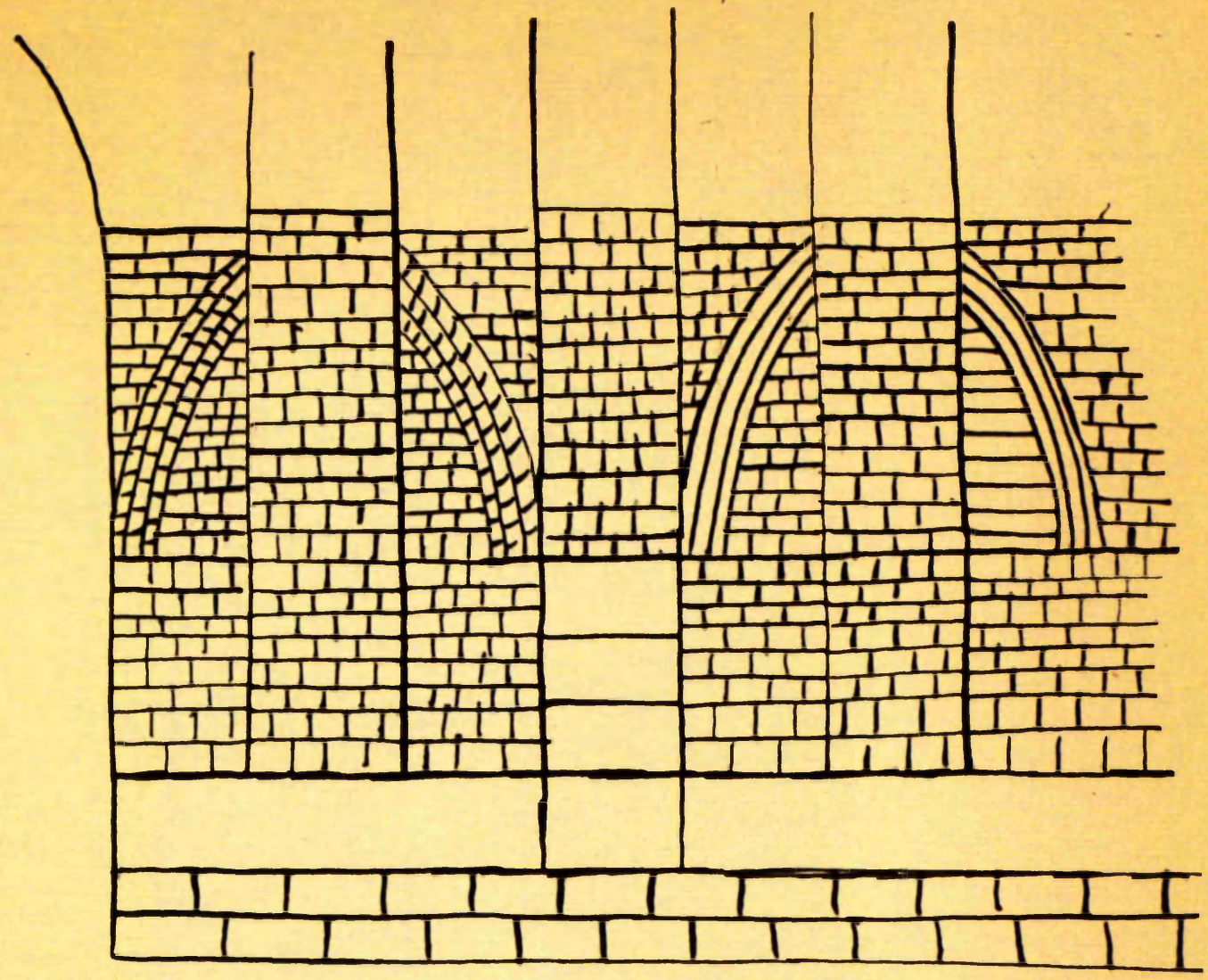


Fig. 75.

S.M.H.



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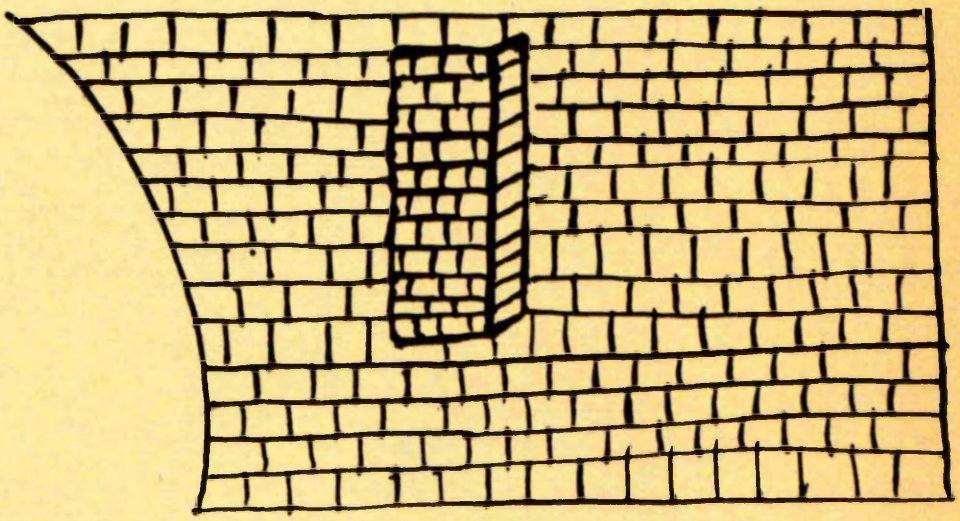
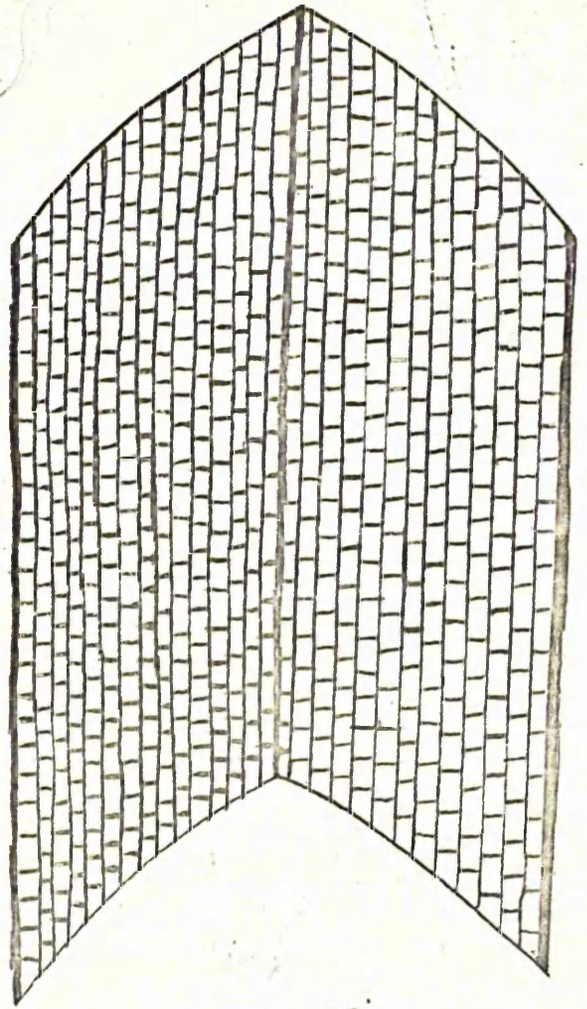


Fig. 77.



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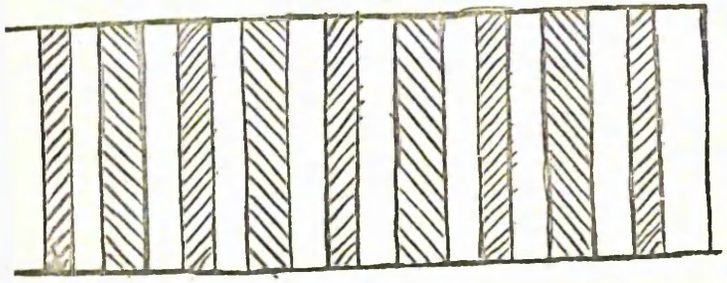


Fig. 79.

S.M.H.

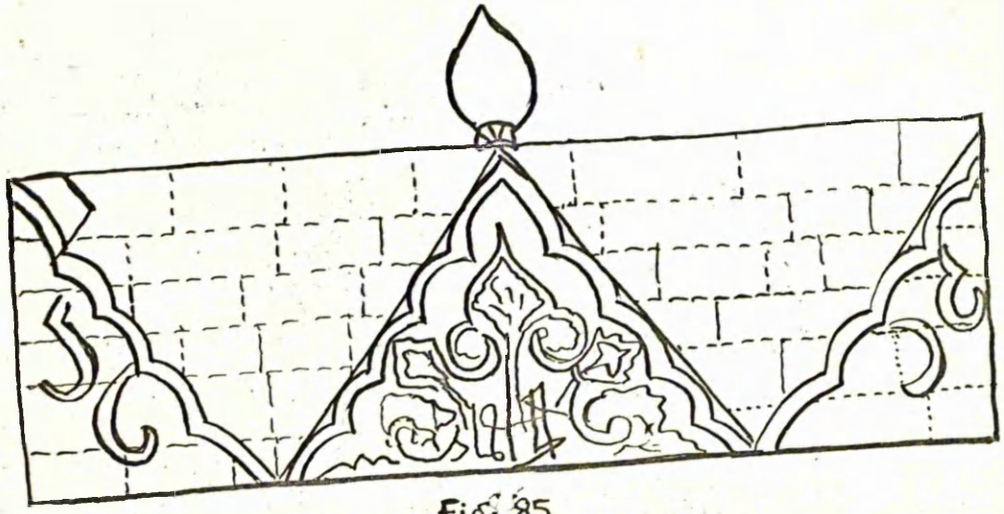


Fig. 85

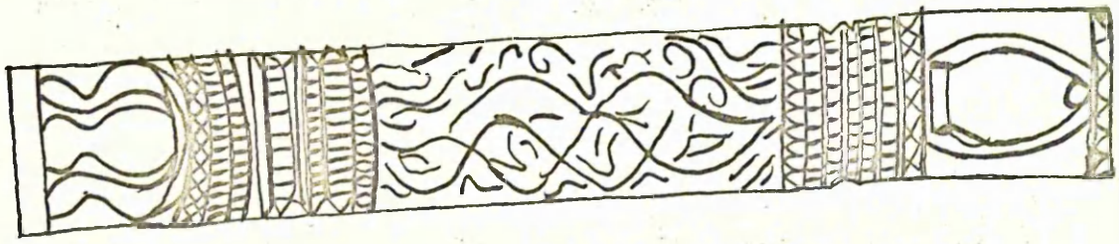


Fig. 86

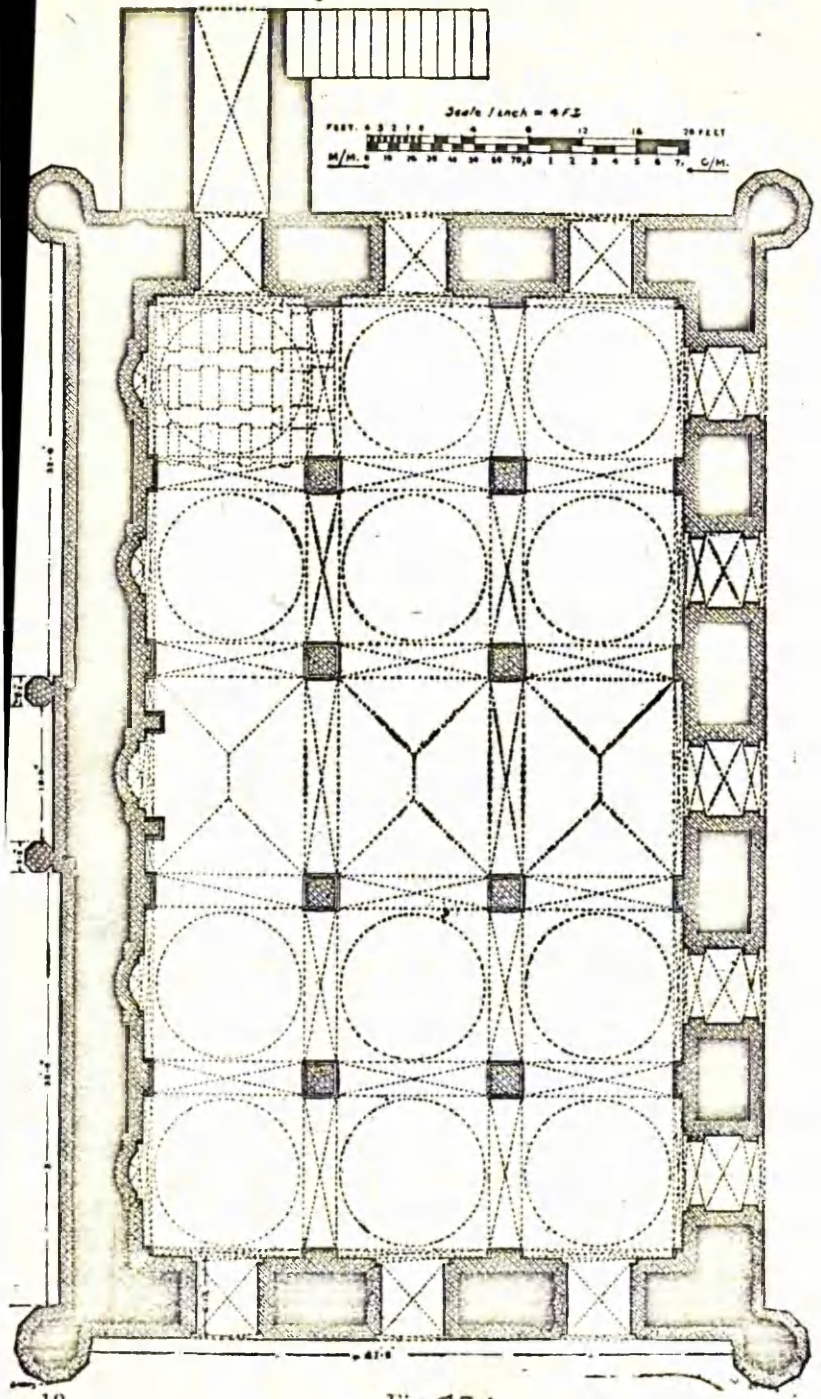


Fig. 124

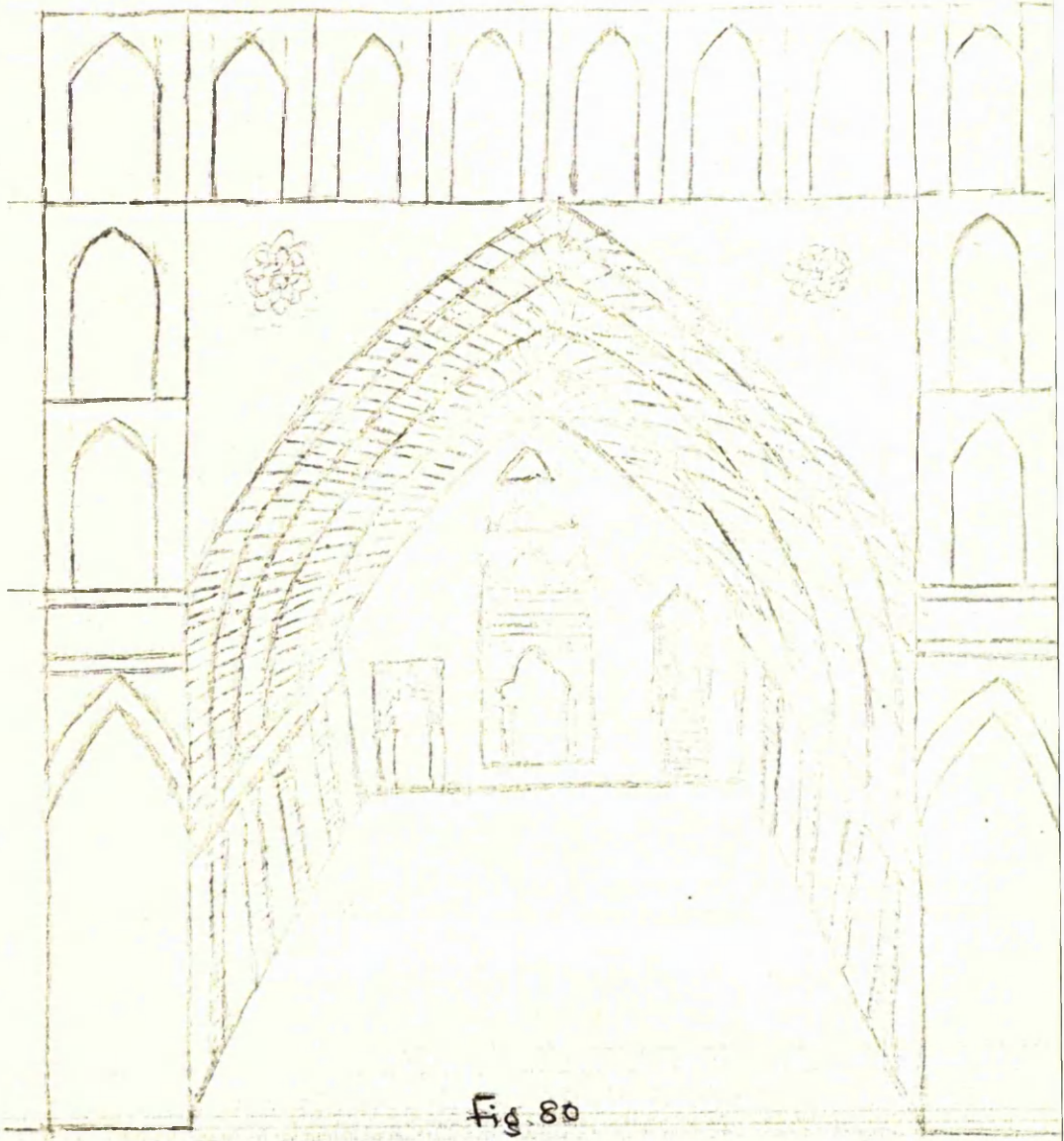
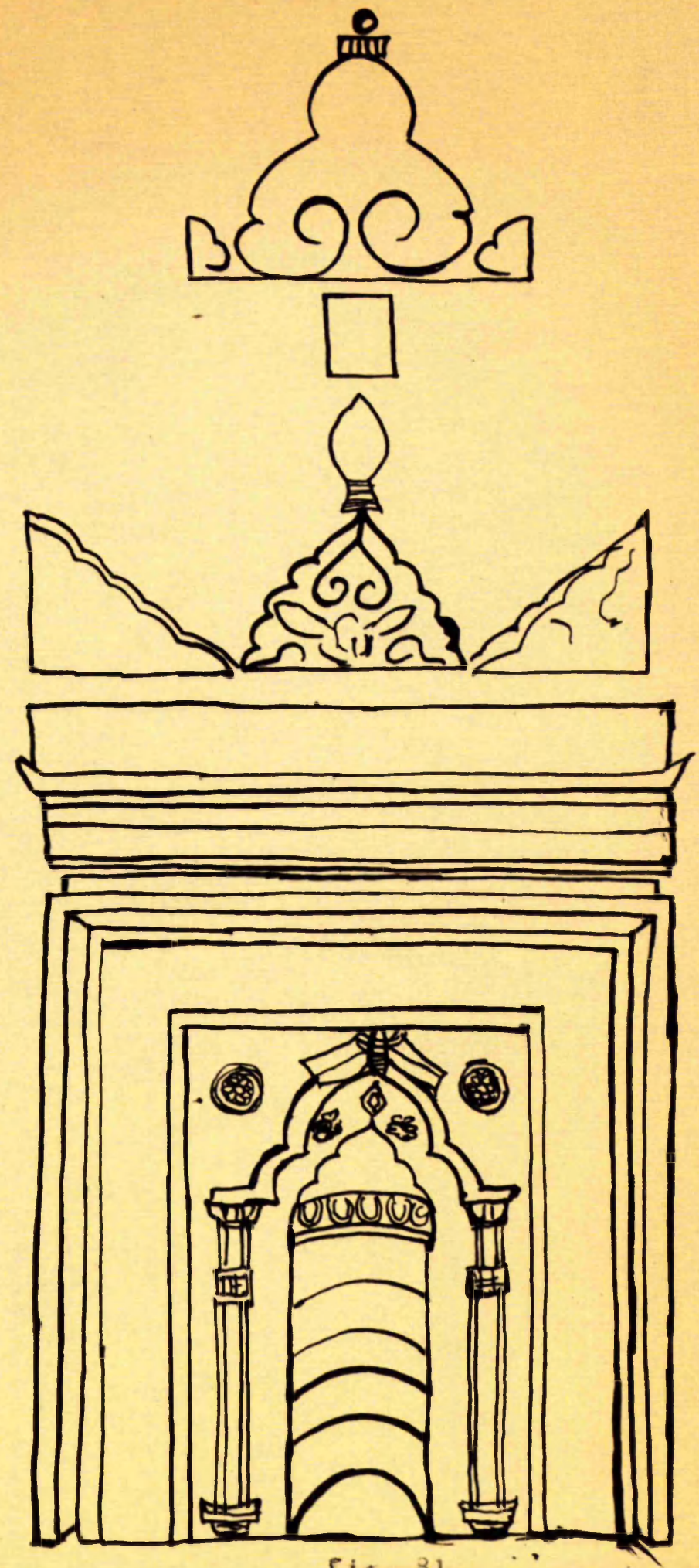


Fig. 80



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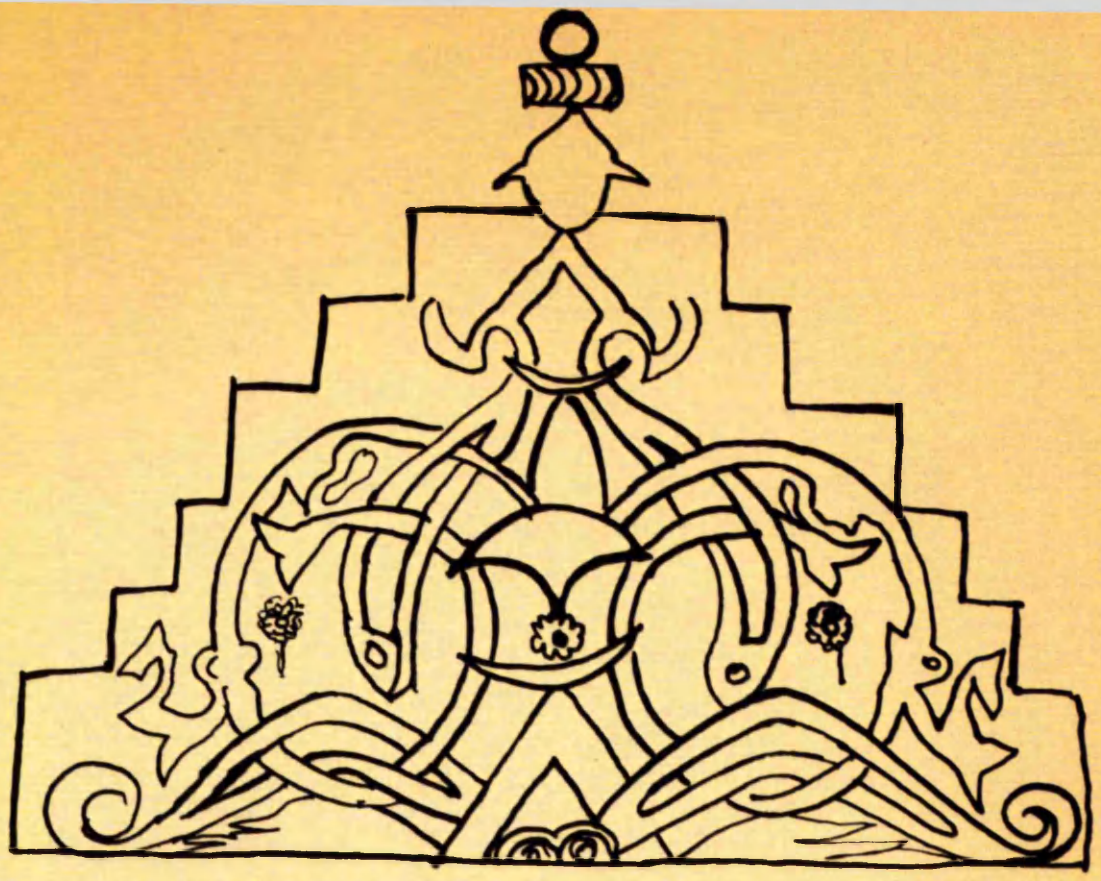

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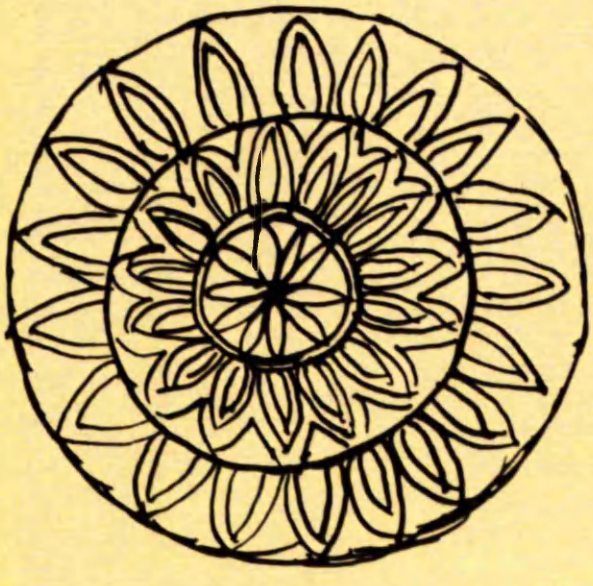
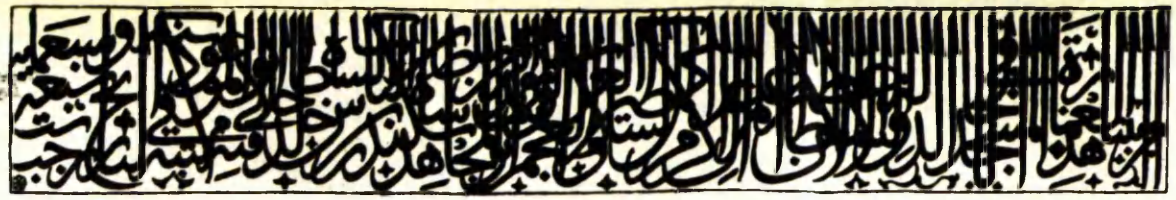


Fig. 83.

Fig. 84.

S.M.K.



NO. 1. INSCRIPTION ON THE ADÍNAH MOSQUE AT PANDUAH.
(SIKANDAR SHÁH, A.H. 770; A.D. 1369.)

Fig. 87.

NO. 2. INSCRIPTION FROM THE ADÍNAH MOSQUE (INSIDE) AT PANDUAH.

Fig. 88.

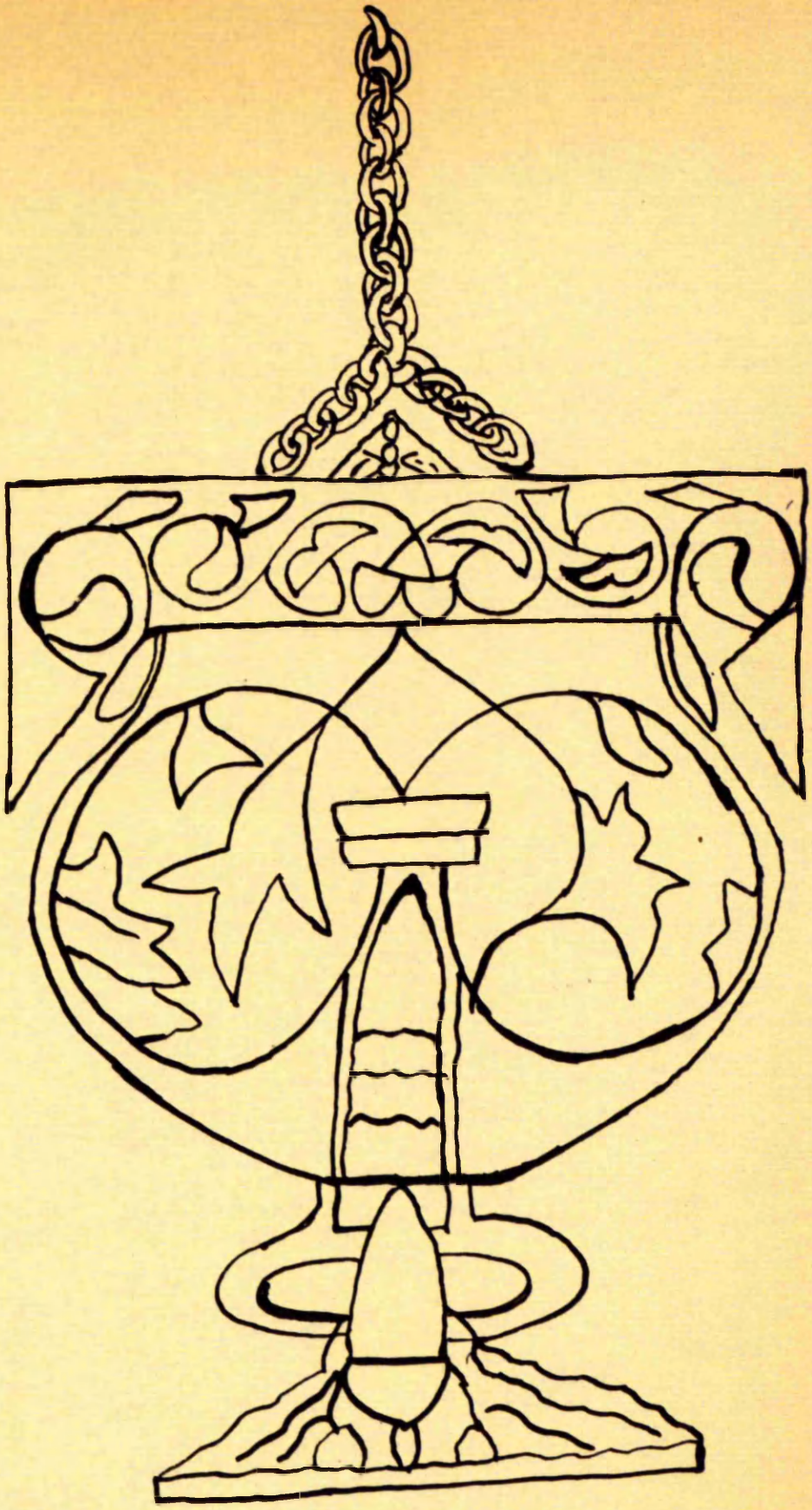


Fig. 89.

S.M.M.

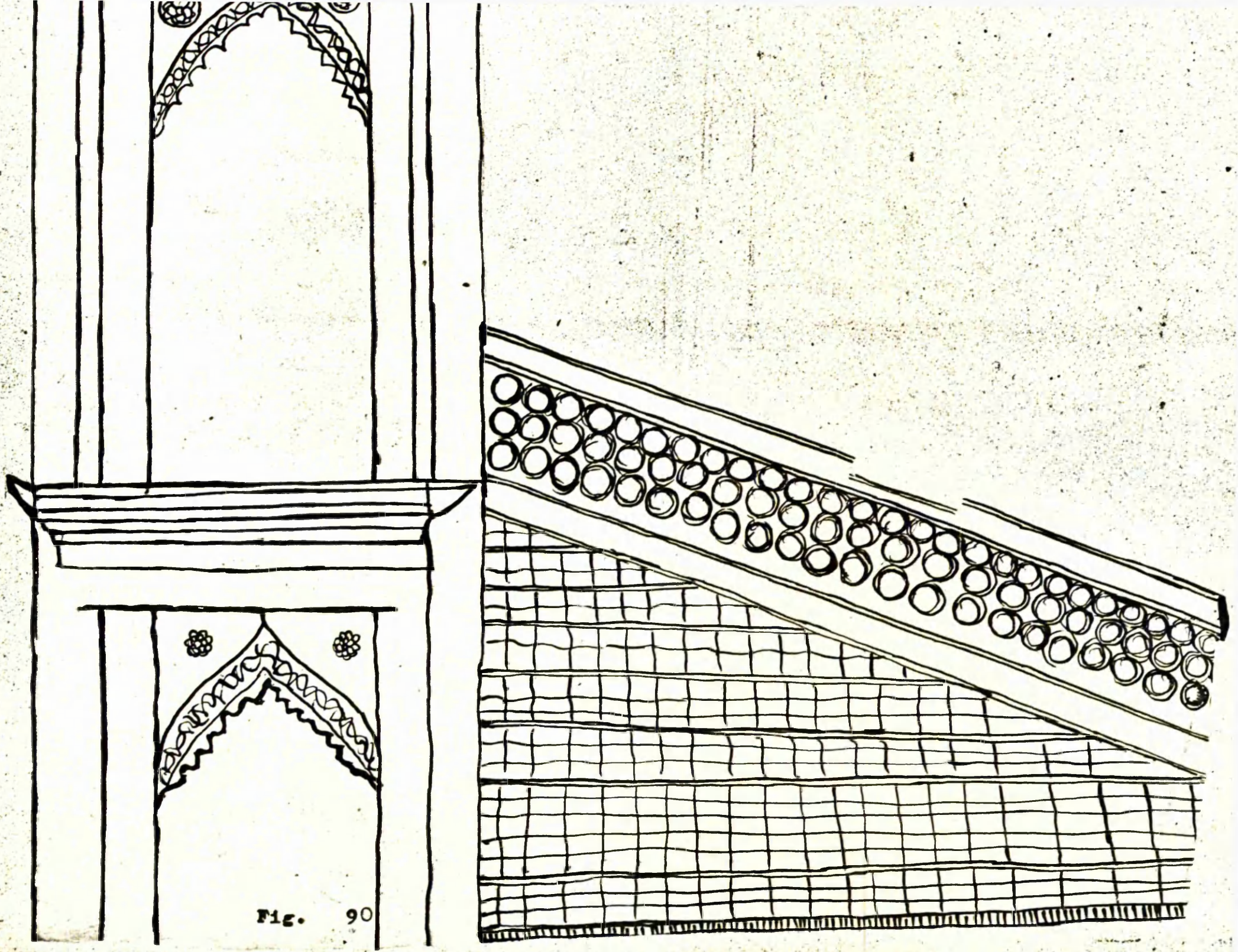
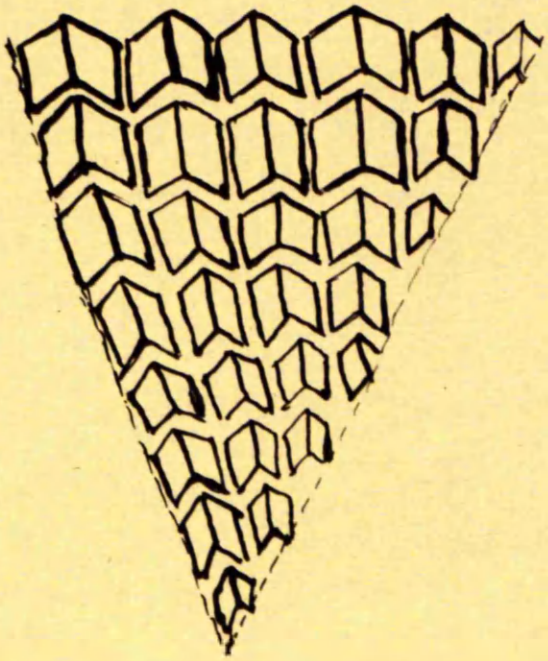


Fig. 90



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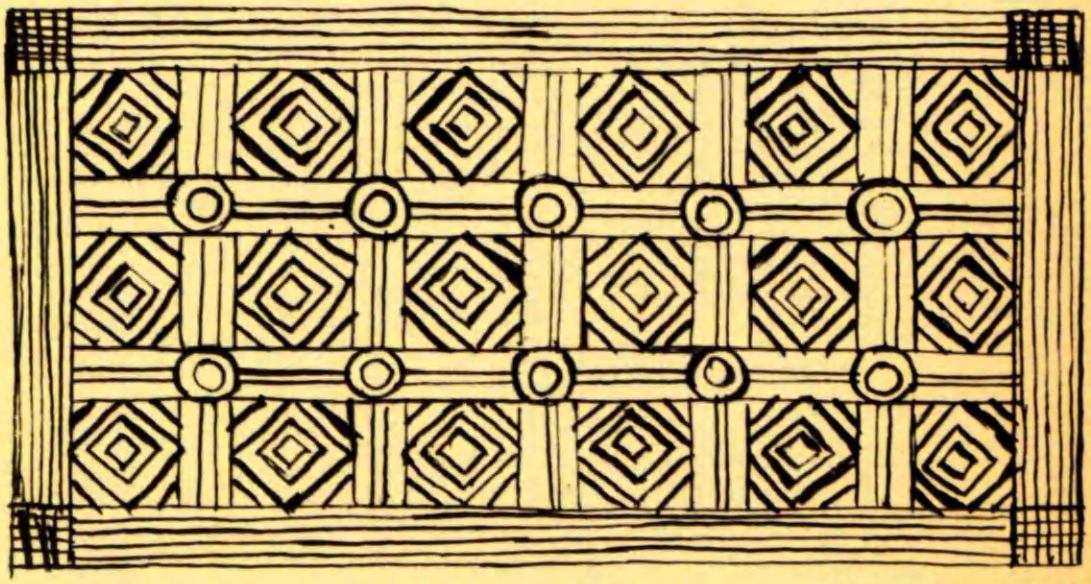

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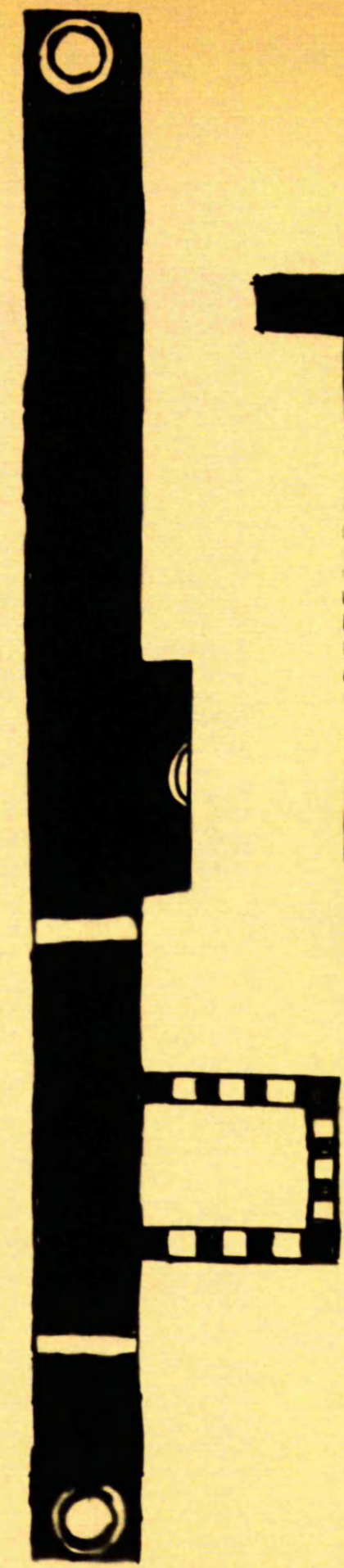
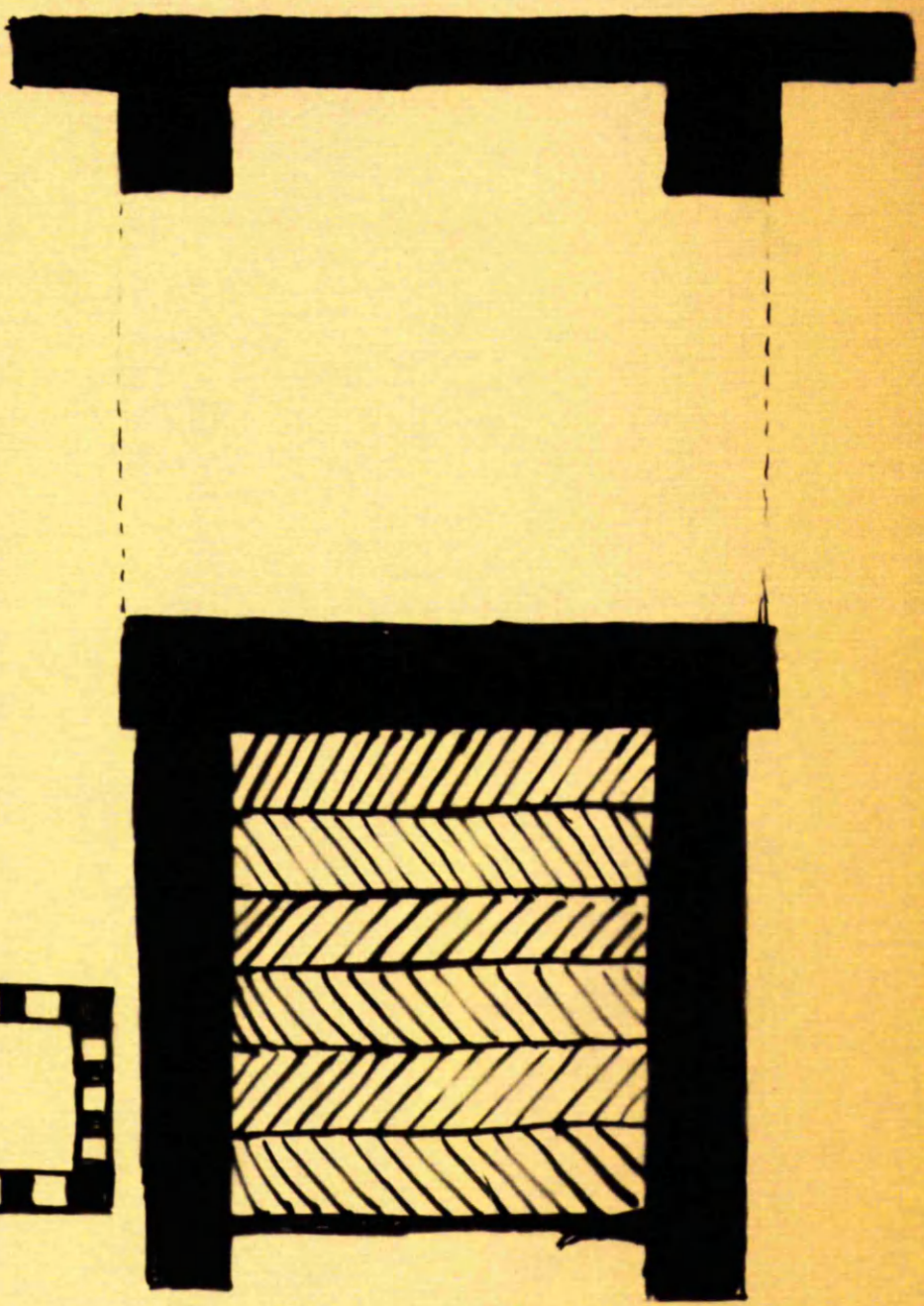


Fig. 93



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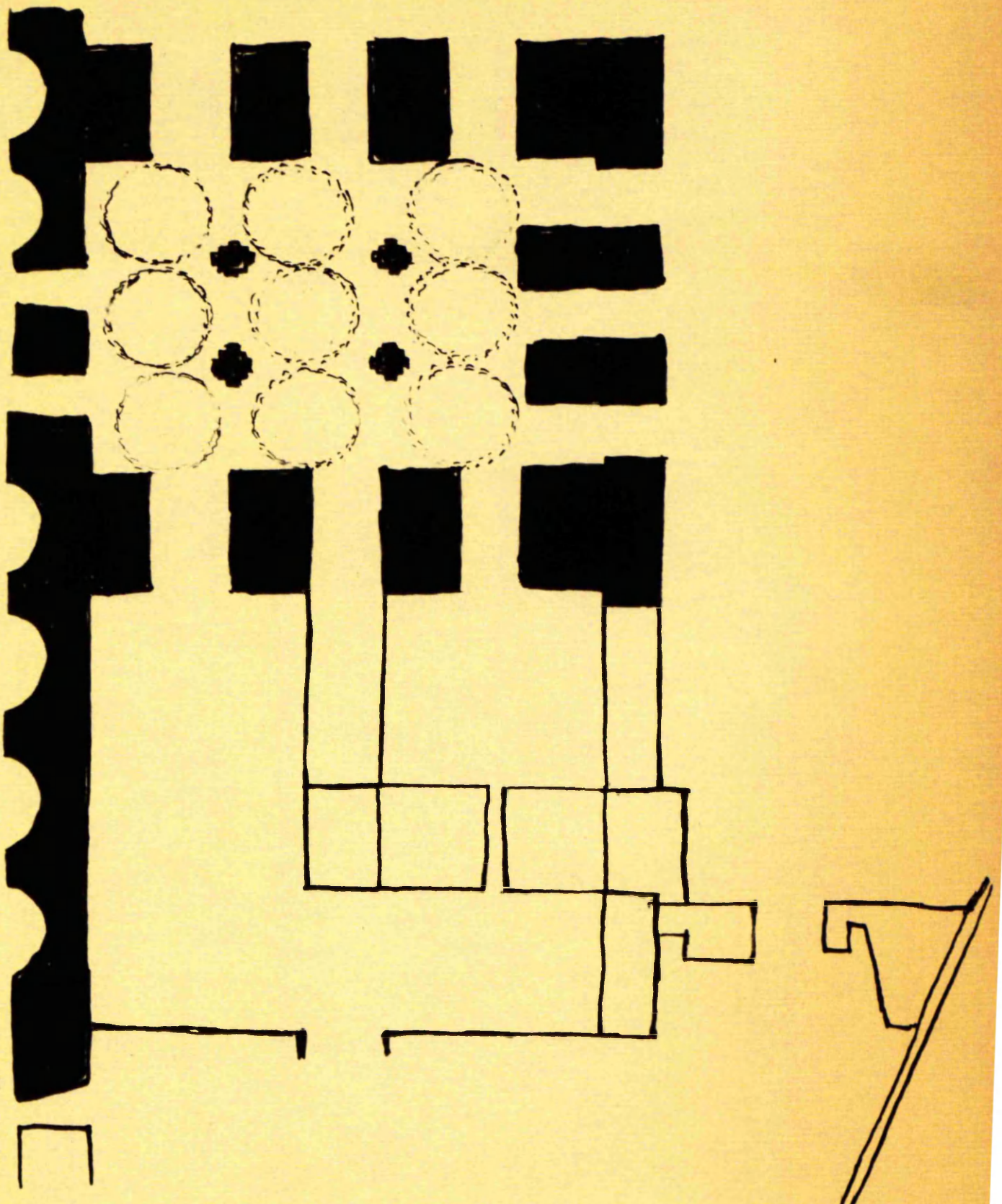


Fig. 95.

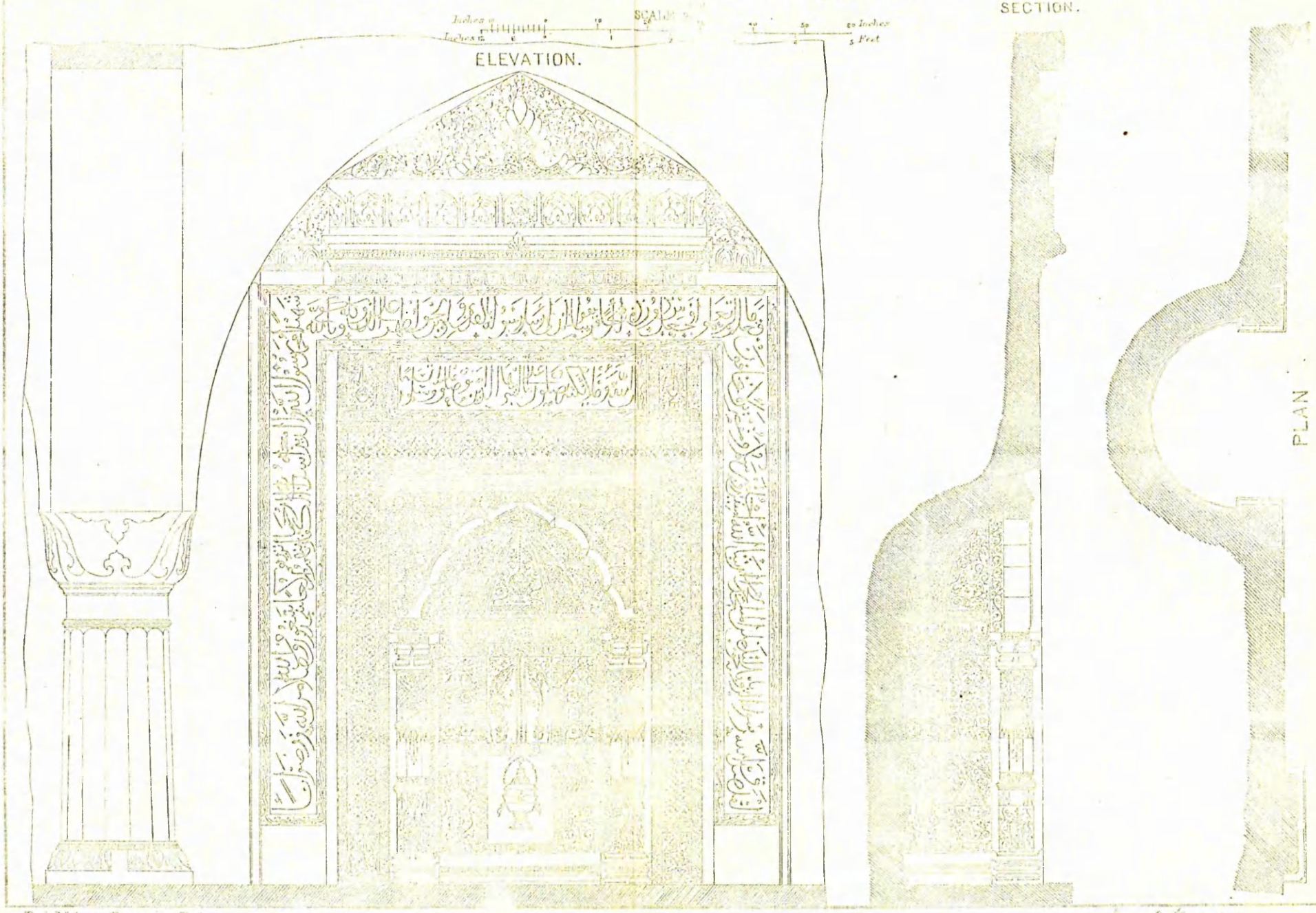
S.M.H

Fig. 97.

Fig. 96.

Fig. 98.

DETAILS OF UPPER NICHE ON LINE F.G. See Plate I

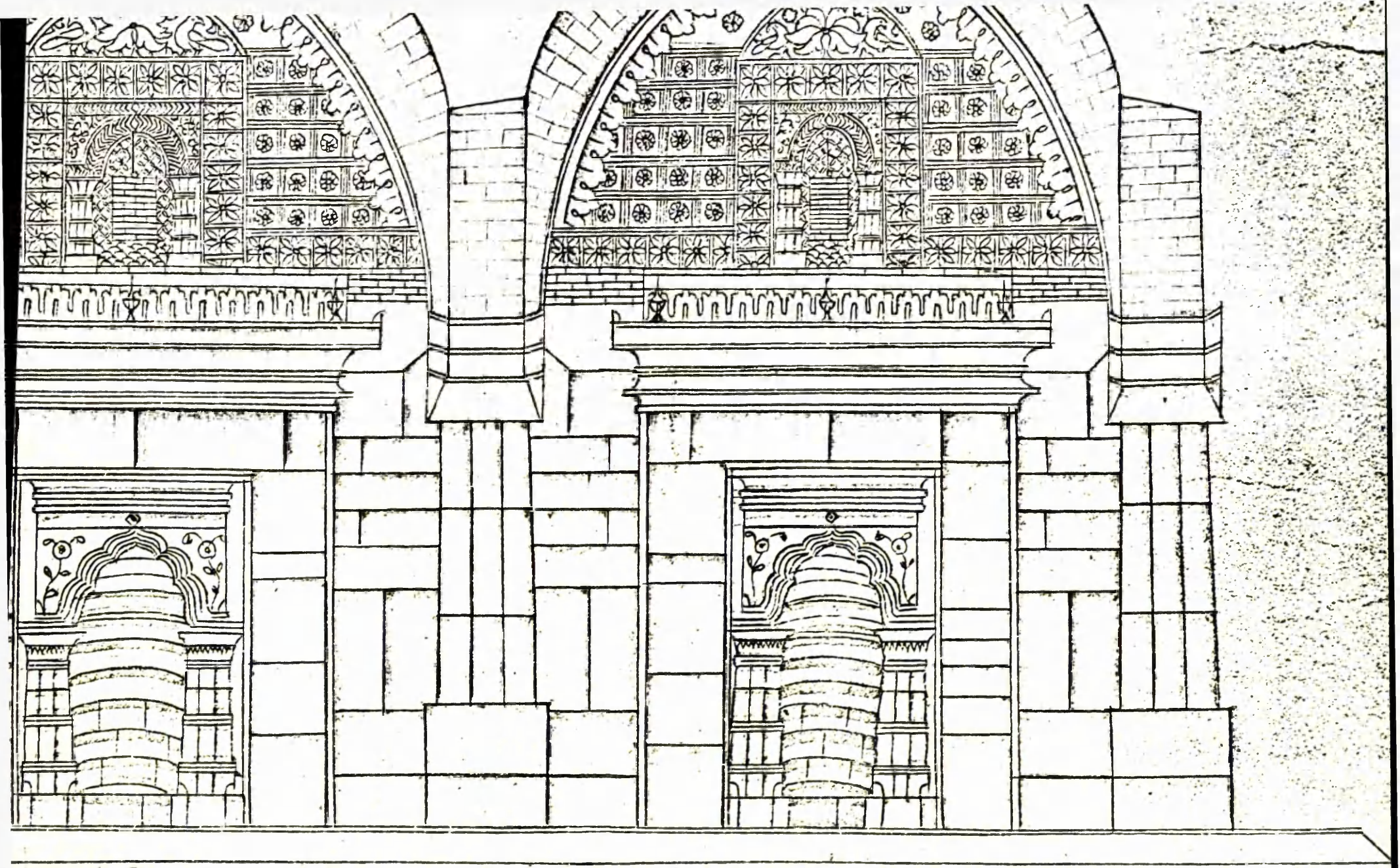


Raj Mohun Banerjee, Del.

Lith. by Kali Dhan Chandra, Student [illegible] School of A.A.

Archæological Su[illegible]

Fig. 99.



Purnea in Bengal

Fig. 45

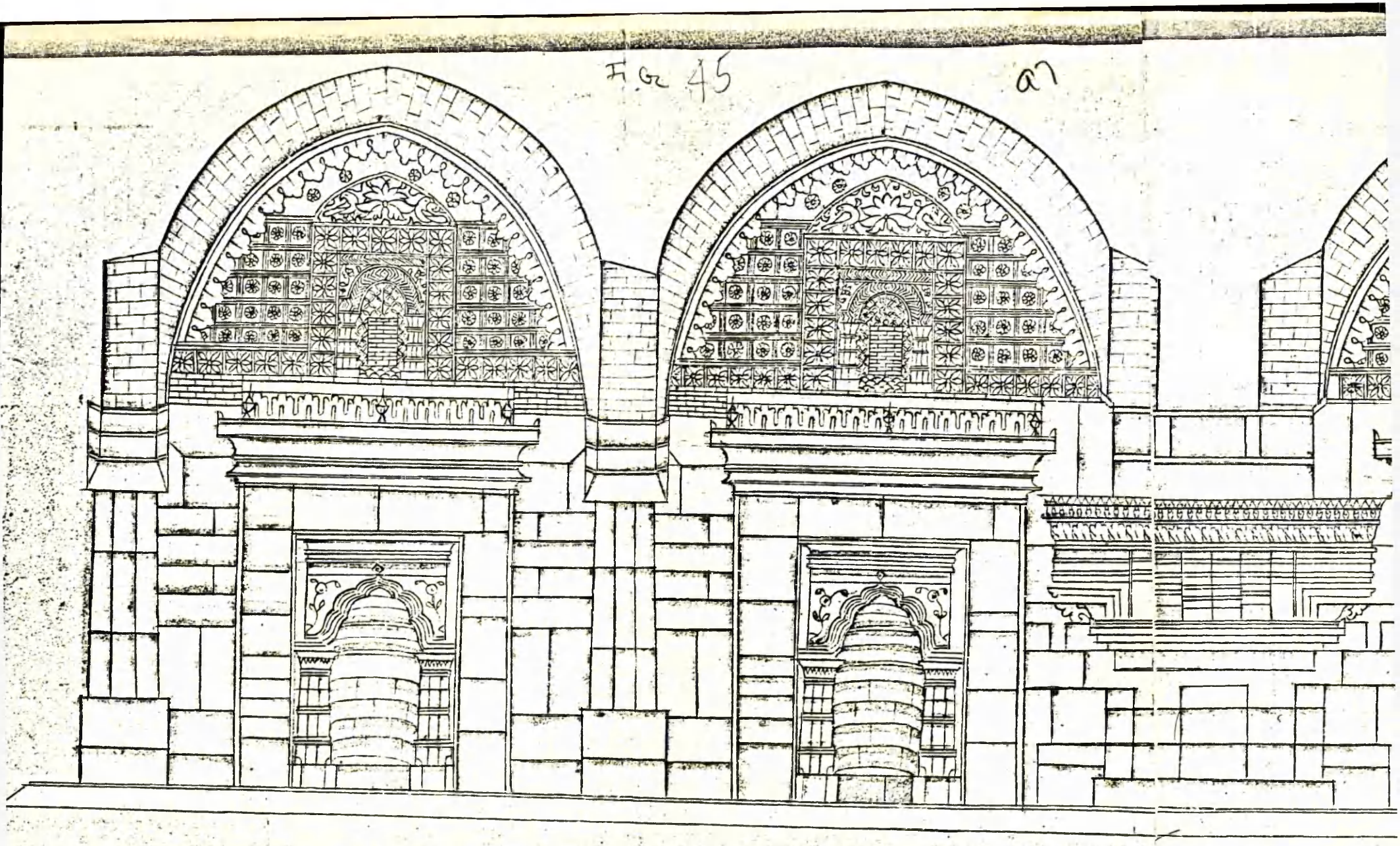


Fig. 100

Interior View of the Adeena Mosque.

A 01812

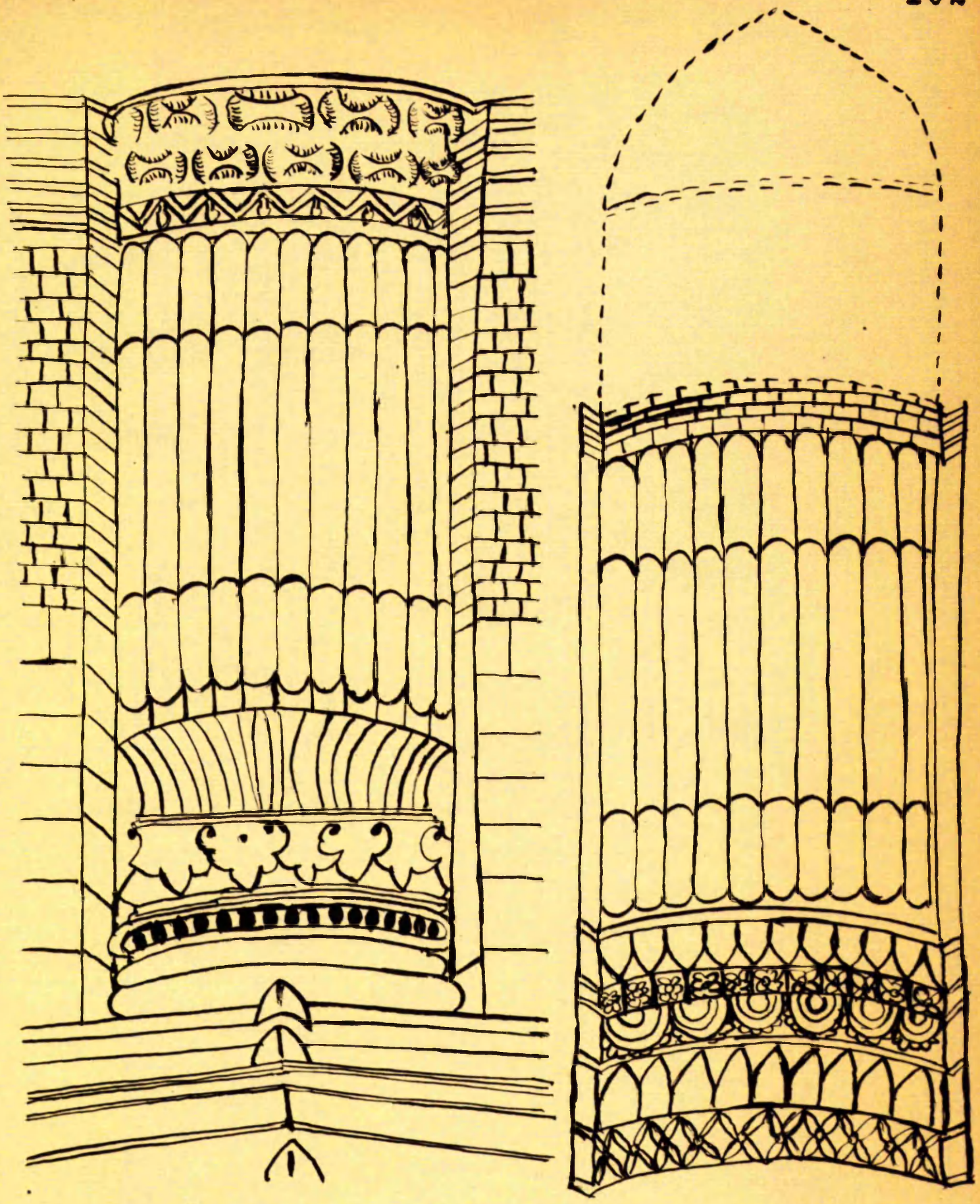


Fig. 101

S.M.

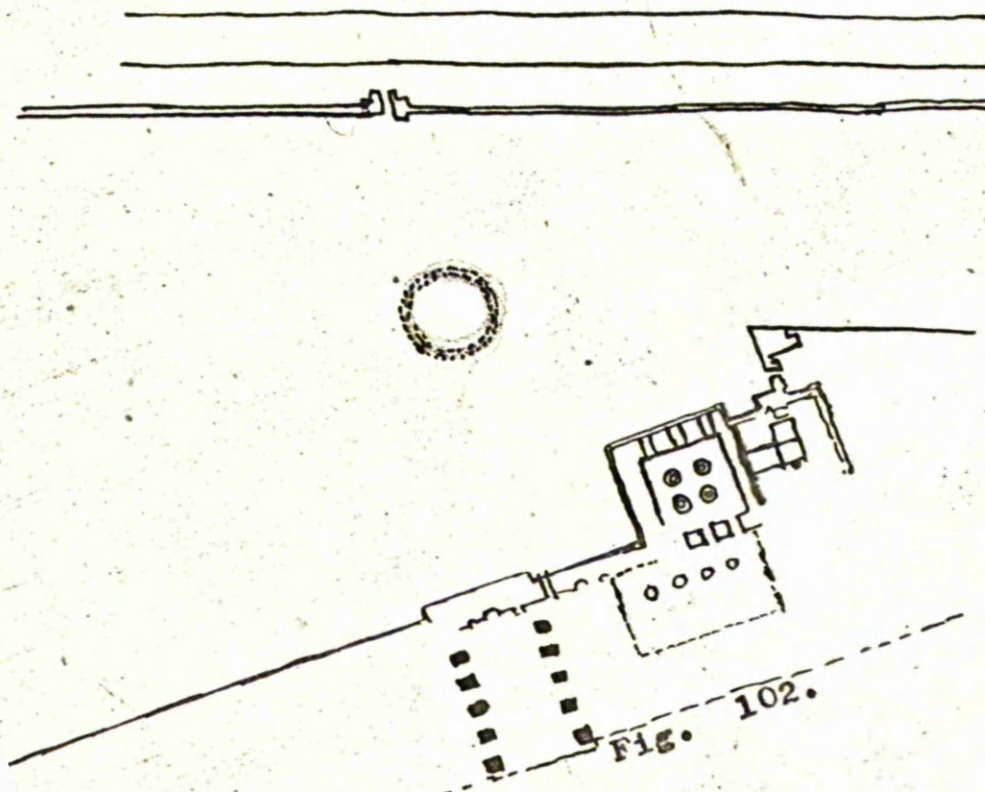


Fig. 102.

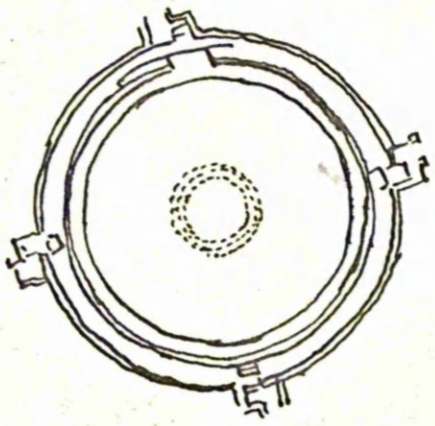
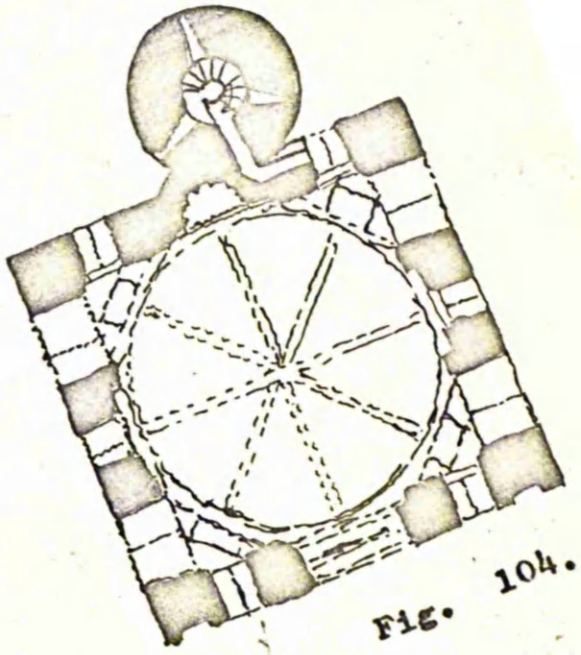


Fig. 103.



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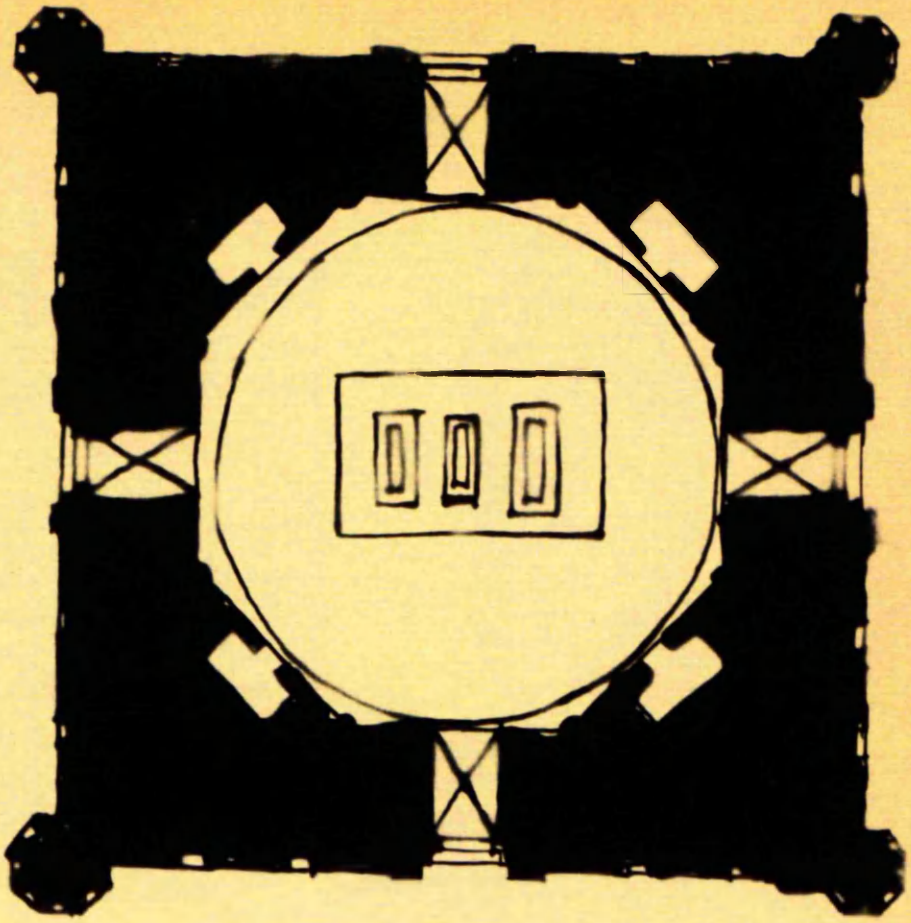


Fig 105

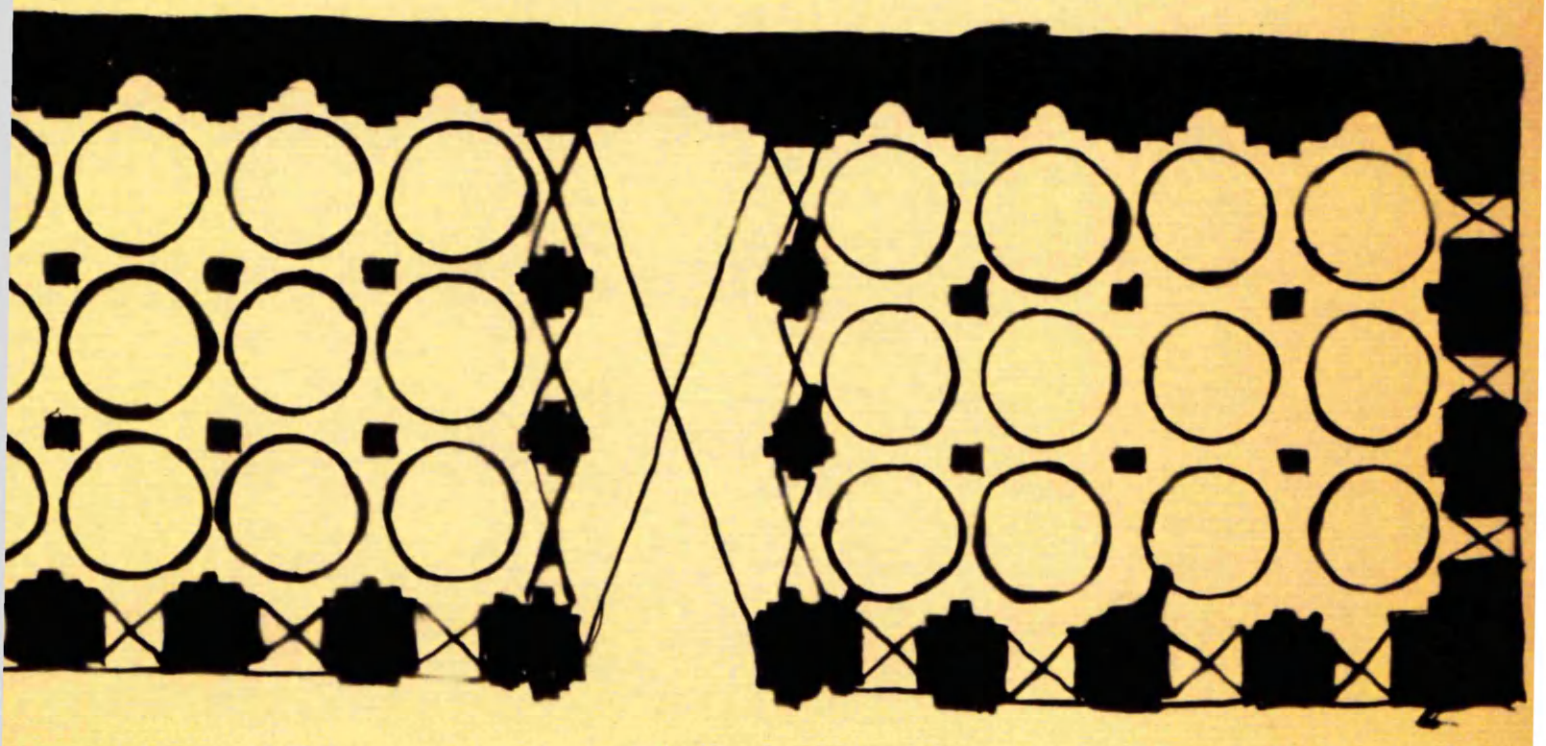


Fig 106

S.M.H.

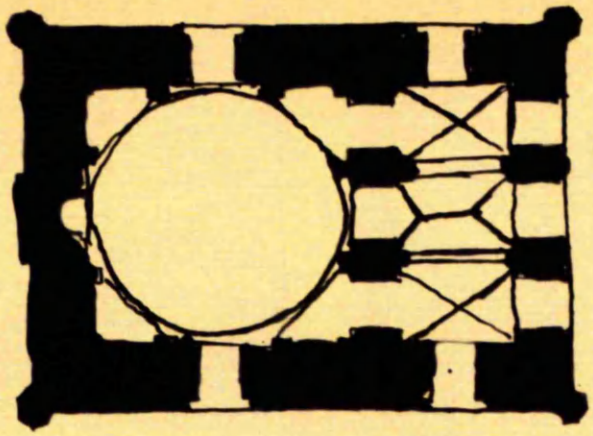


Fig. 107

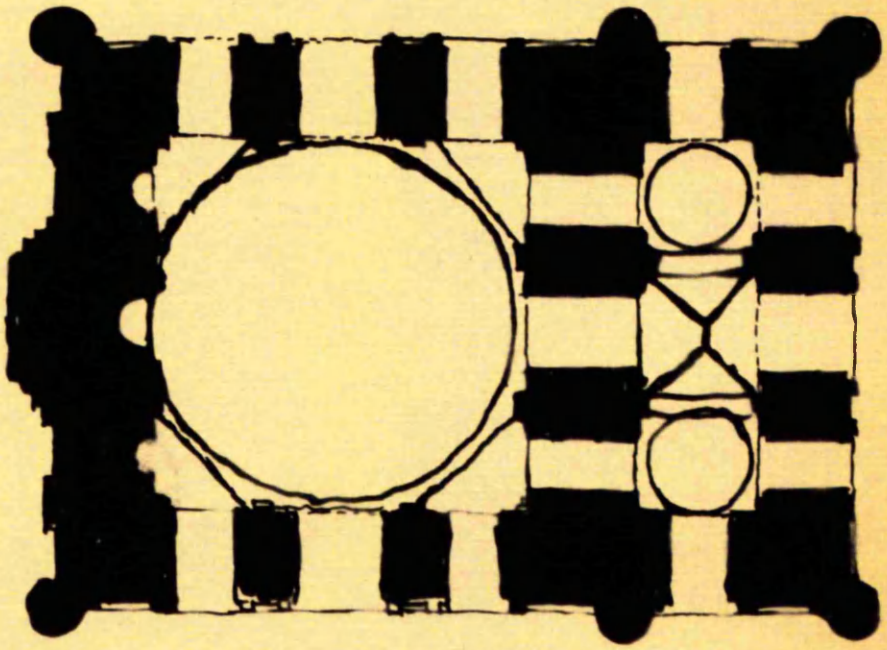


Fig. 108

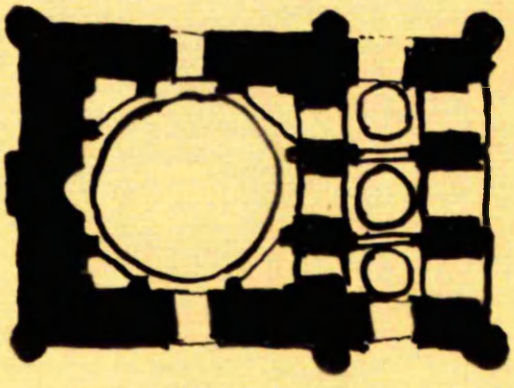


Fig. 109.

S.M.M.

Fig. 110

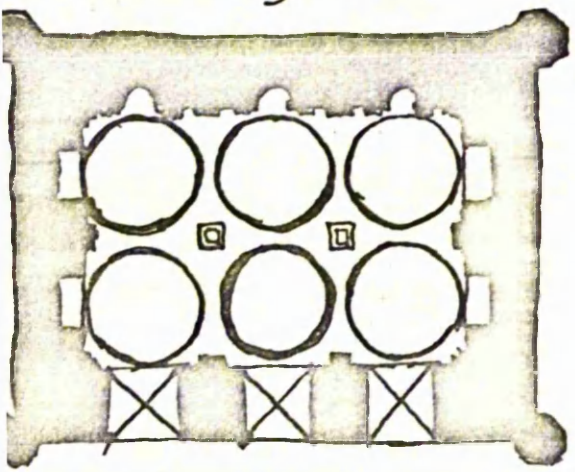
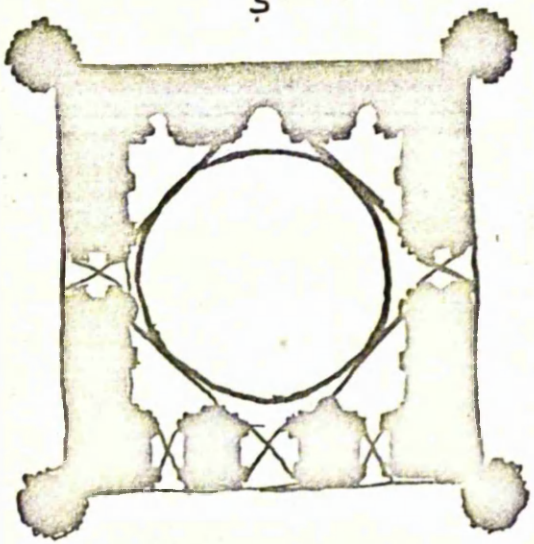


Fig. 111



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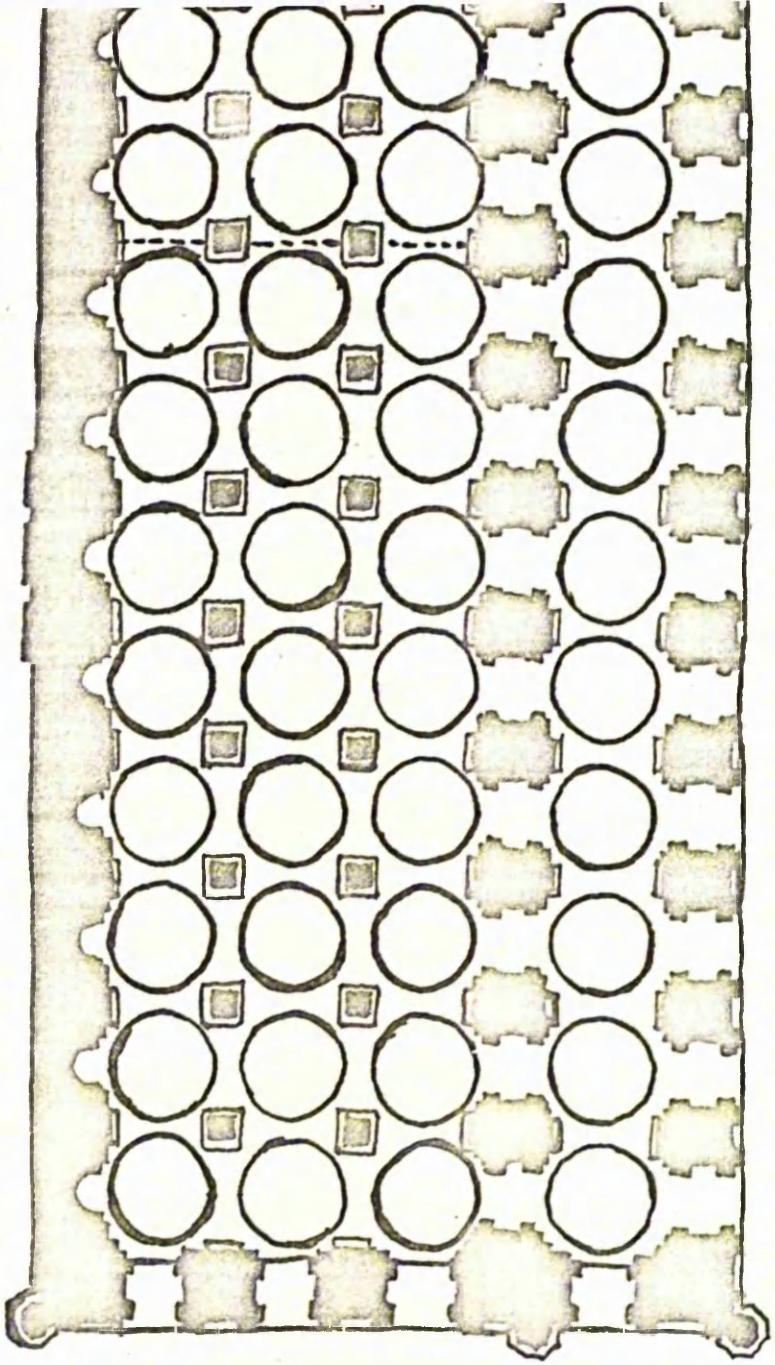

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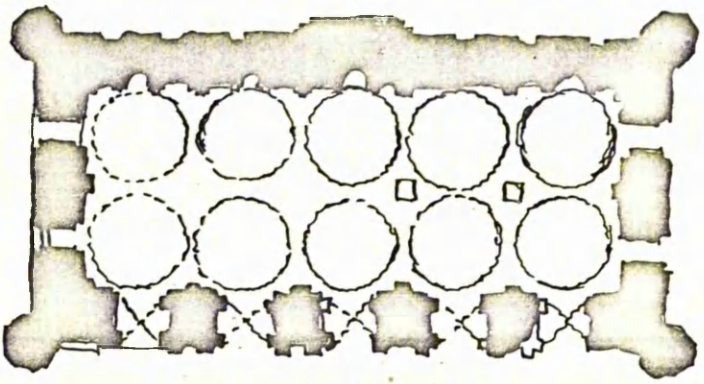

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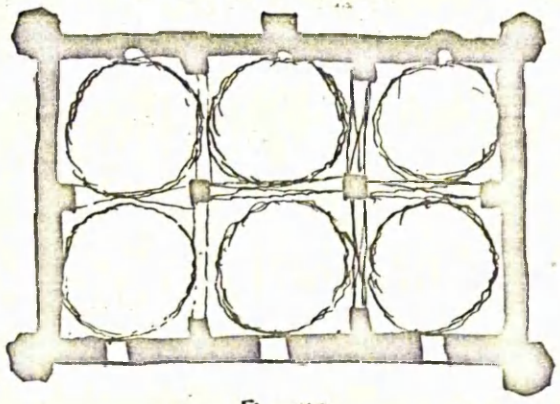


Fig. 119

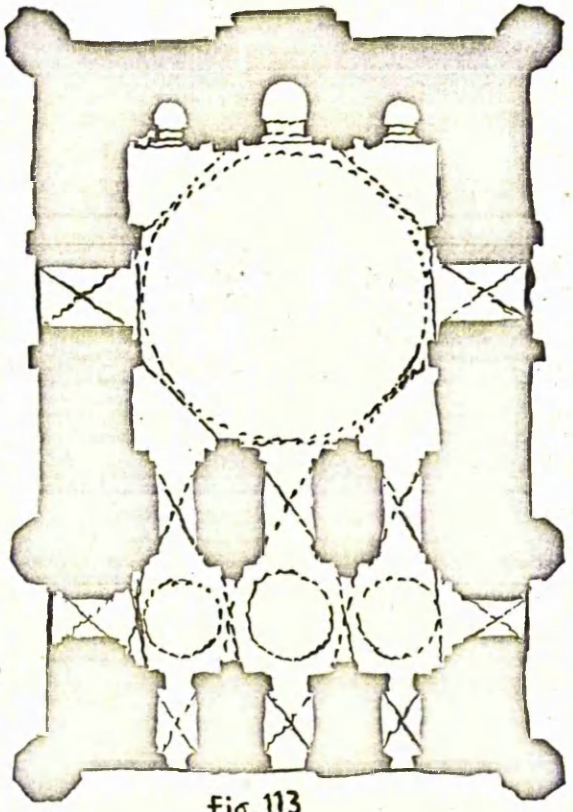
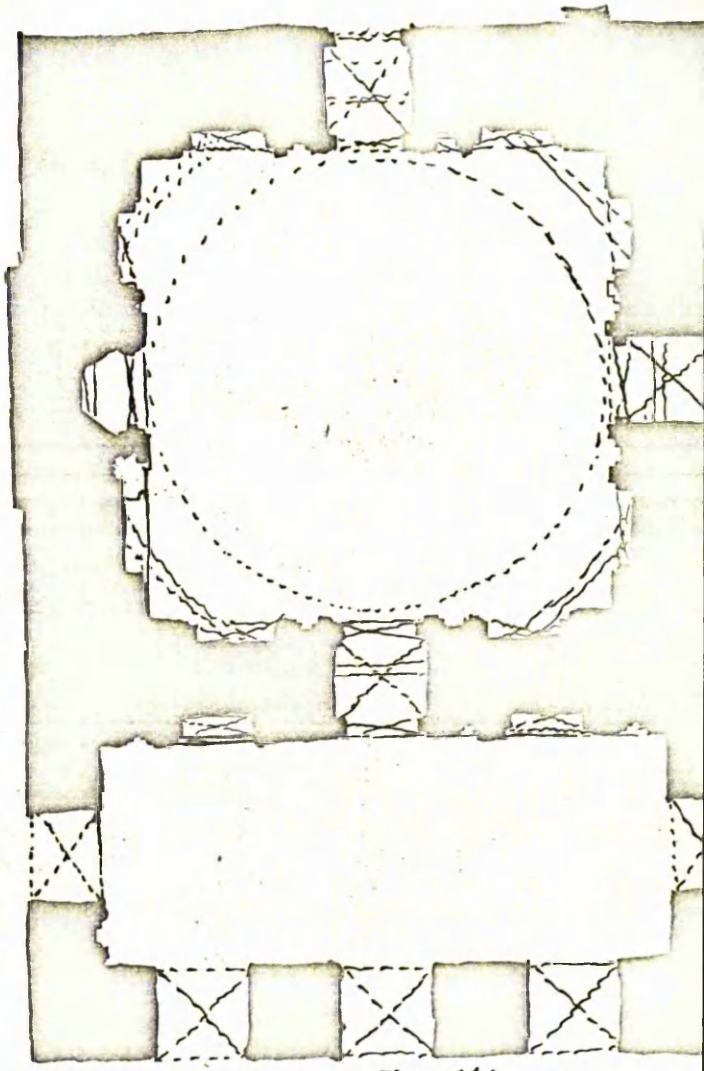


Fig. 113



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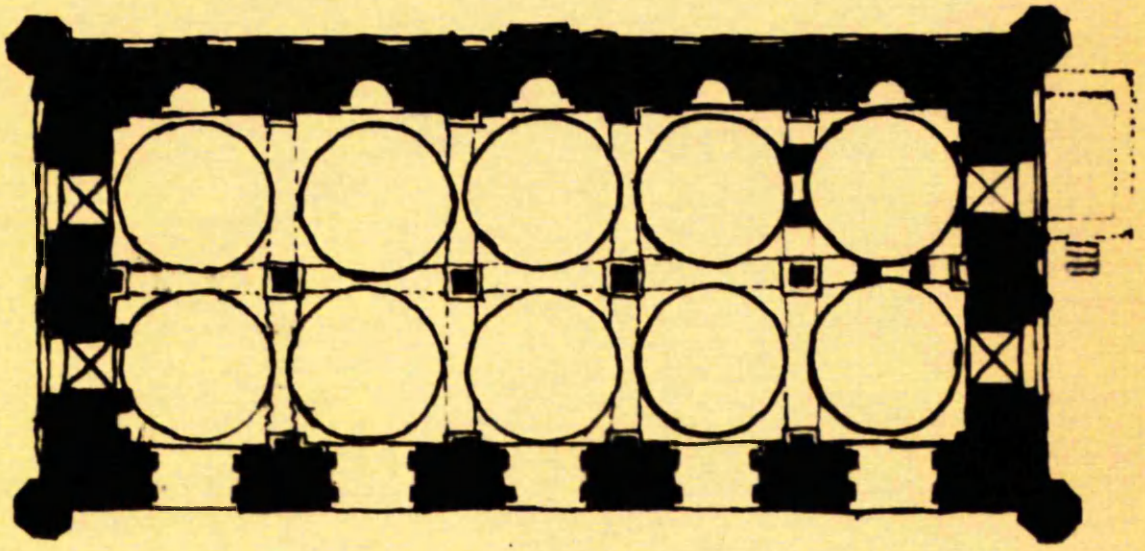


Fig. 116

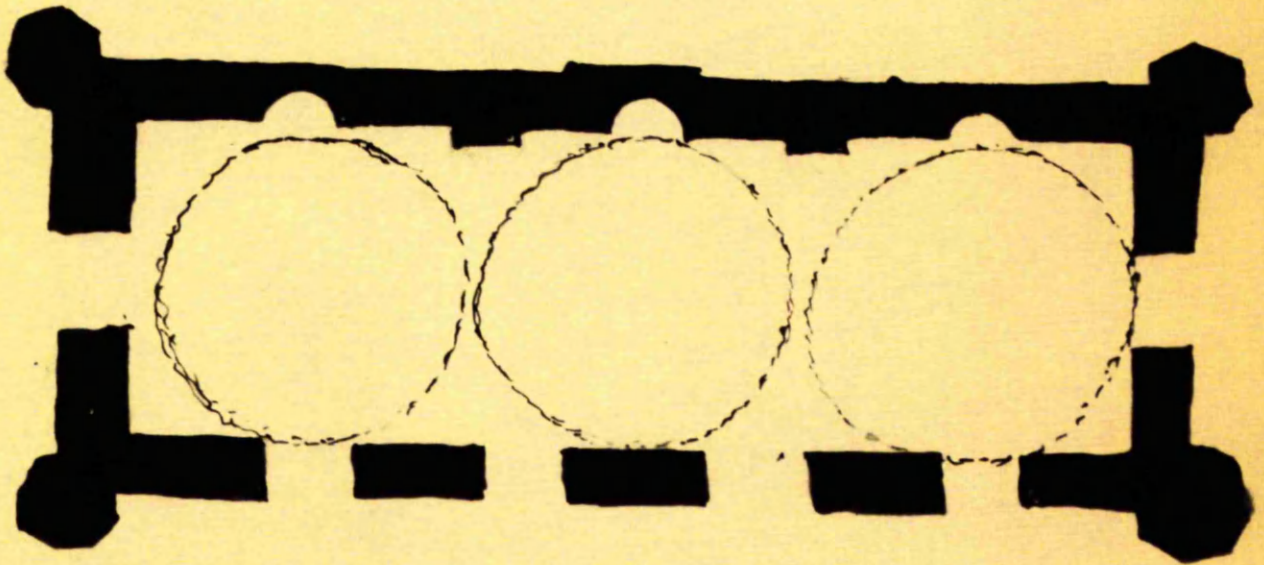


Fig 117

S.M.H.

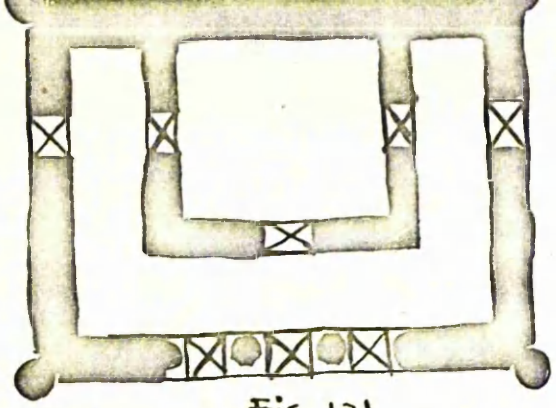
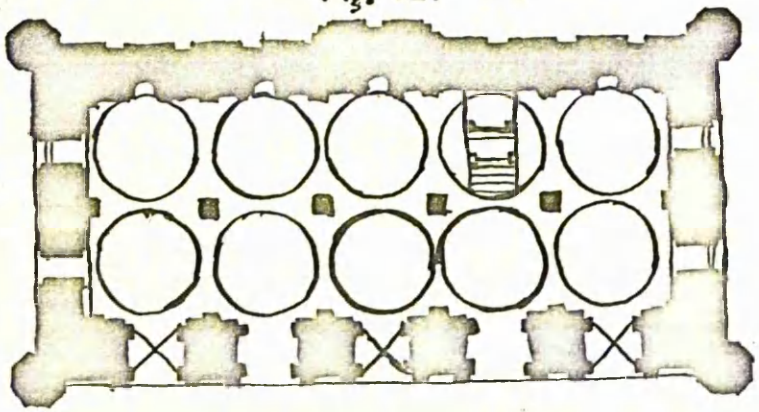


Fig. 121



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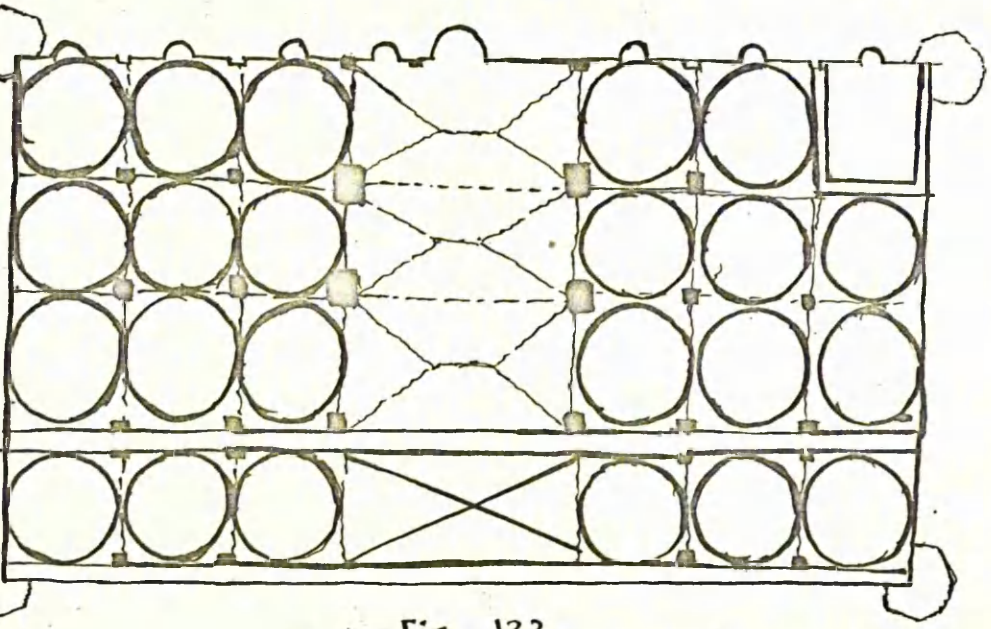


Fig. 123

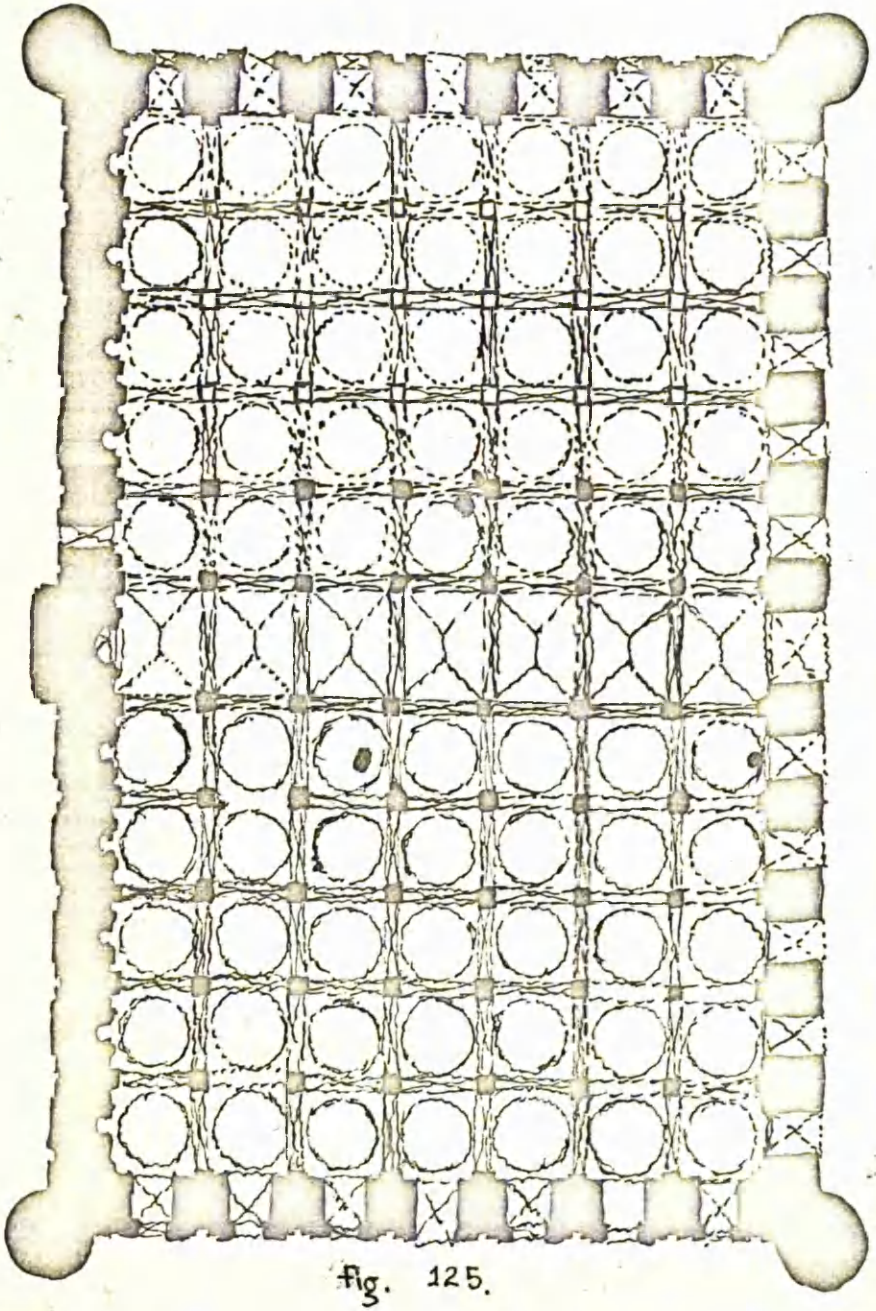
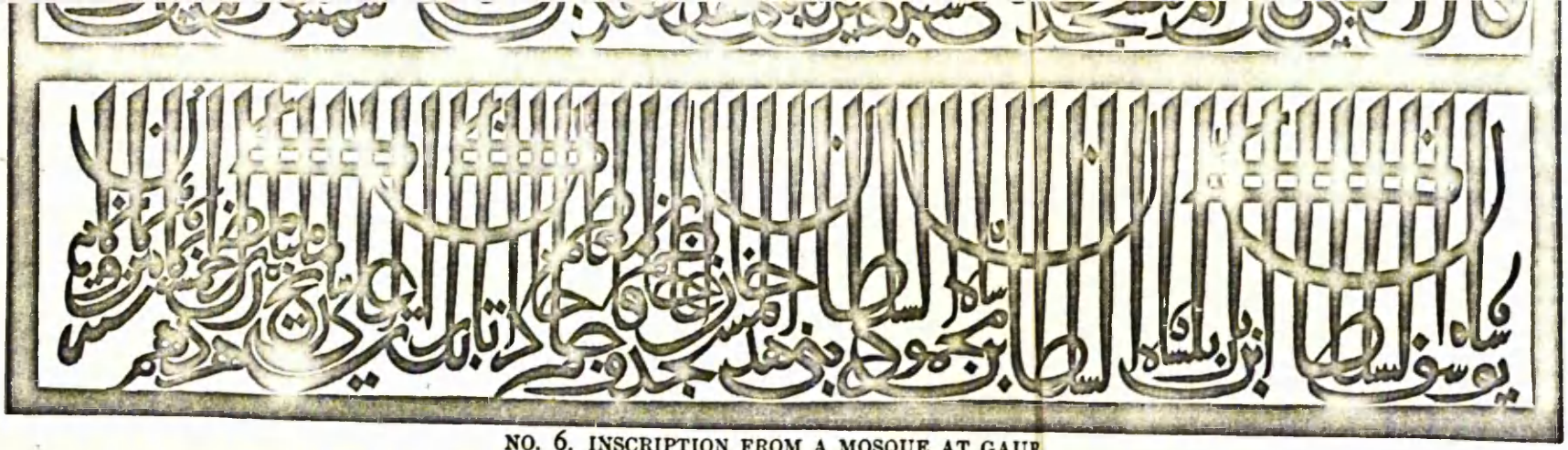


Fig. 125.

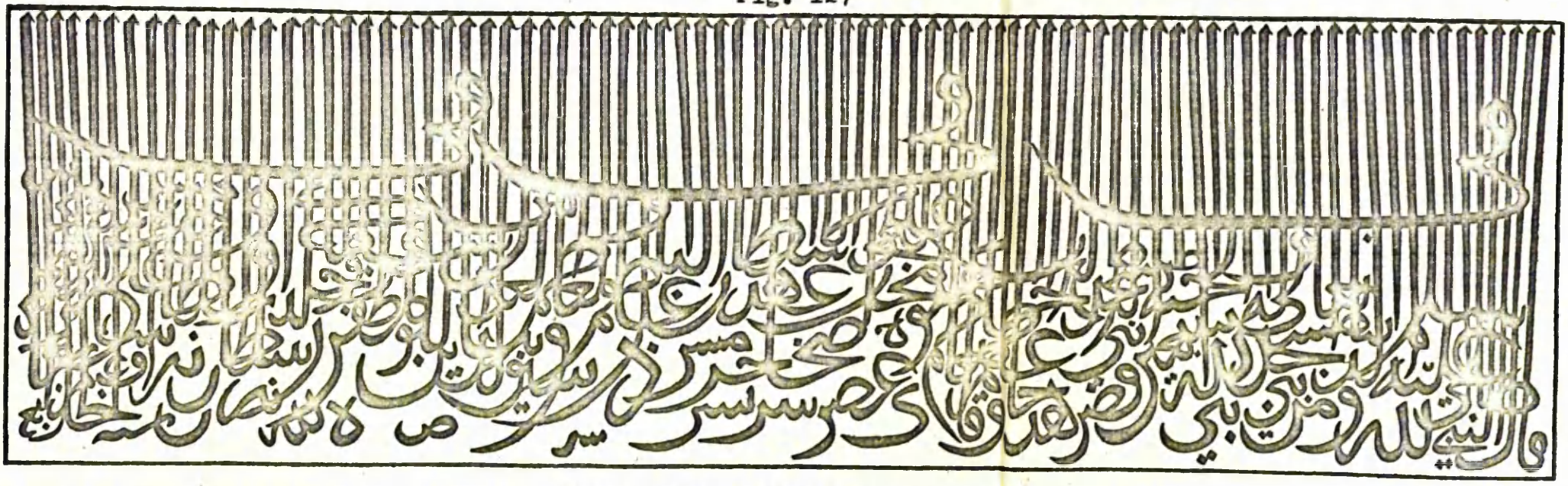
Fig. 126.

J.M.M.



NO. 6. INSCRIPTION FROM A MOSQUE AT GAUR.
(YÚSUF SHÁH, A.H. 885; A.D. 1480.)

Fig. 127



NO. 7. INSCRIPTION FROM A MOSQUE AT GAUR.
(FÍRÚZ SHÁH II, A.H. 894; A.D. 1489.)

Fig. 128

PLATE I

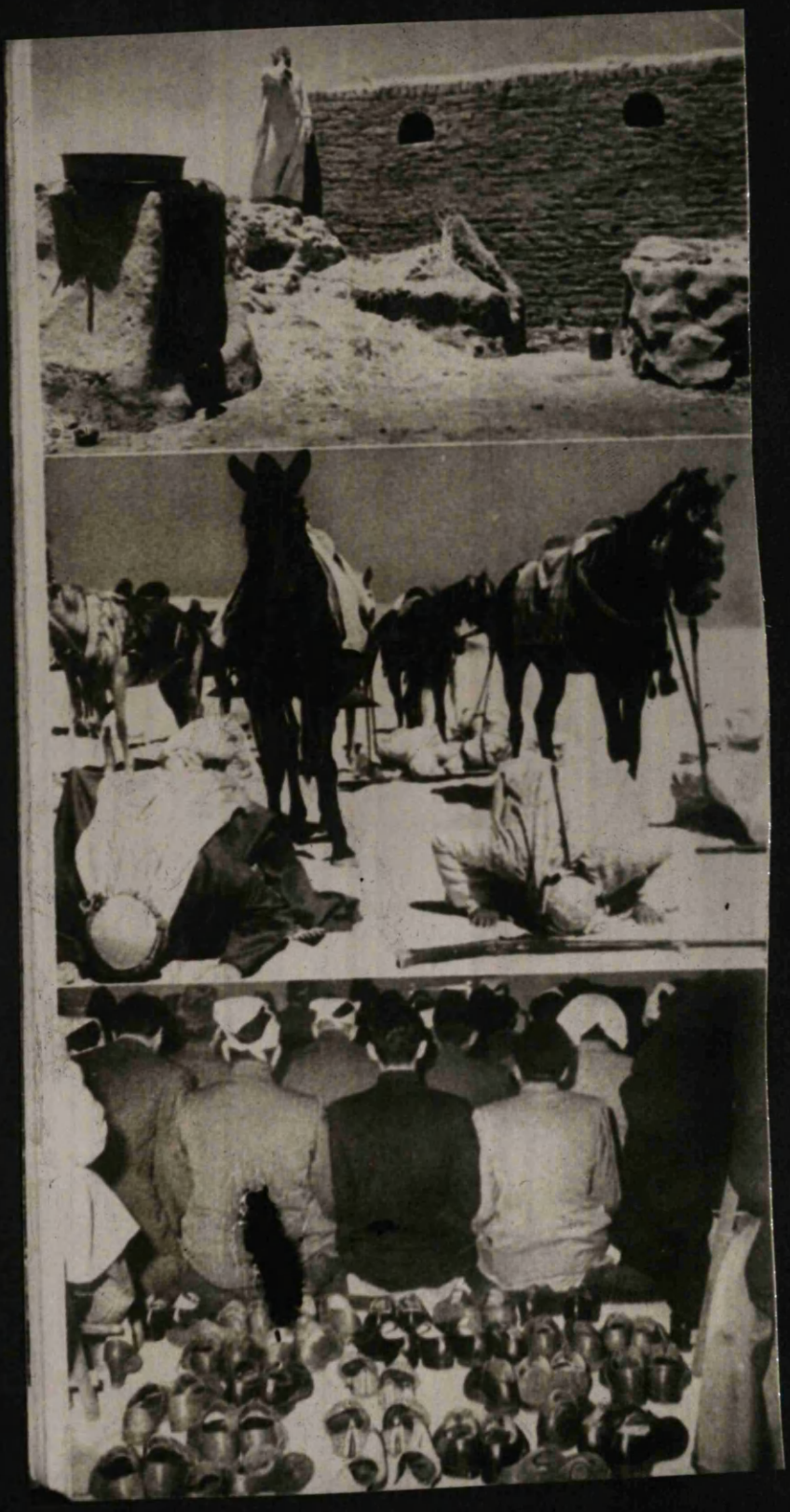
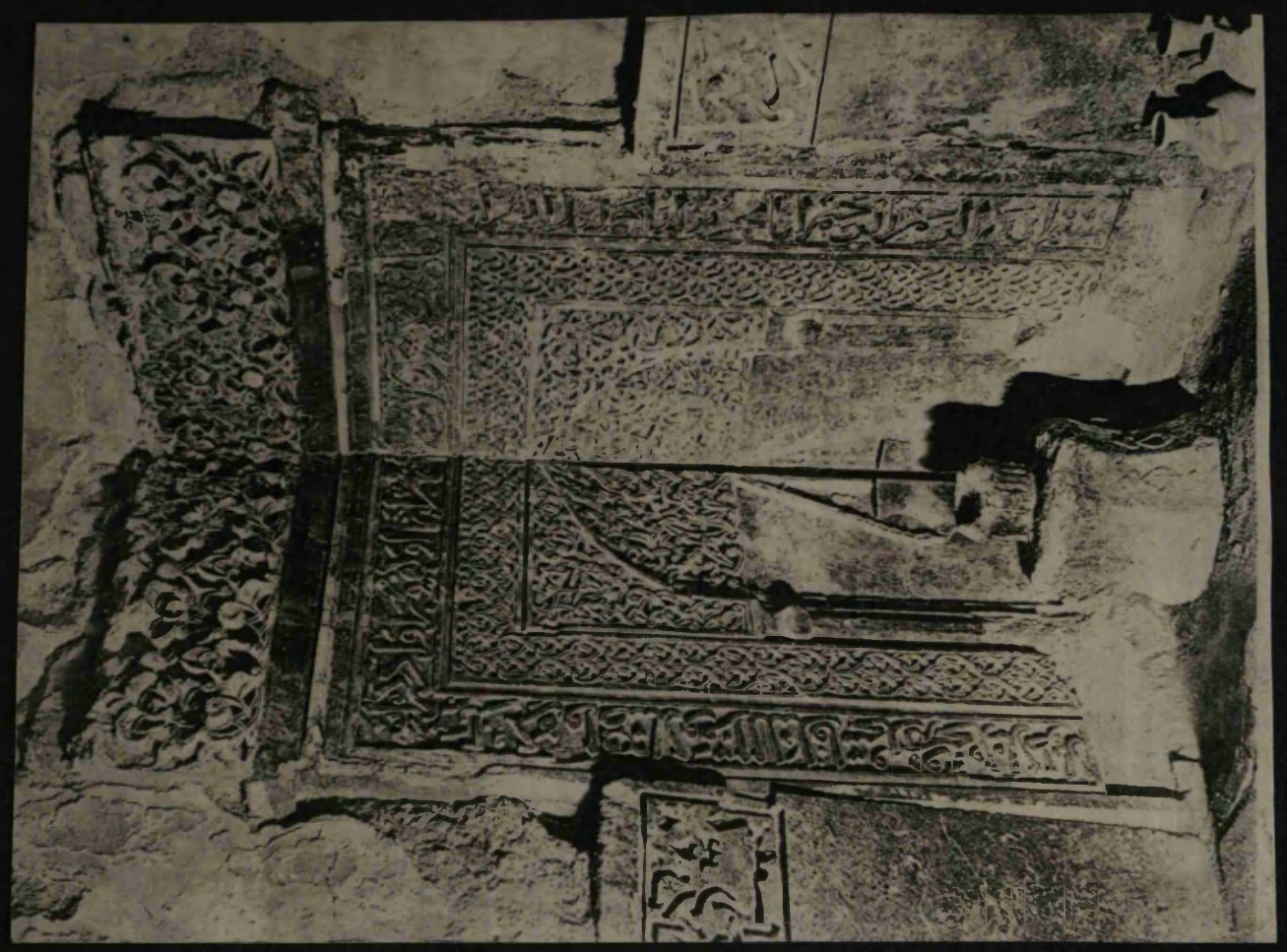


PLATE II
a-b

PLATE III
a-b



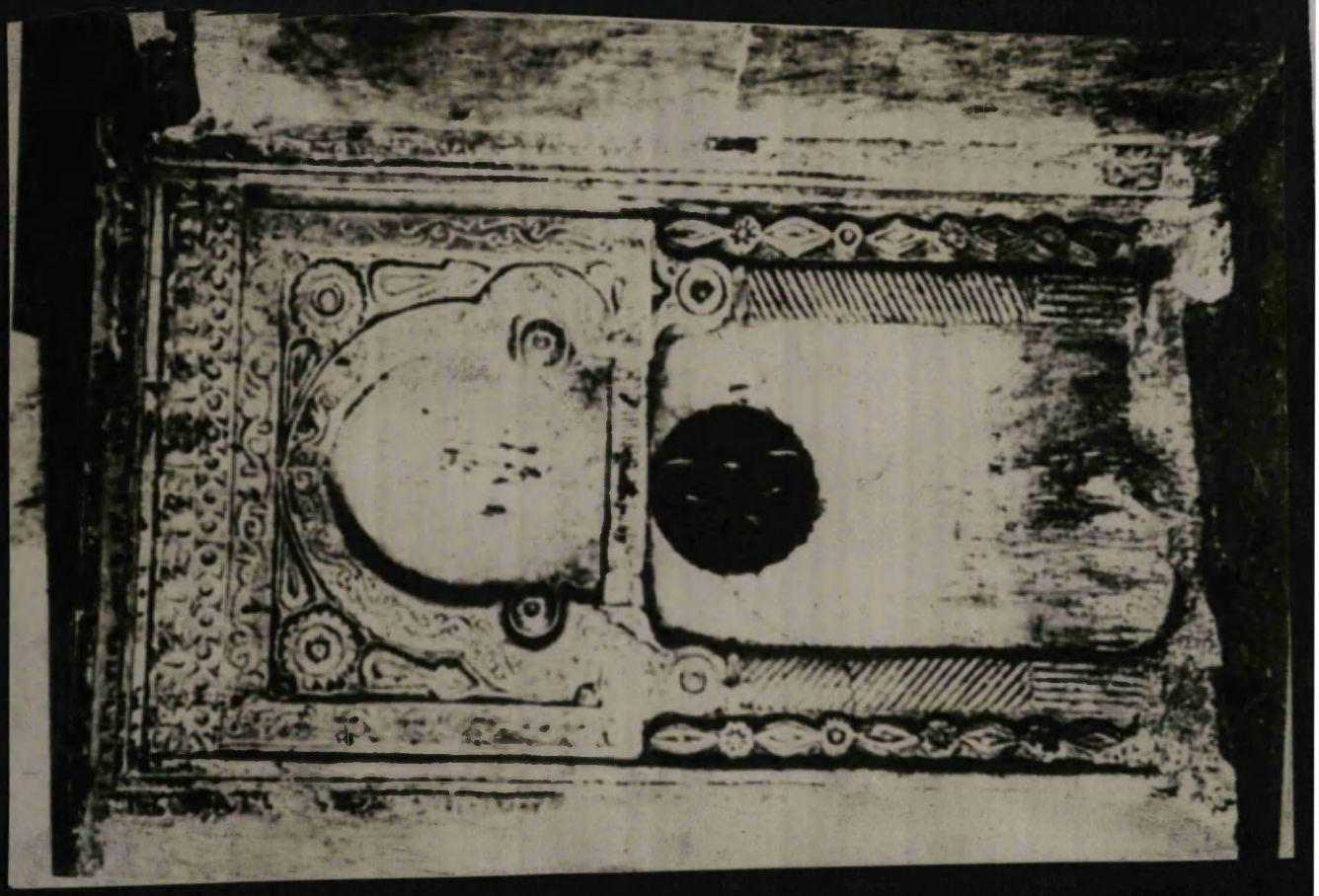
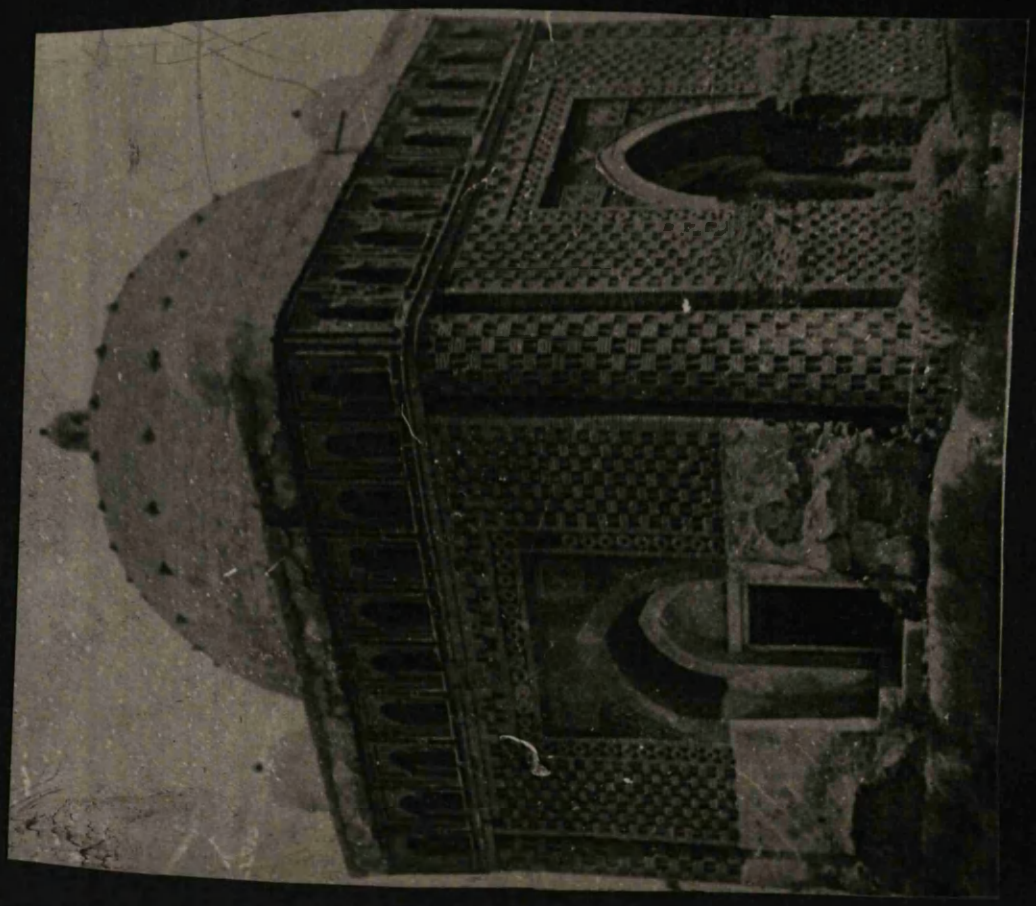


PLATE IV
a-b

PLATE V
a-b

PLATE VI
a-b



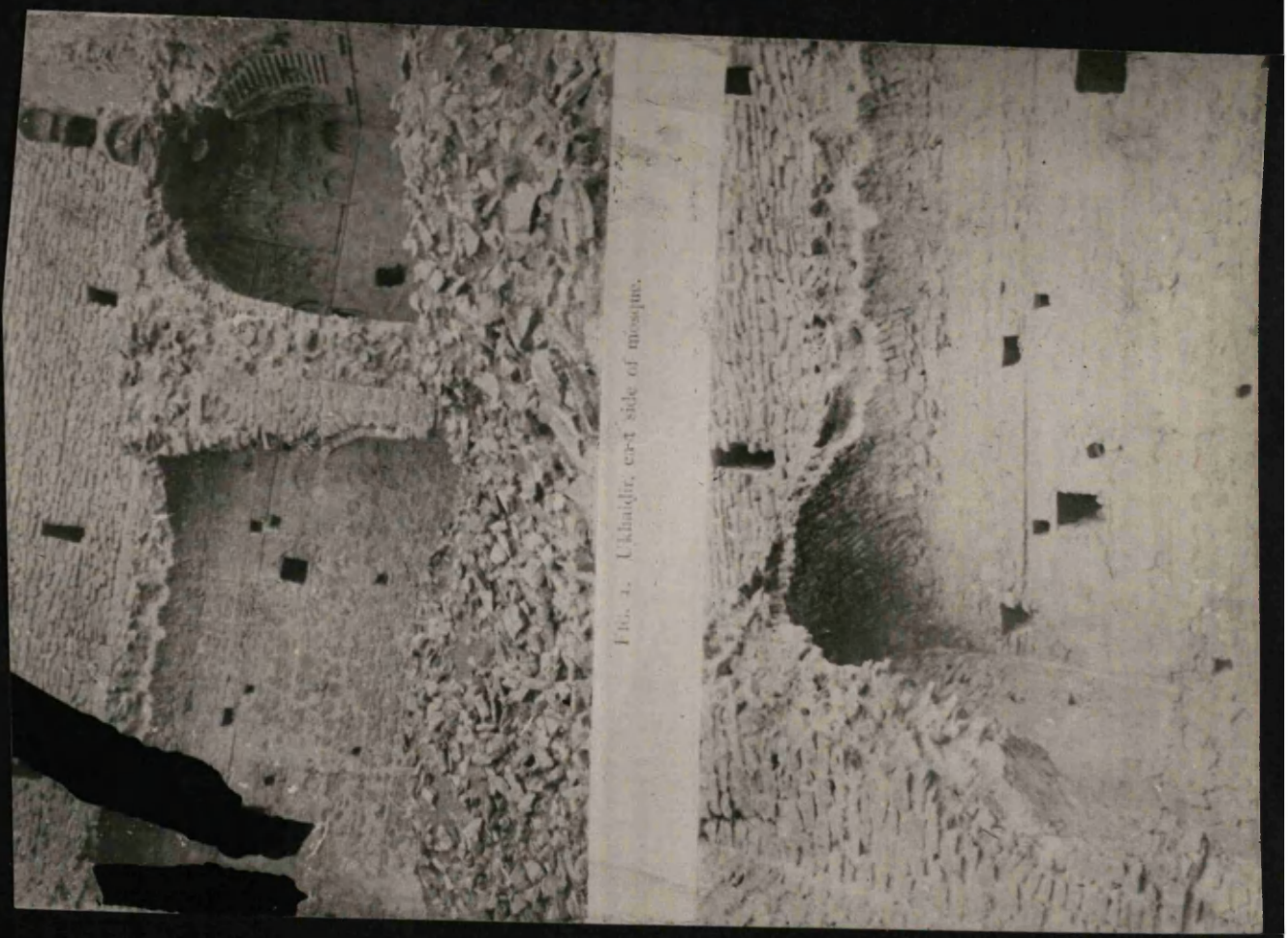


Fig. 1. Ukhaidir, east side of mosque.

PLATE VII
a-b

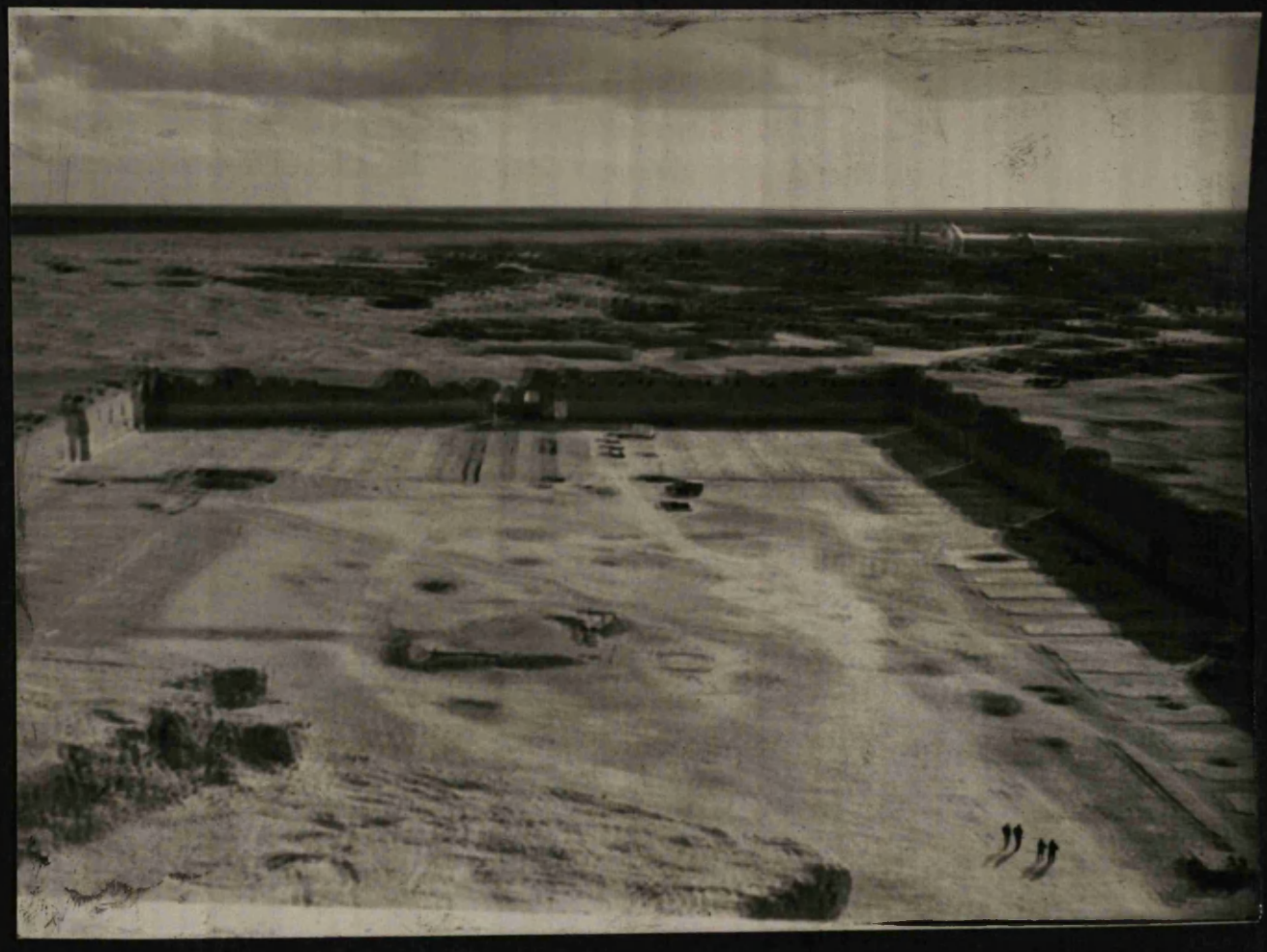


PLATE VIII
a-b

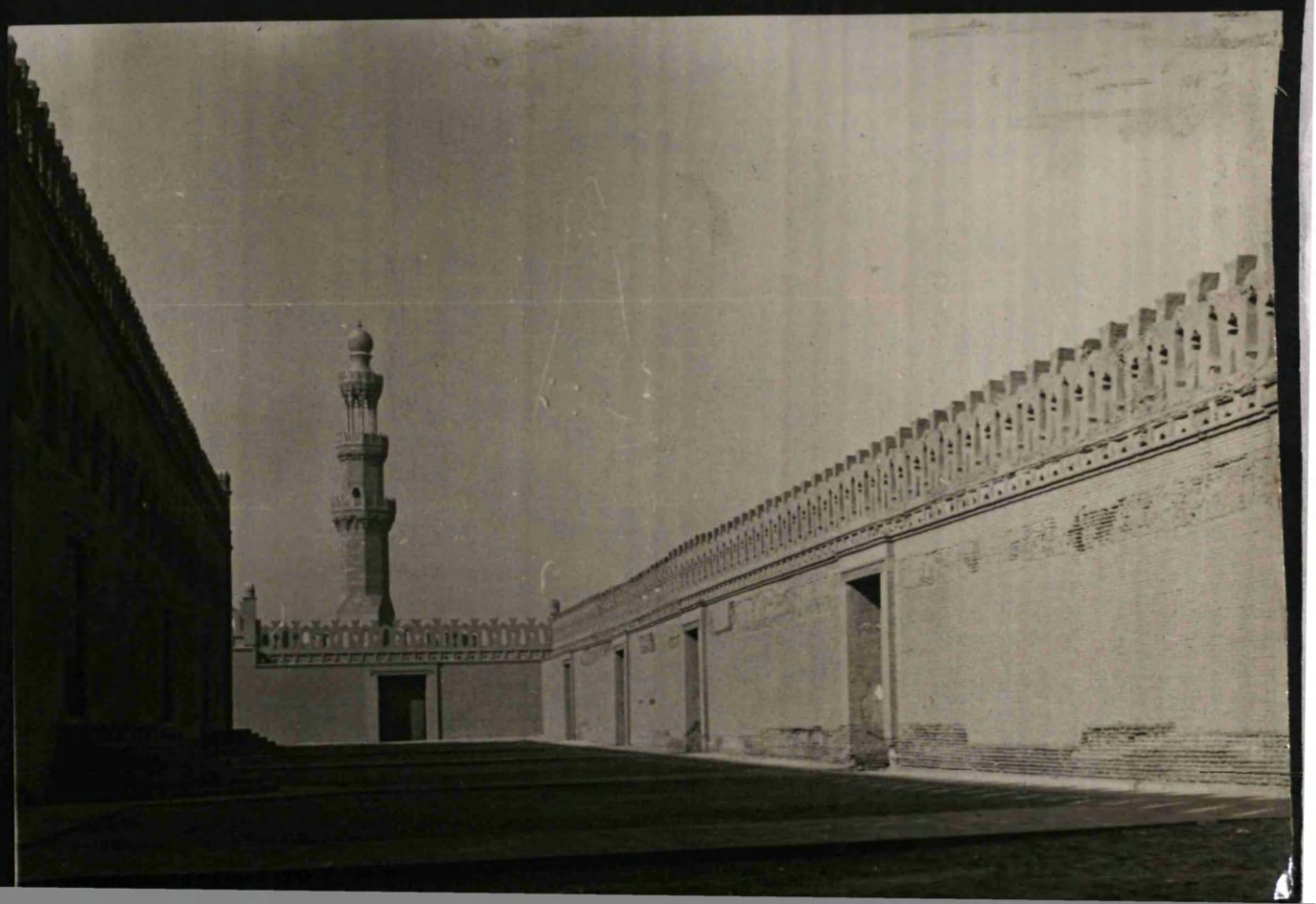


PLATE IX
a-b

a. Façade of sanctuary, the arches of the façade are recent work

PLATE X
a-b

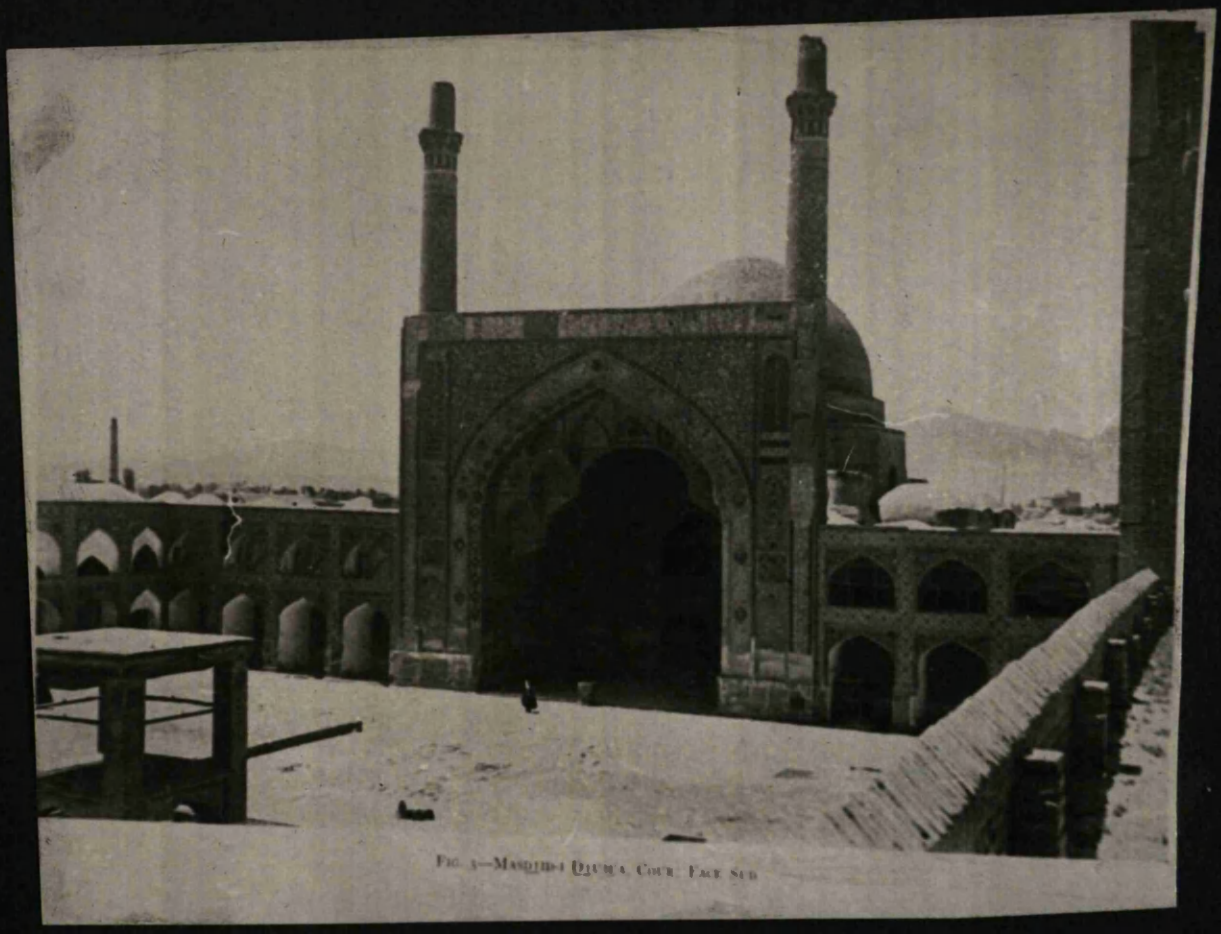
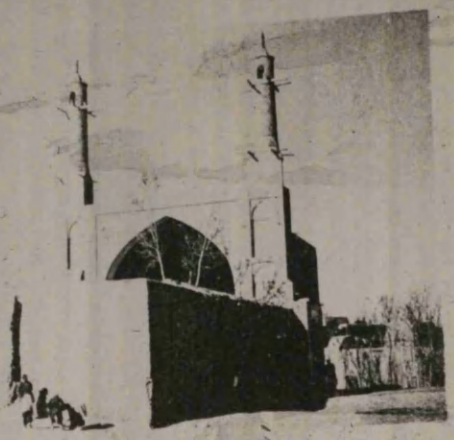


FIG. 3.—MASJID-I DJUMA, COUR. FACE SUD

PLATE XI
a-b

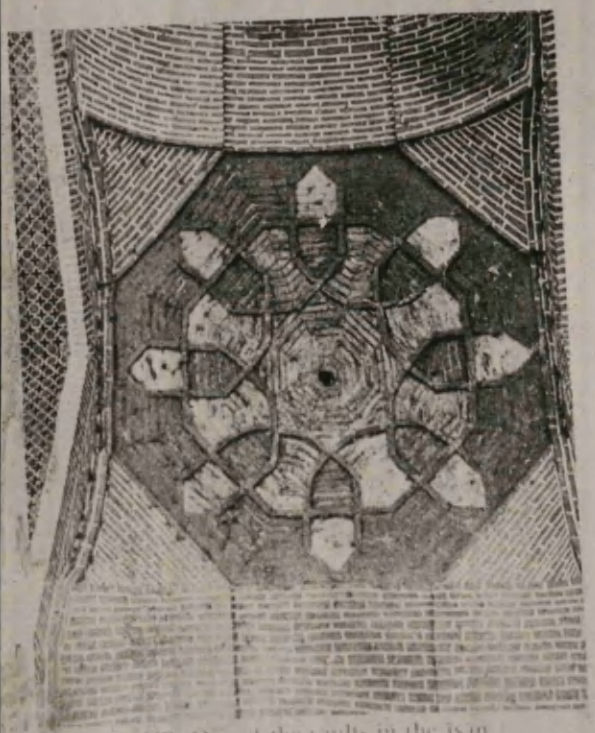
A. Dome over Old Corridor and Roof of Southwest Iwan

PLATE XII

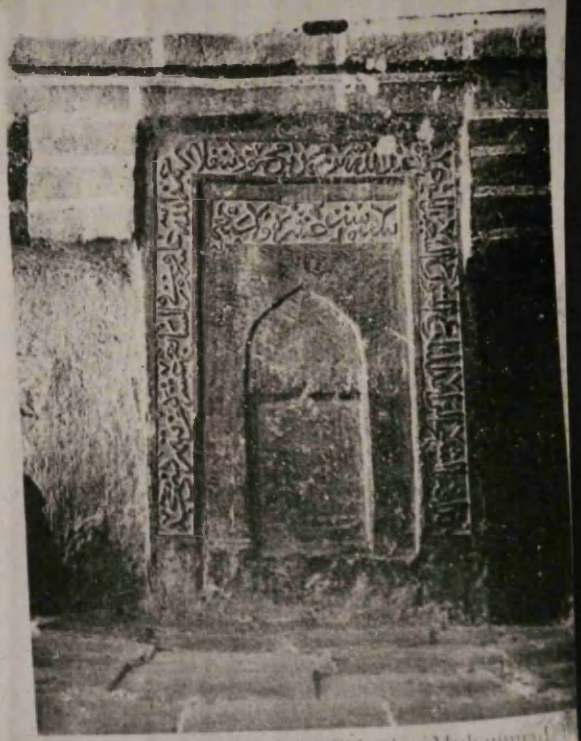


117. The ivān

118. Detail of the ivān



119. One of the vaults in the ivan



120. Gravestone of 'Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad Mahmūd, dated A.H. 1186, in the ivān

117-120. cxc. 80. Ta'ziyeh-khān (Isfahan). The shaking minarets

PLATE XIII
a-b

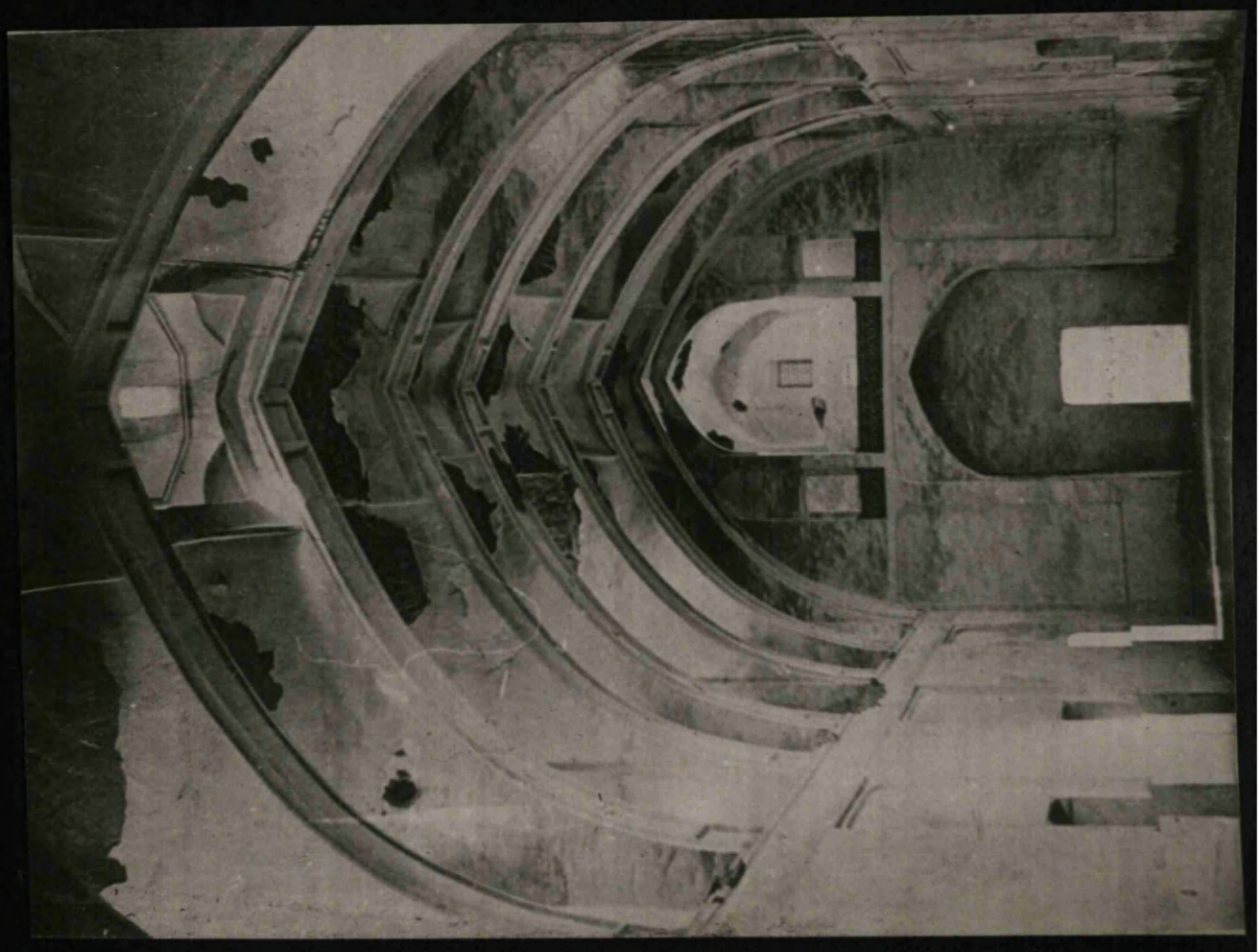
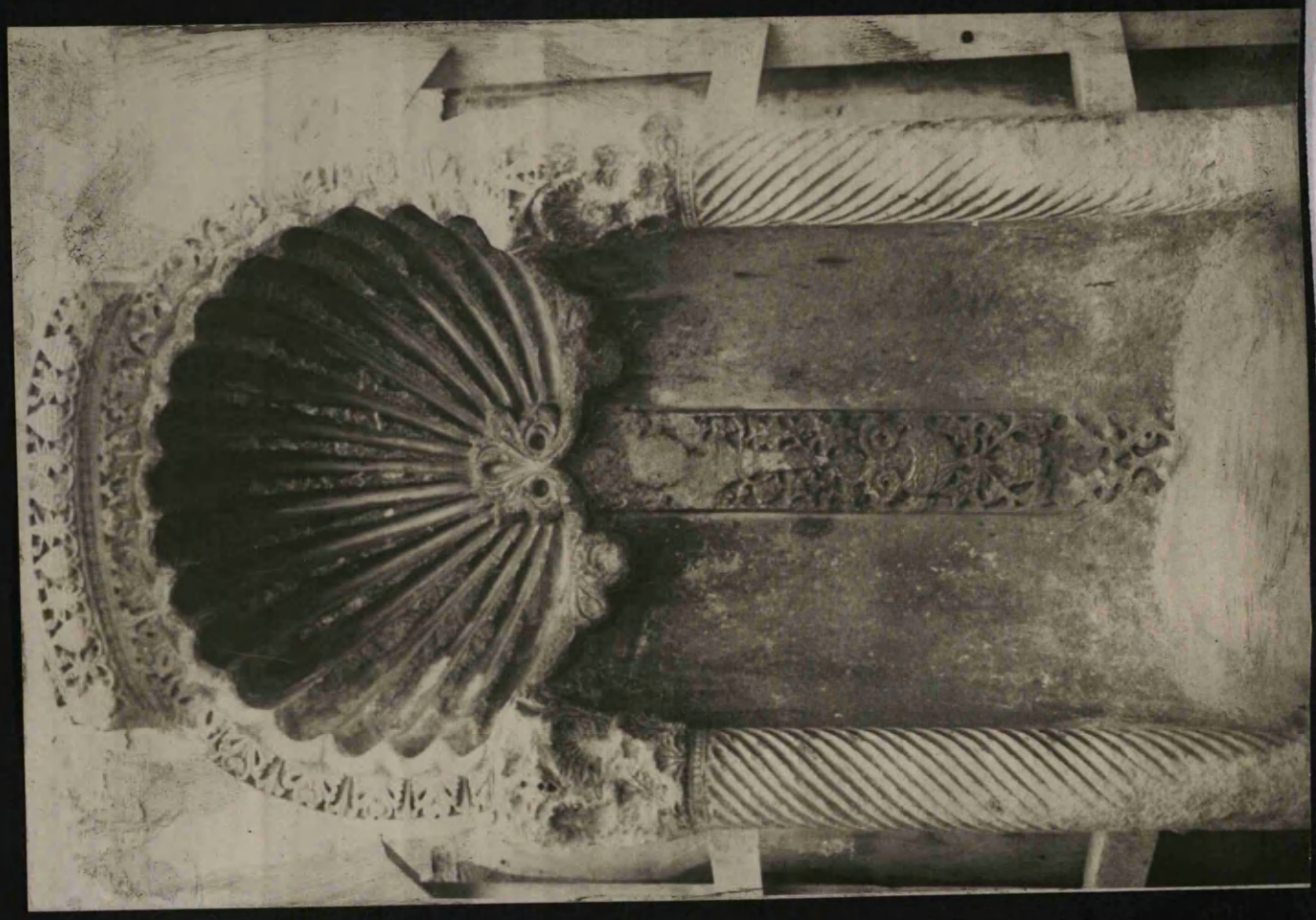


PLATE XIV
a-b

PLATE XV
a-b



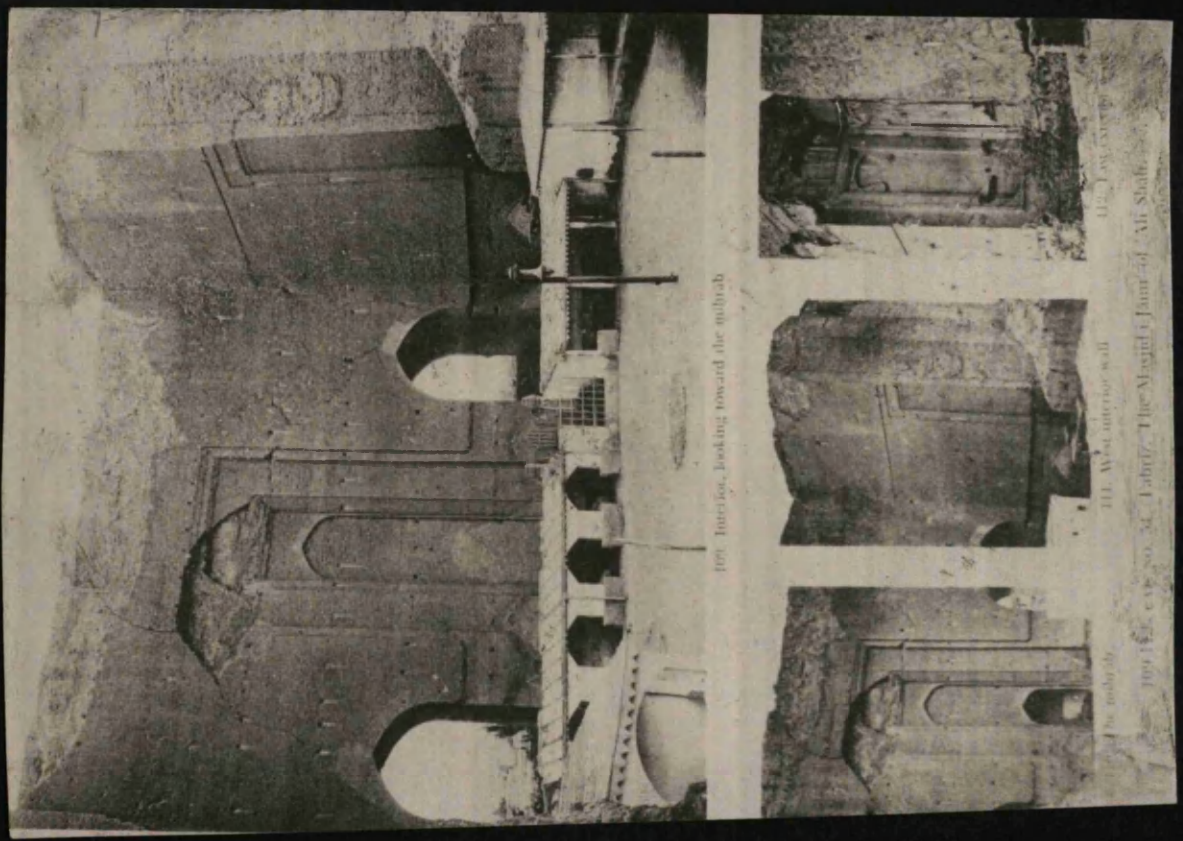


PLATE XVI
a-b

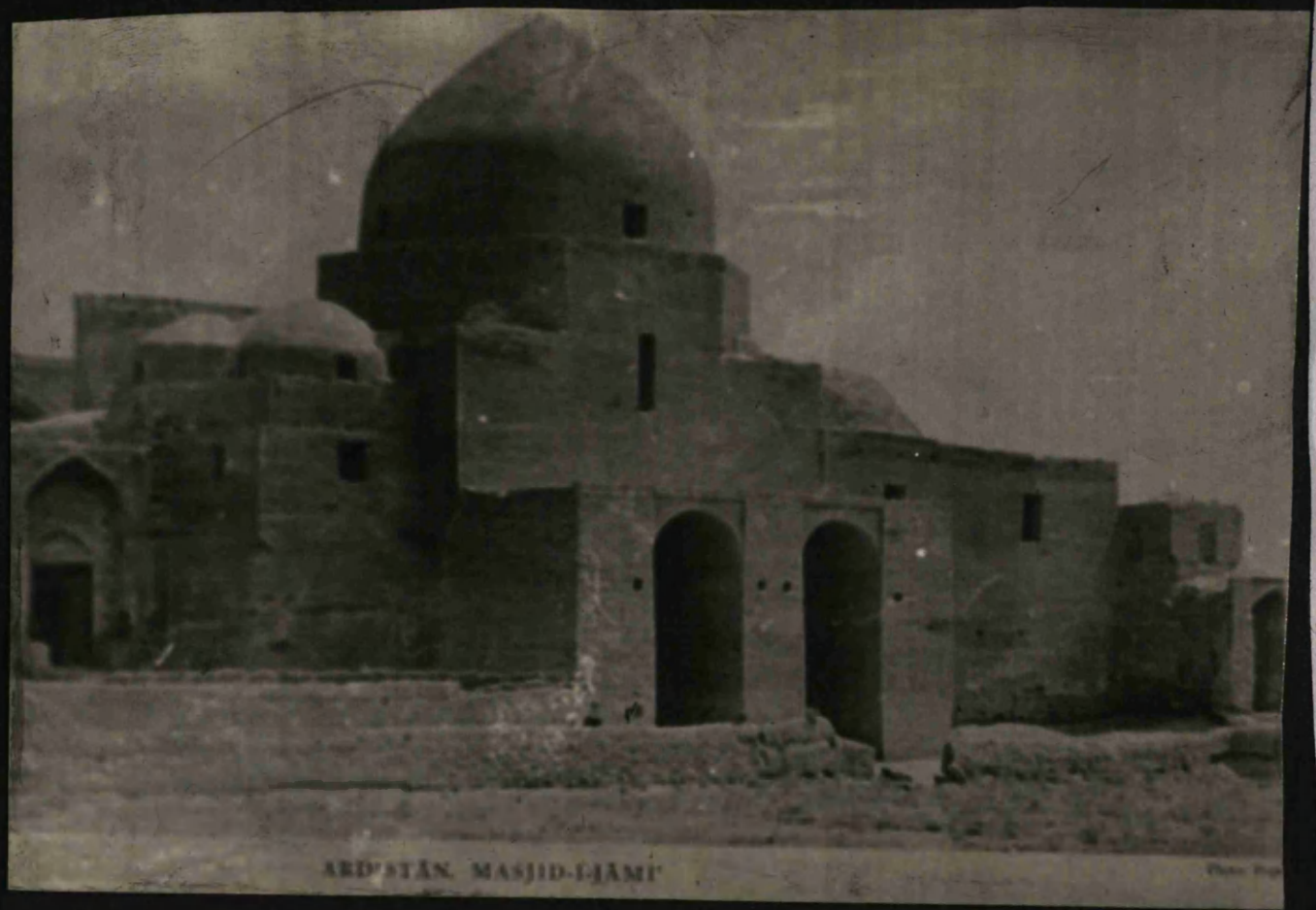
PLATE XVII
a-c

A. NAYRĪZ. MASJID-I-JĀMI'

B. KILWA KISAWAMI. MOSQUE
9th century (?)

C. KILWA KISAWAMI. MOSQUE

PLATE XVIII



ARD'STĀN. MASJID-I-JĀMI'

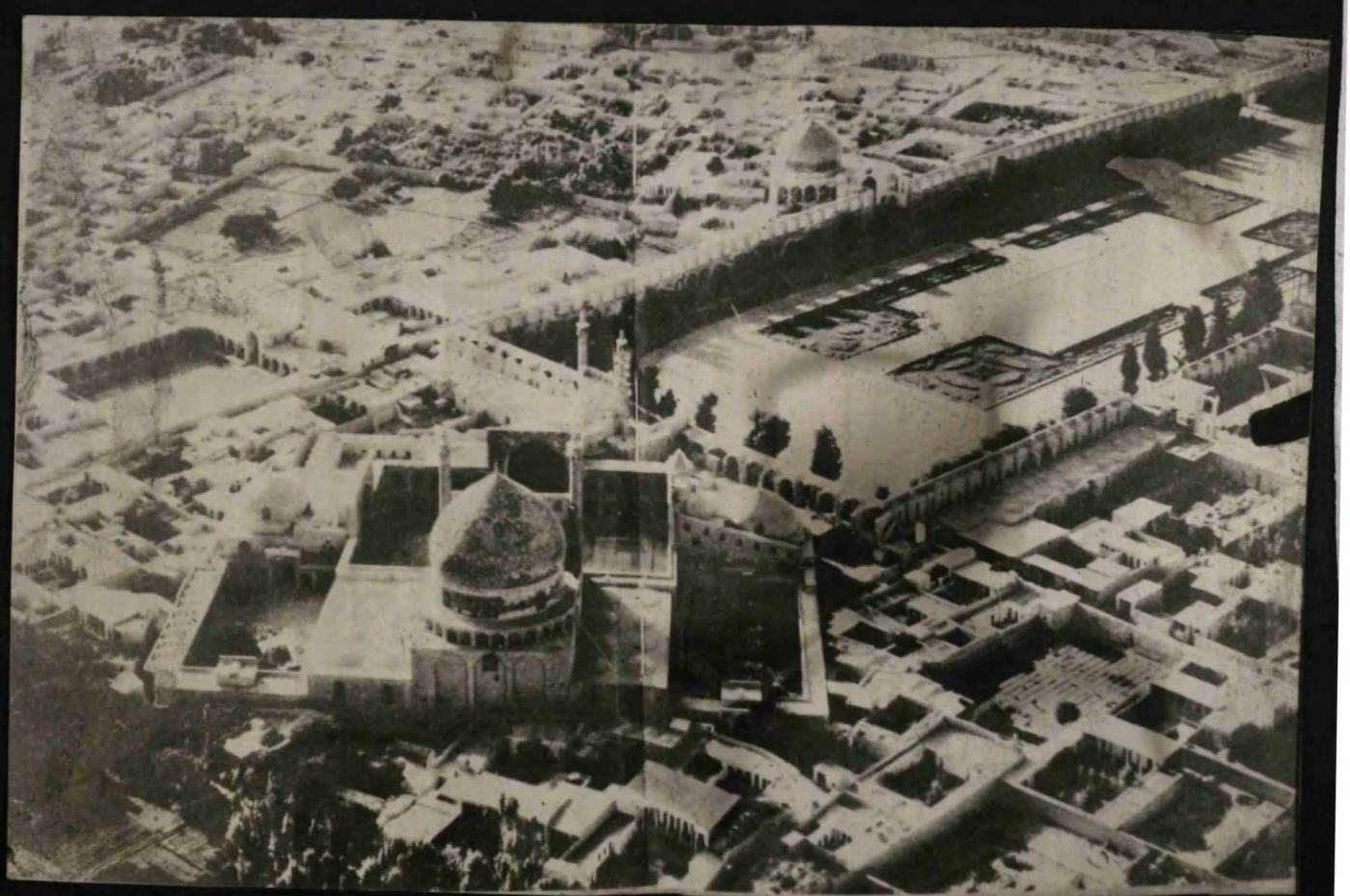


PLATE XIX
a-b

PLATE XX
a-b

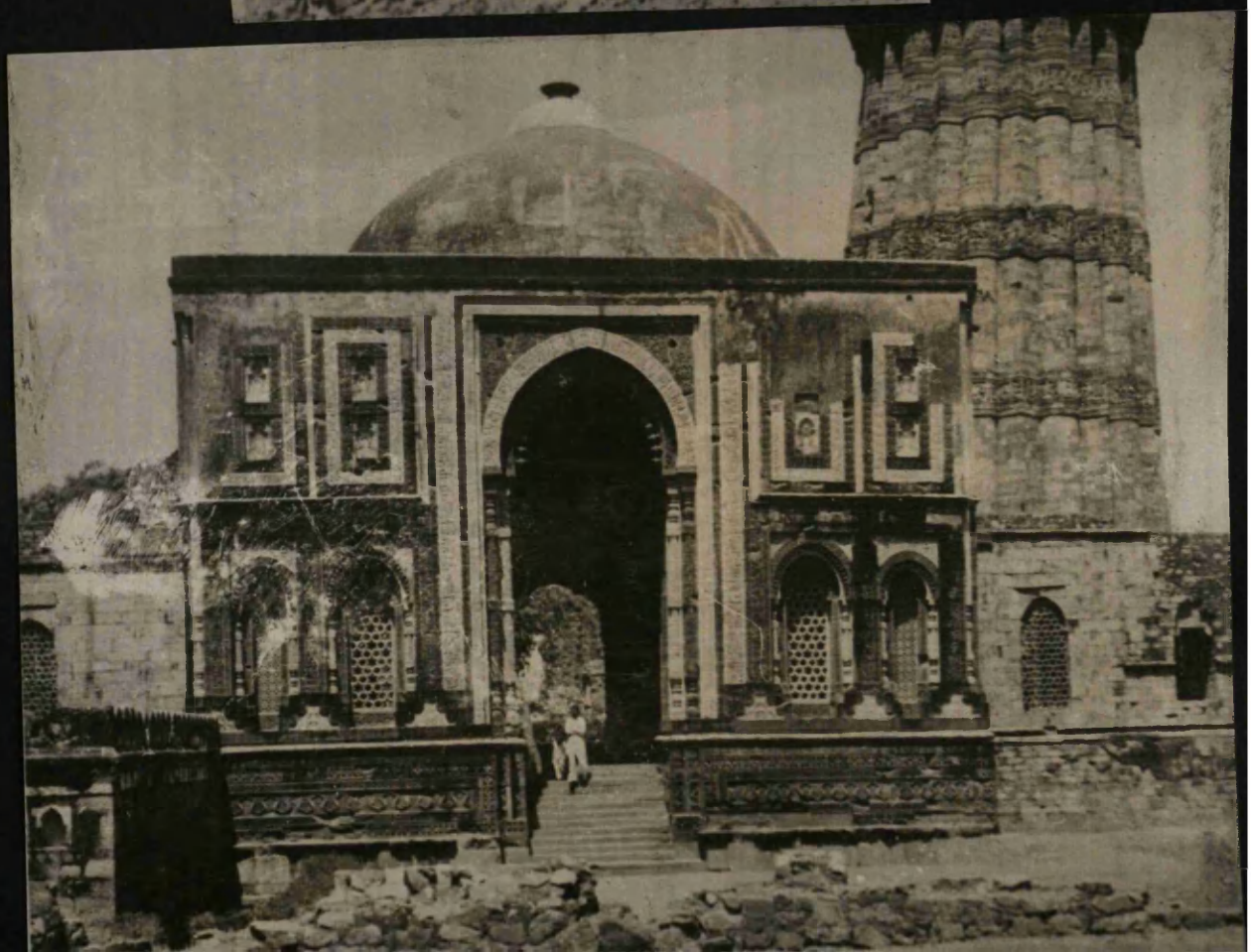
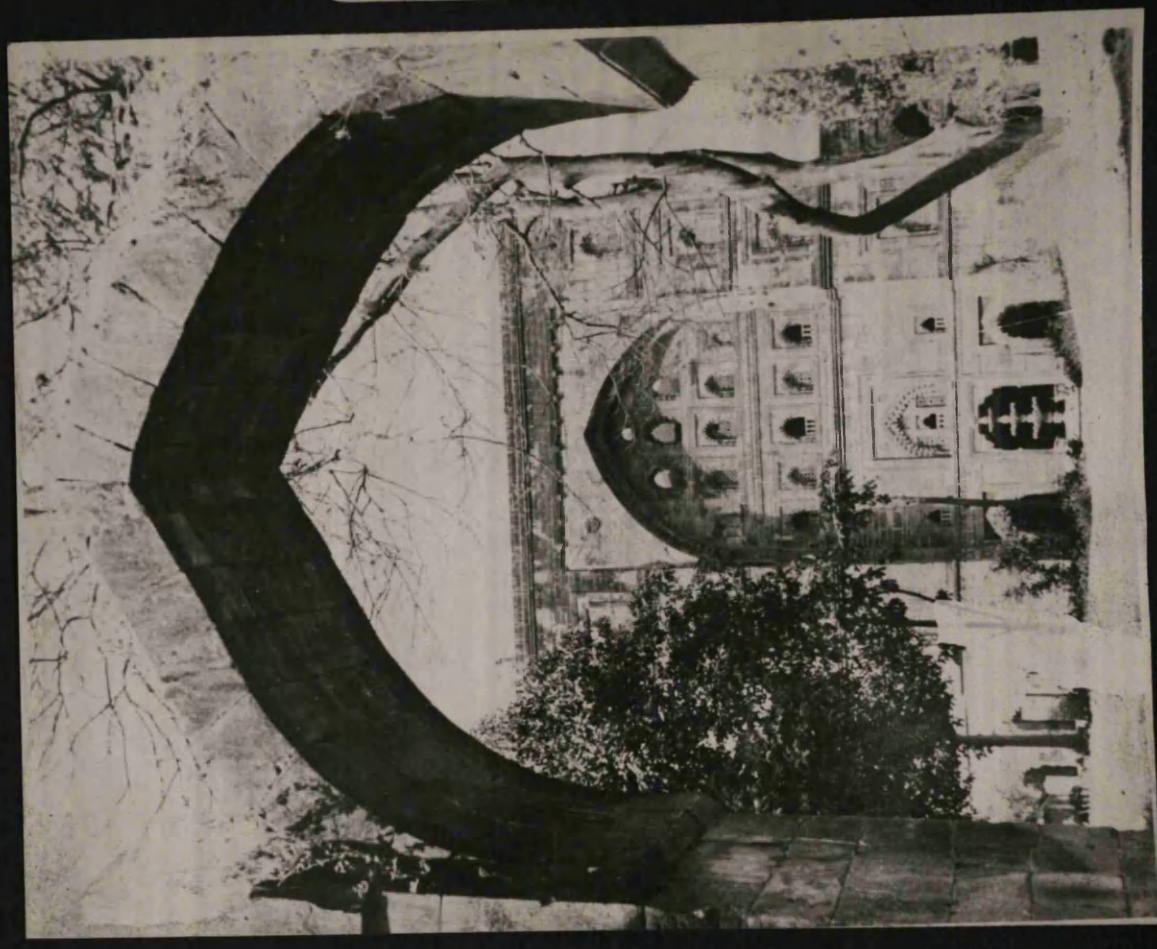


PLATE XXI
a-b

PLATE XXII
a-b

PLATE XXIII
a-b

PLATE XXIV
a-b



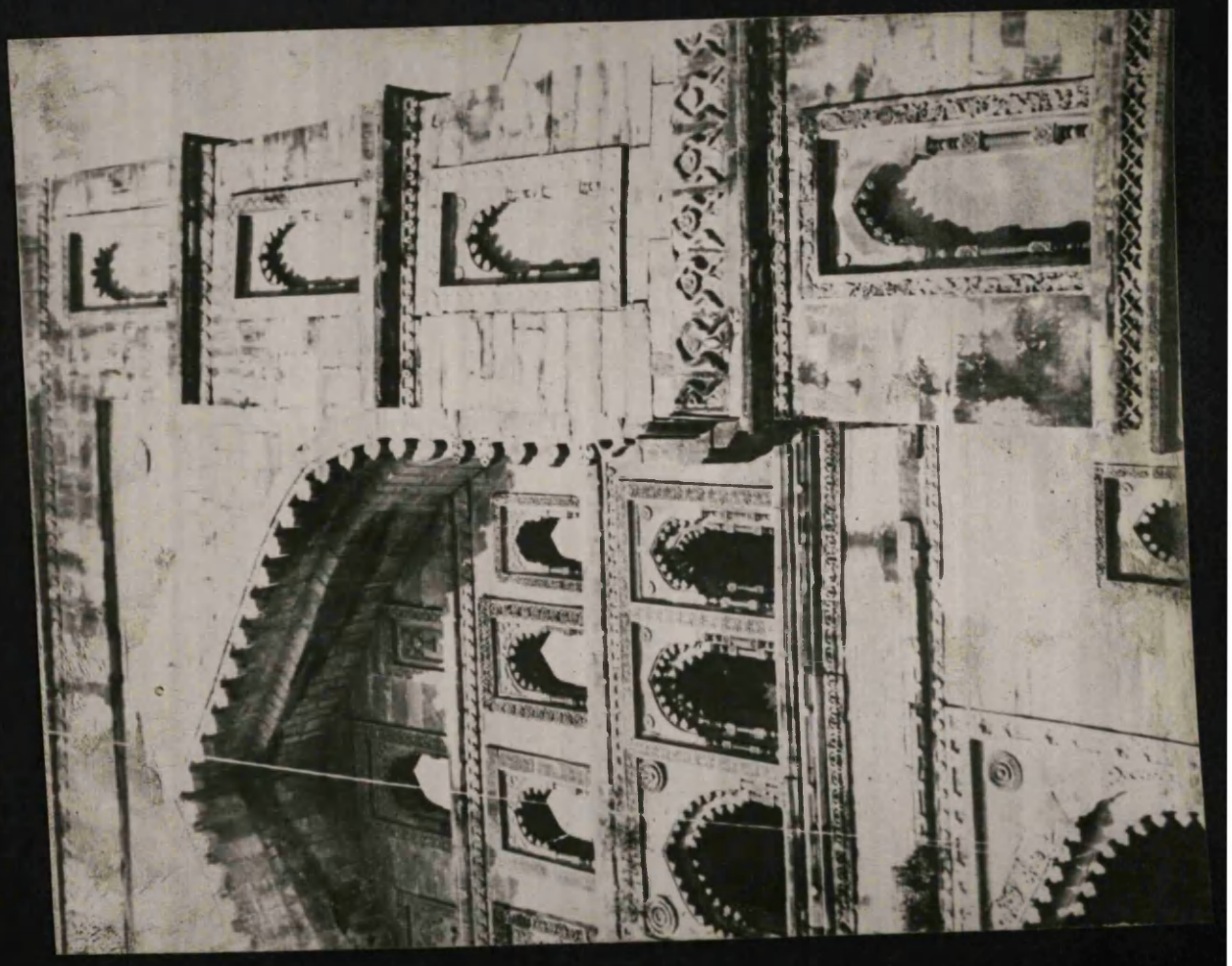


PLATE XXV
a-b

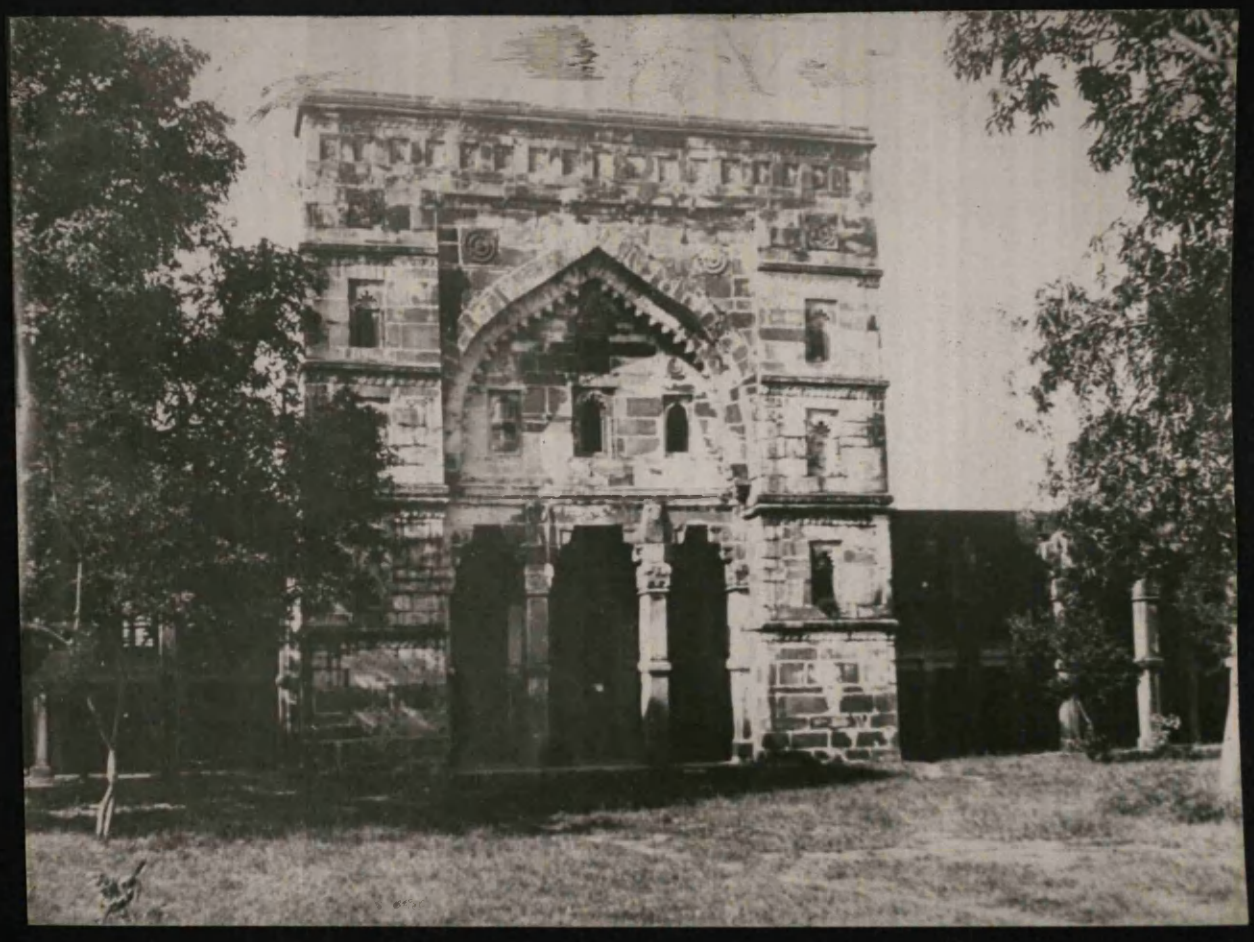


PLATE XXVI

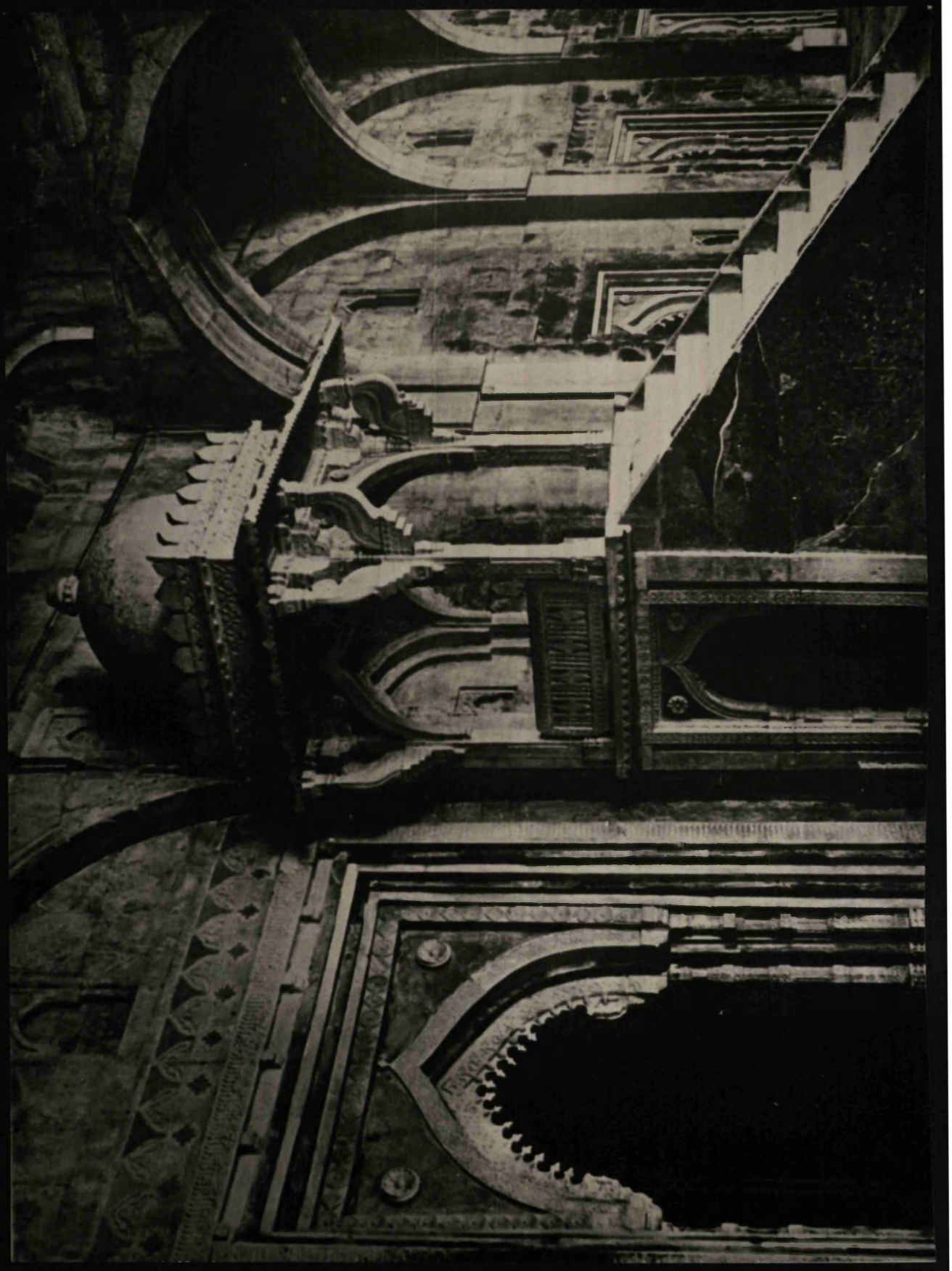


PLATE XXVII
a-b

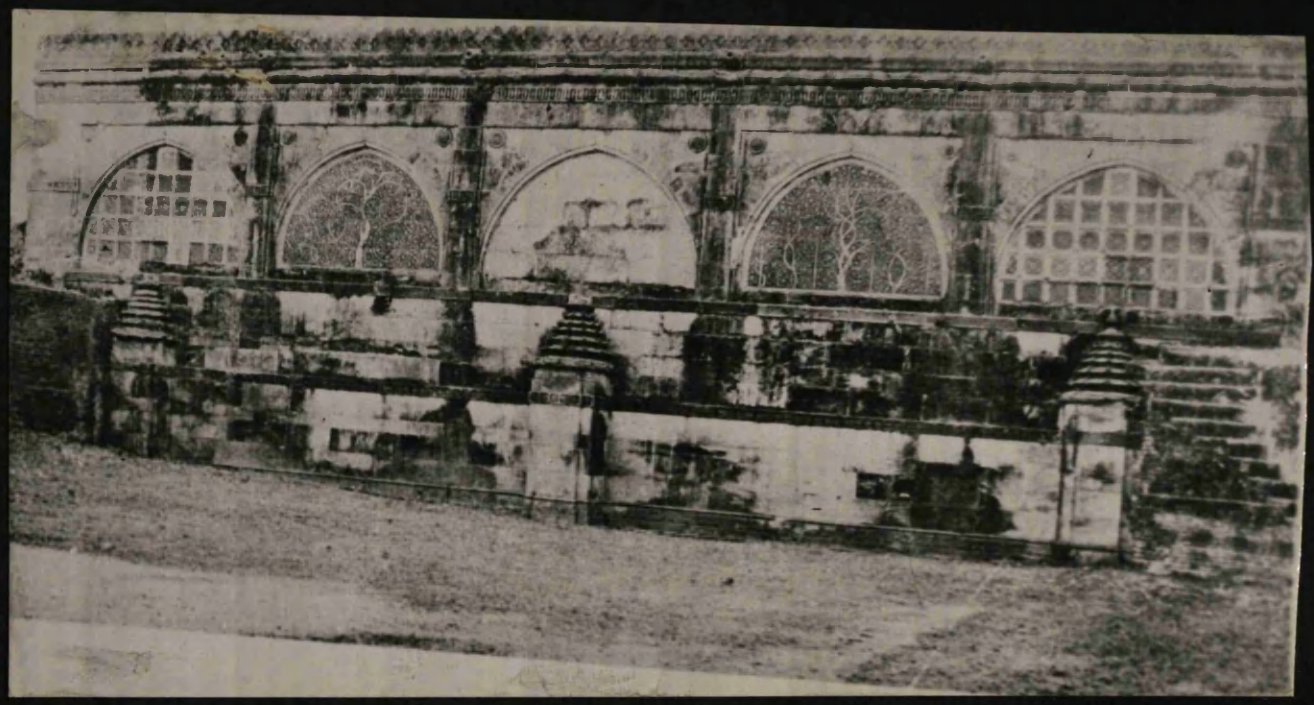


PLATE XXVIII
a-b

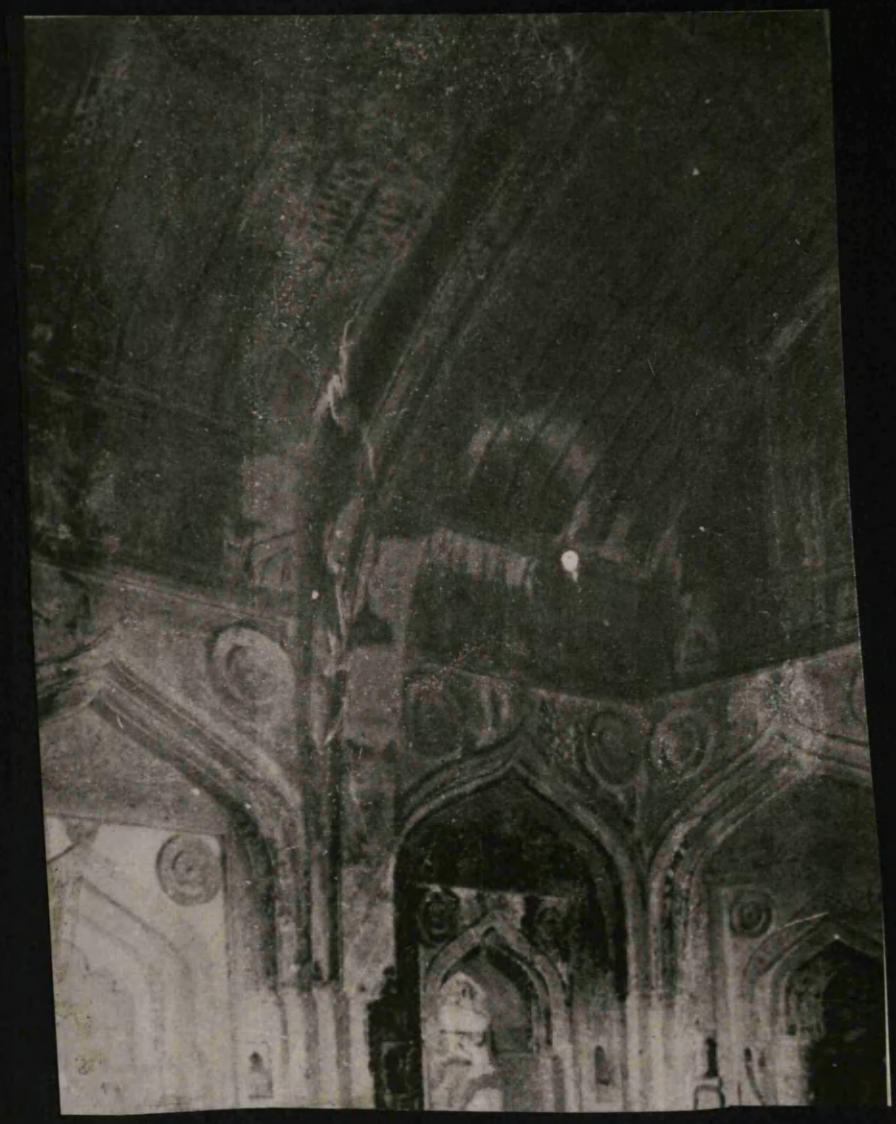


PLATE XXIX
a-b

The diwan-qr hall in the ruined palace of Machh, near Hamalar, on the Trade Route.

PLATE XXX
a-b

PLATE XXXI
a-b

PLATE XXXII
a-b

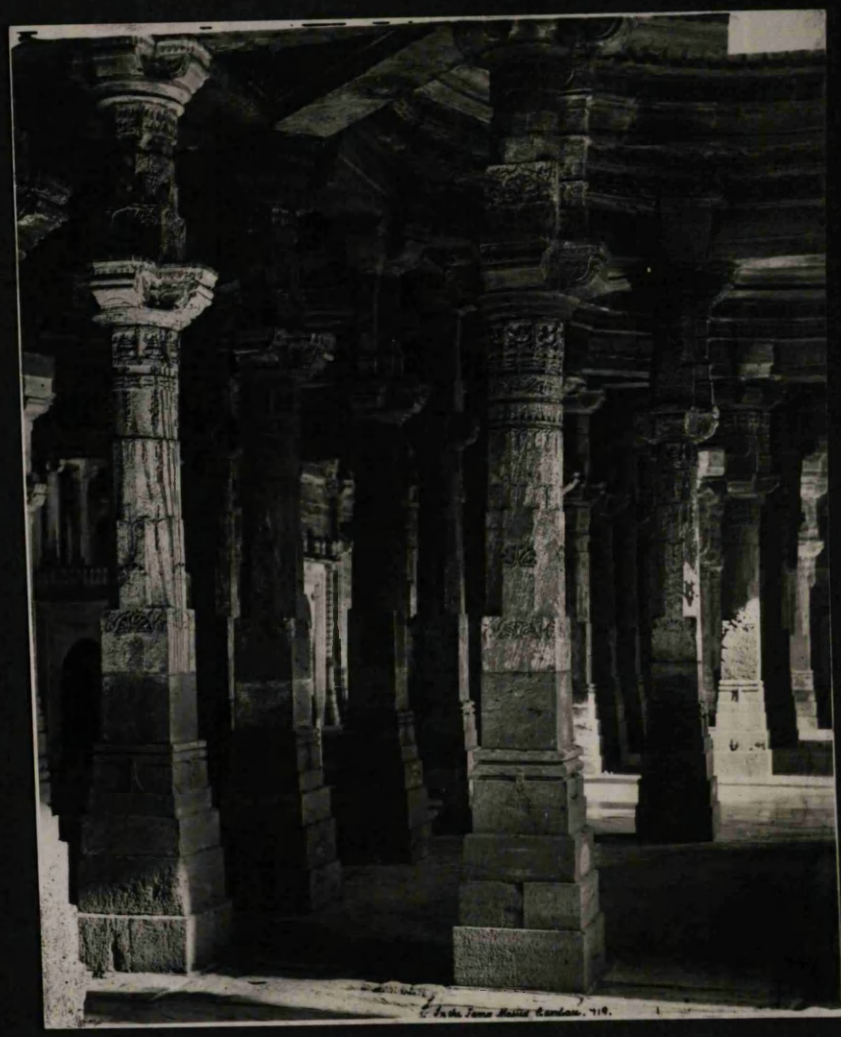
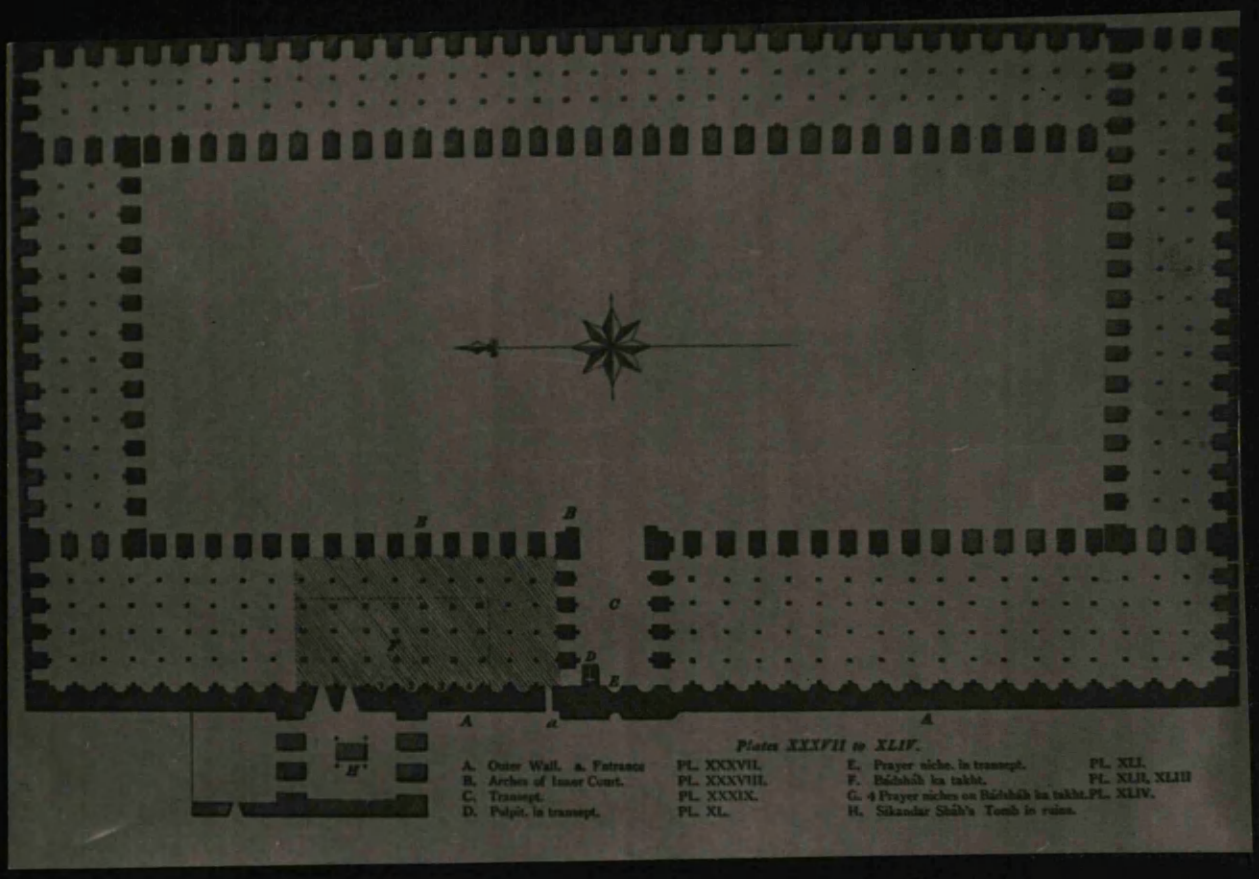


PLATE XXXIII
a-b



Plates XXXVII to XLIV.

A. Outer Wall. a. Entrance	Pl. XXXVII.	E. Prayer niche. in transept.	Pl. XLI.
B. Arches of Inner Court.	Pl. XXXVIII.	F. Bádshih in takht.	Pl. XLII, XLIII
C. Transept.	Pl. XXXIX.	G. 4 Prayer niches on Bádshih in takht.	Pl. XLIV.
D. Pulpit. in transept.	Pl. XL.	H. Sikandar Shih's Tomb in ruins.	

PLATE XXXIV

PLATE XXXV

PLATE XXXVI
a-b

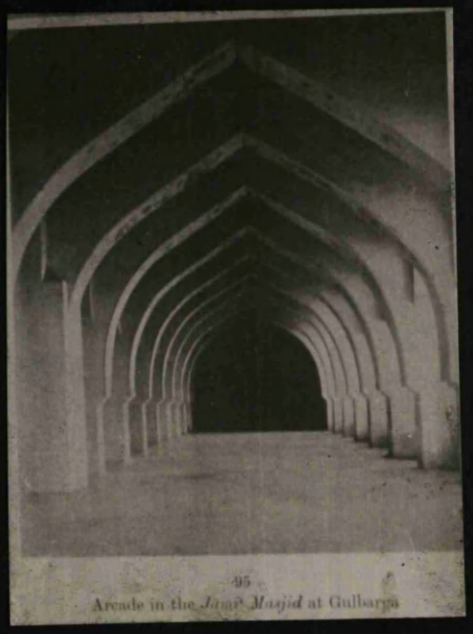
PLATE XXXVII
a-b

(c) Tribeni: Carved Stone Frieze representing Ten Avatāras of Vishnu, found in Zafar Khan Ghazi's Tomb.

PLATE XXXVIII

19. ADINA MOSQUE — detail of main mihrab.

PLATE XXXIX
a-b



95
Arcade in the *Jami' Masjid* at Gulbarga

(a) Qusayr 'Amra : from the north-west

(b) Qusayr 'Amra : interior of audience hall

Fig. 168

VOUTE D'ARÊTE
(ARCHITECTURE EUROPÉENNE)

Fig. 169

VOUTE EN ARC DE CLOITRE
(ROBAT SHARAF, KHORASAN)

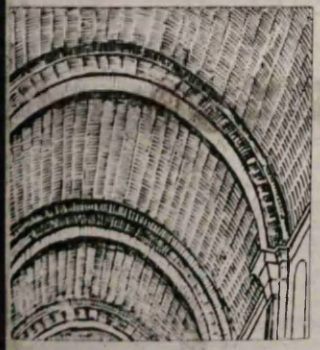
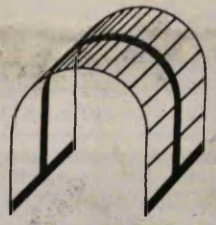


Fig. 170



VOUTE EN BERCEAU ÉTAYÉE
PAR DES DOUBLEAUX
(ARCHITECTURE EUROPÉENNE)

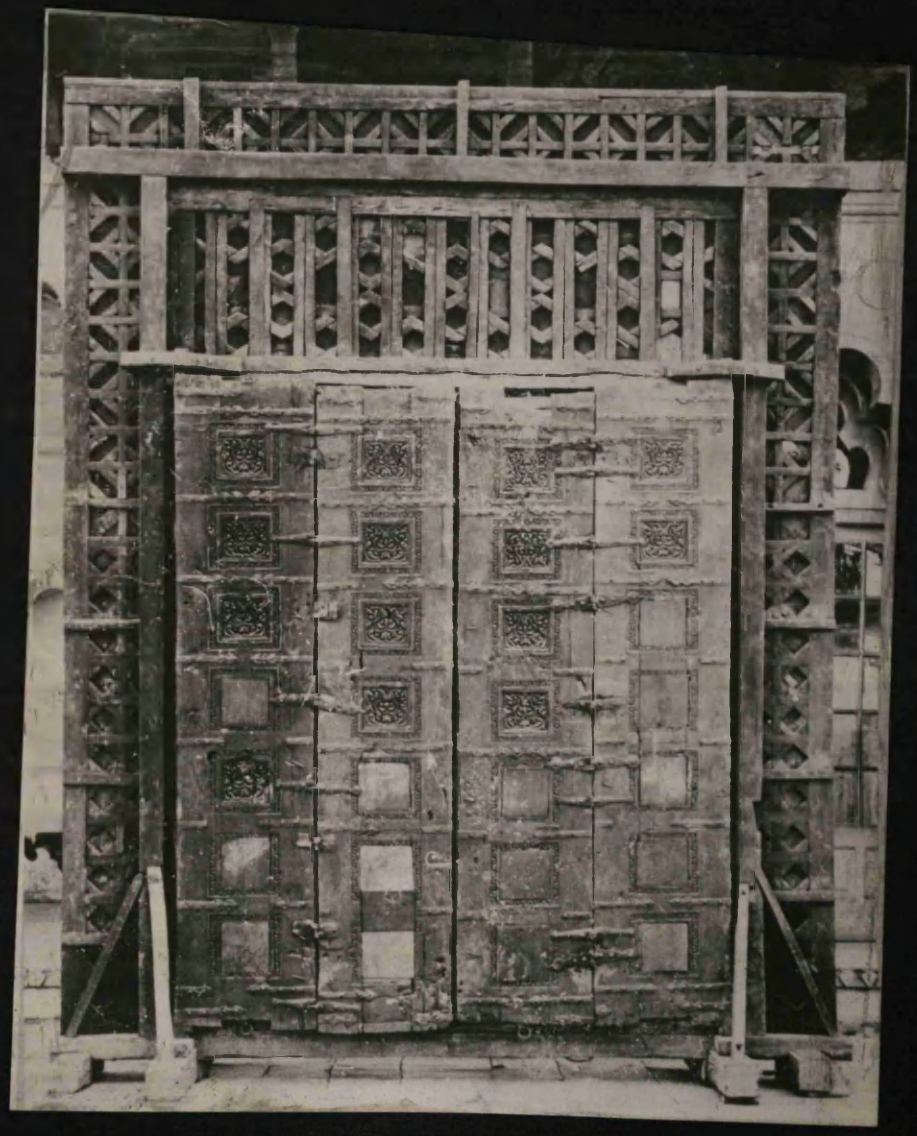


PLATE XL
a-b

PLATE XLI
a-b

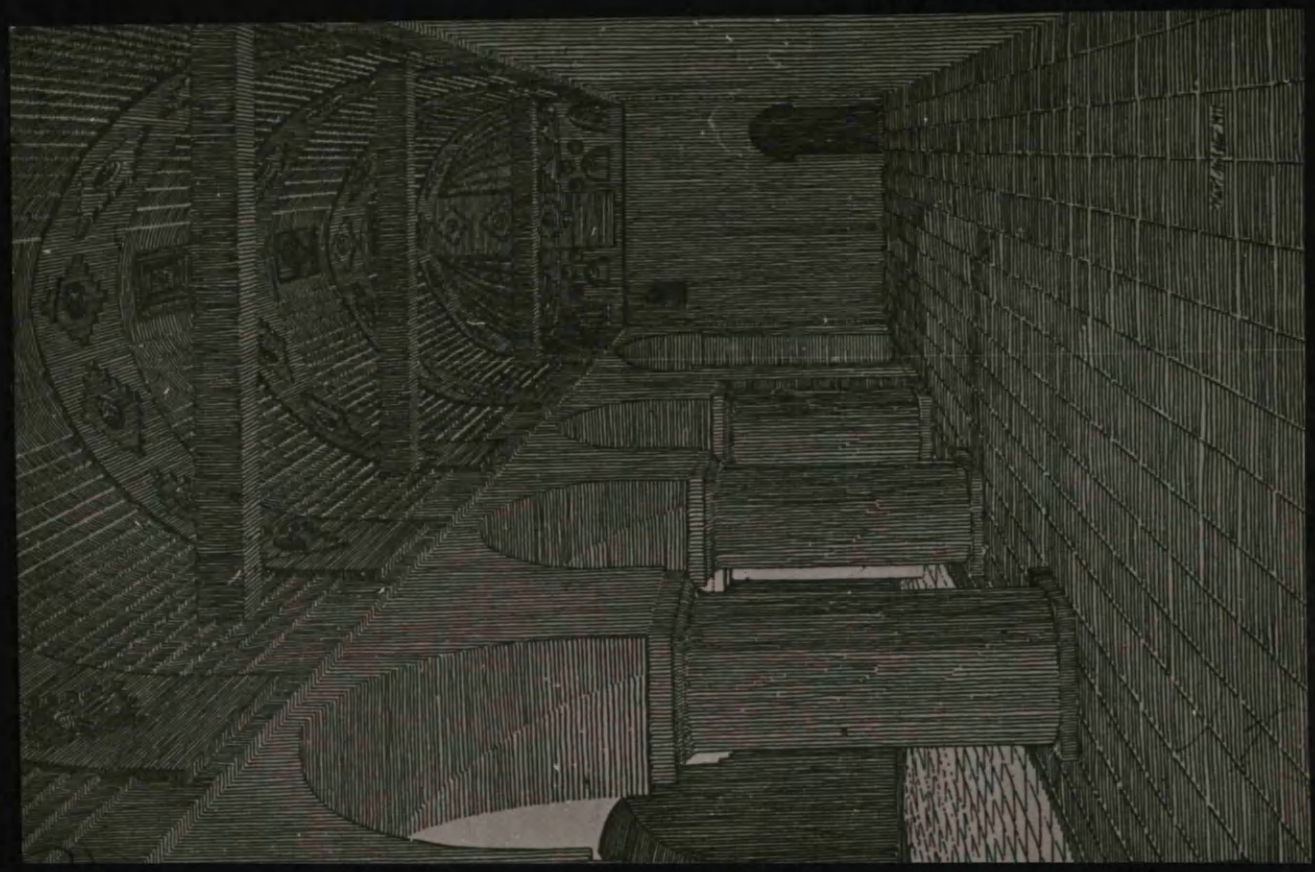
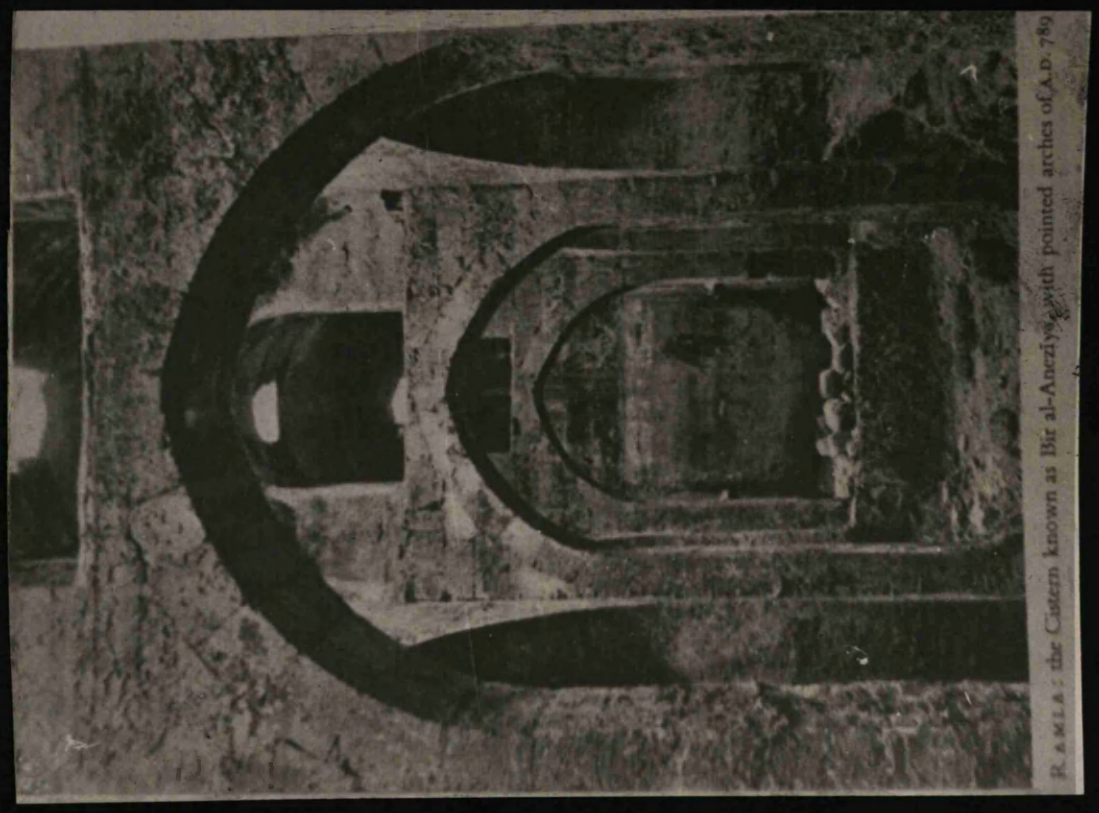


PLATE XIII
a-b



RAMLA: the Cistern known as Bir al-Anezi, with pointed arches of A.D. 789

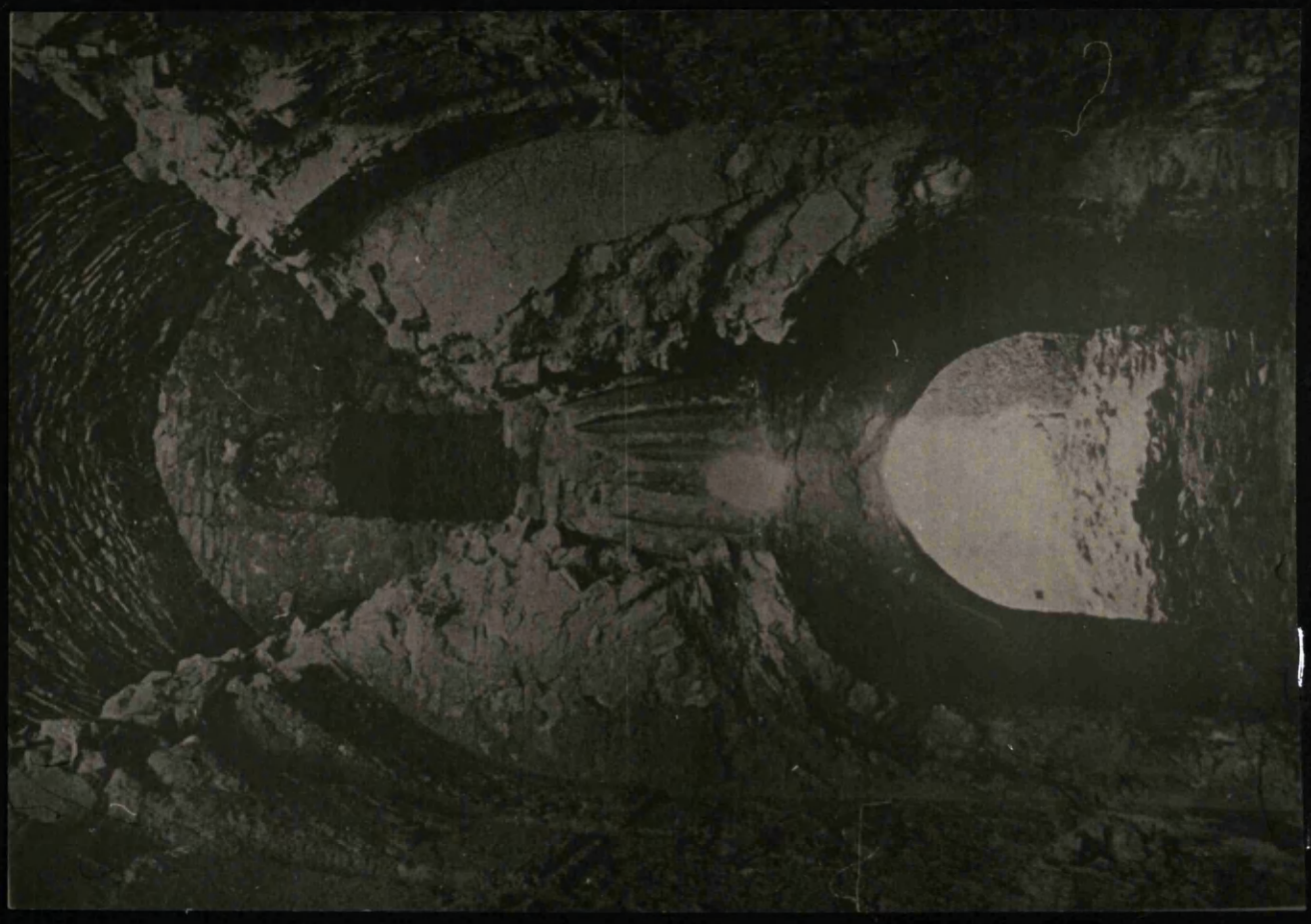
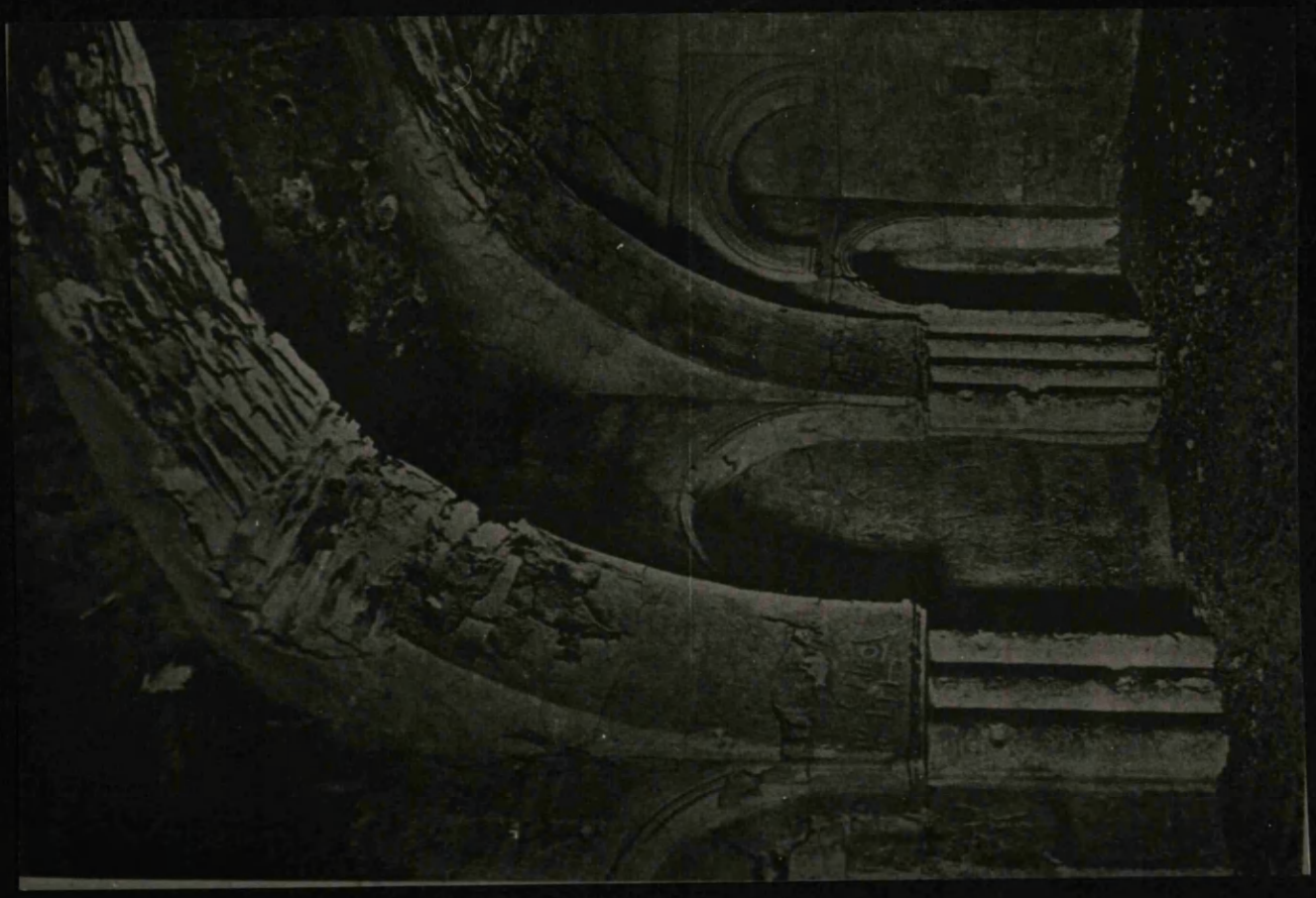


PLATE XLII
a-b



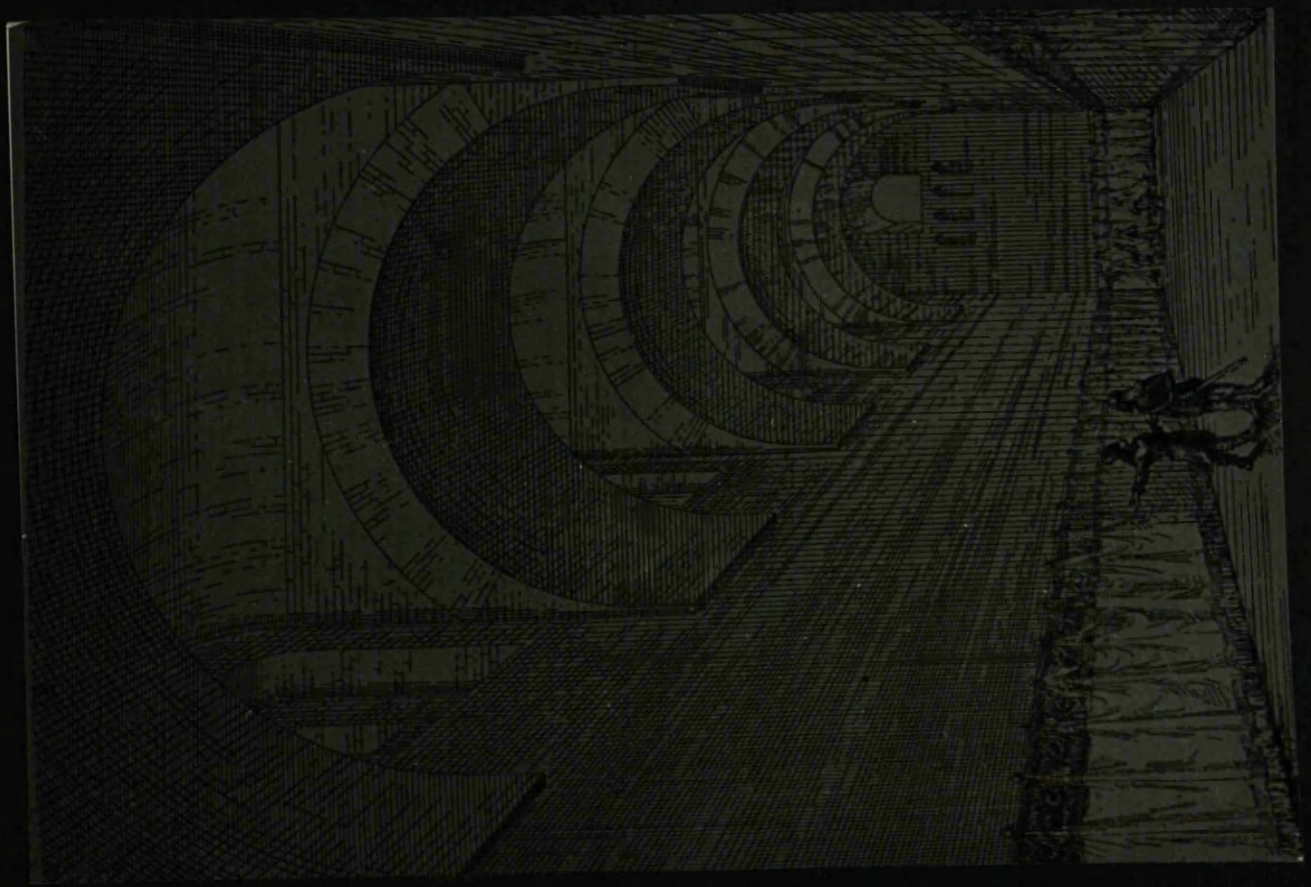
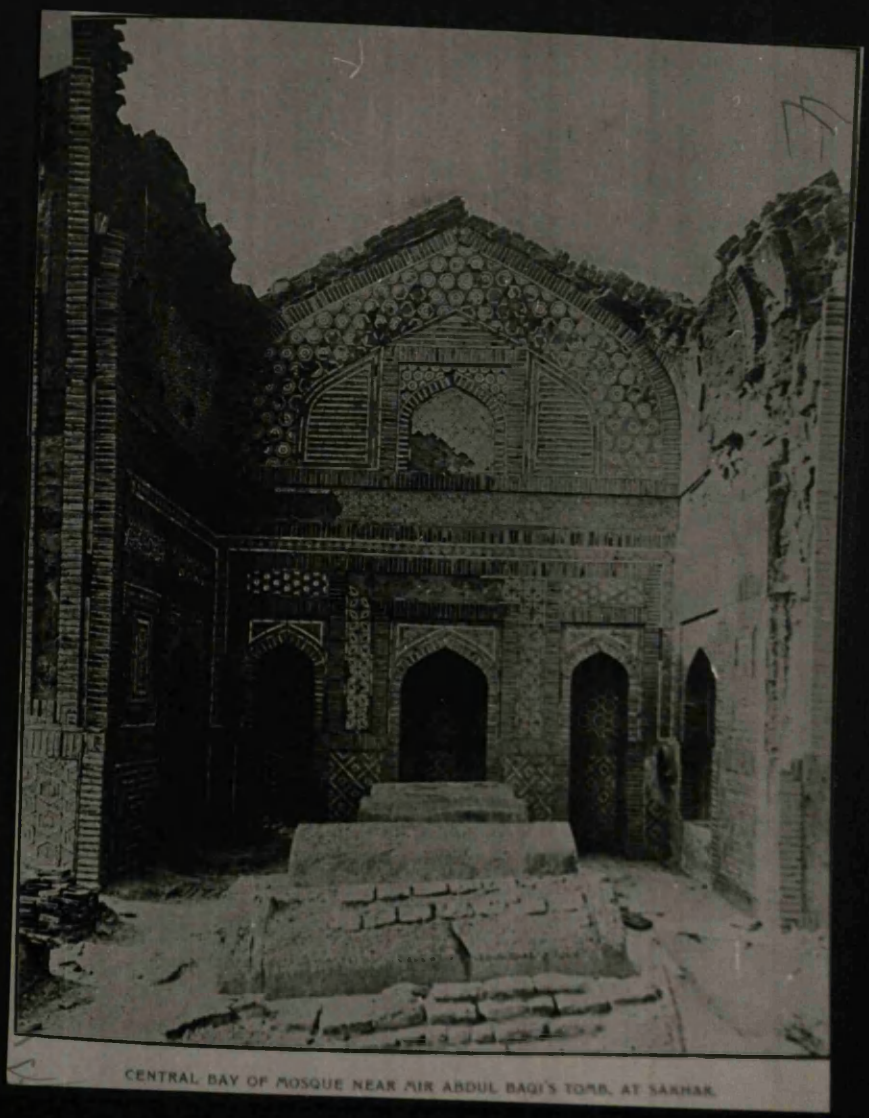


PLATE XLIV
a-b



CENTRAL BAY OF MOSQUE NEAR AIR ABDUL BAQI'S TOMB, AT SARNAR.

PLATE XLV
a-b

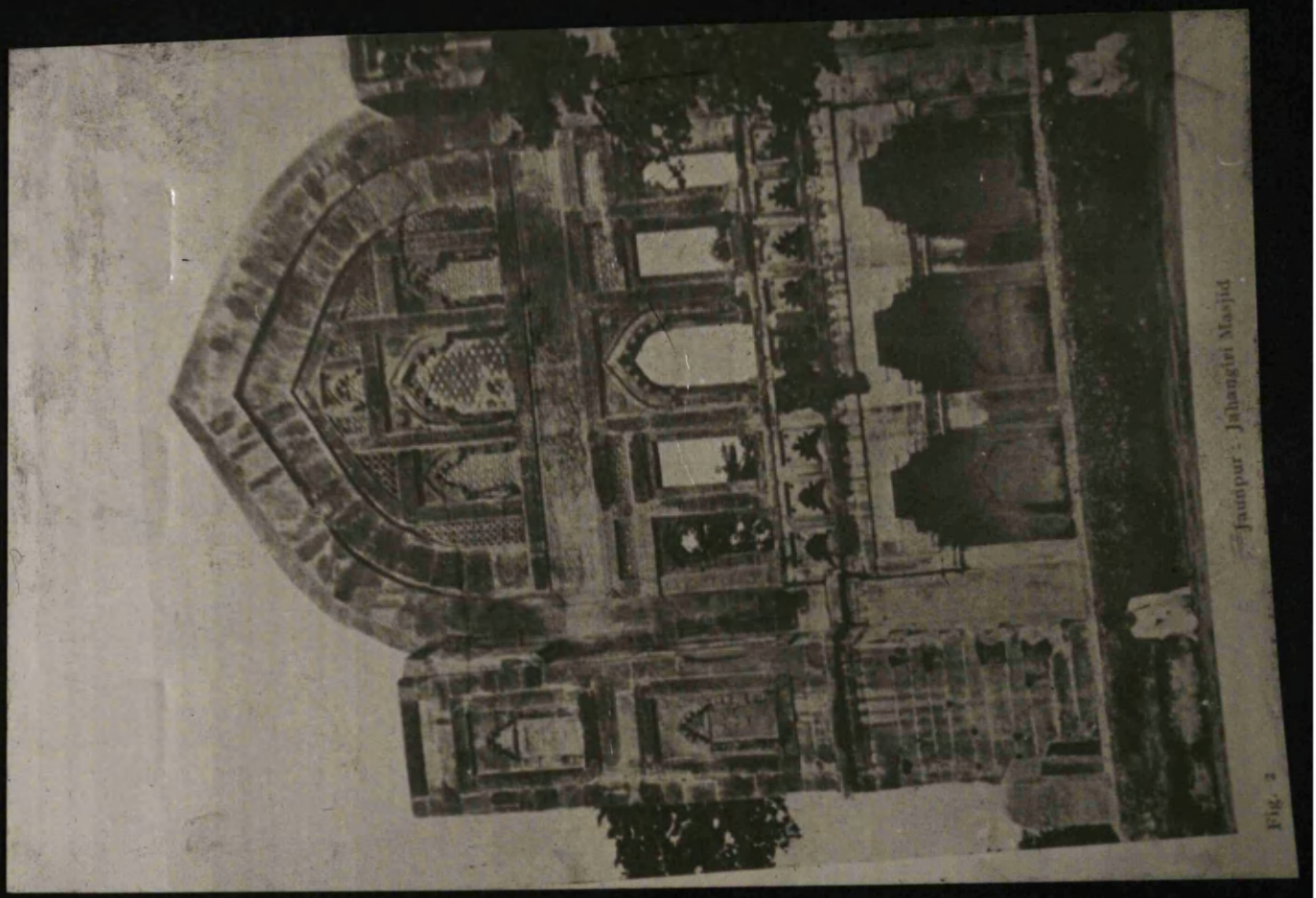
PLATE XLVI
a-b

172 - CTESIPHON. FAÇADE OF THE PALACE (SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.)

PLATE XLVII
a-b

PLATE XLVIII
a-b

11
Arhāi-din-kā-Jhompṛā *masjid* at Ajmer. Detail of marble *mihrāb*



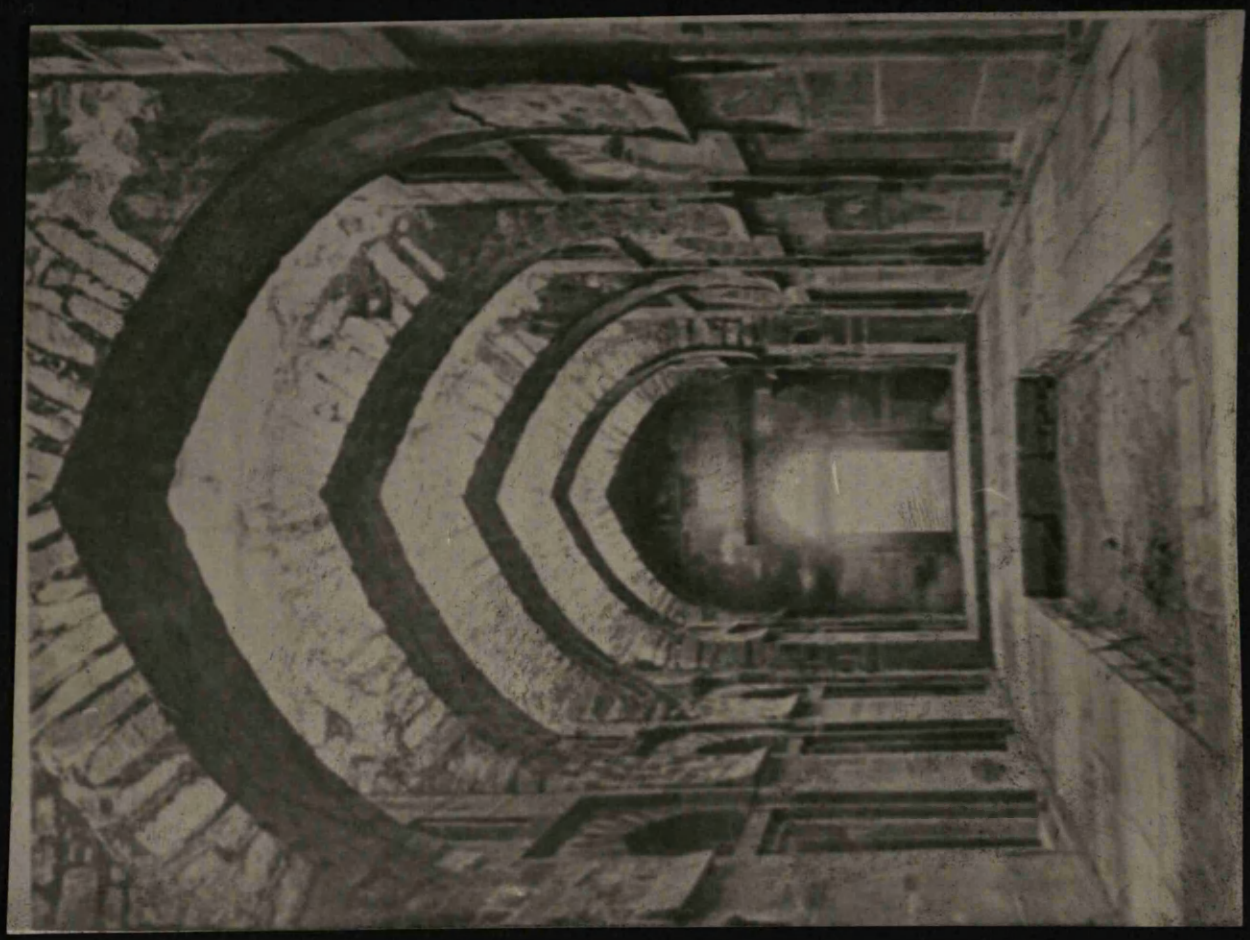
Jaunpur: Jahangiri Masjid
Fig. 2

PLATE XLIX
a-b

17. BEGAMPURI MOSQUE, near Delhi, *c.* 1370.

80. Old Malda. Jami Masjid (1596)

PLATE L
a-b



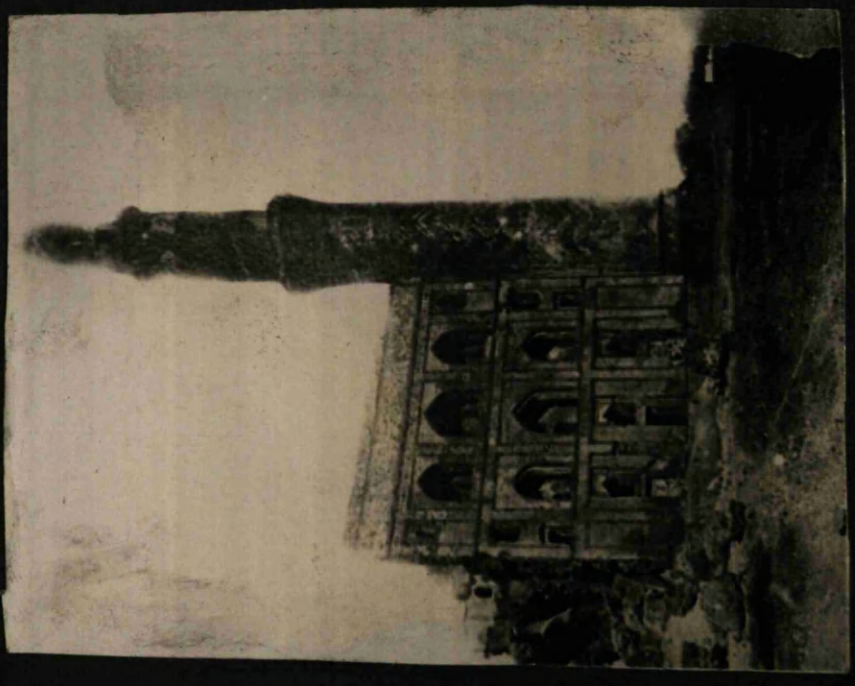
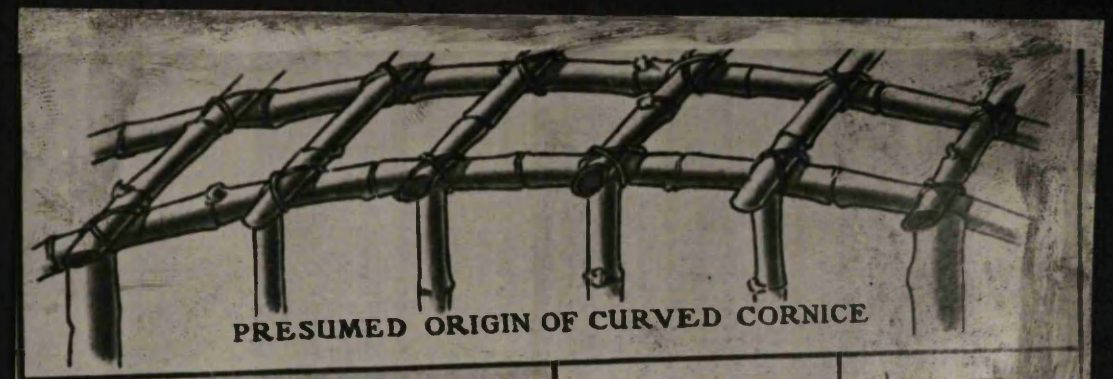


PLATE LI
a-h


PRESUMED ORIGIN OF CURVED CORNICE


CHOTA SONA
MASJID, GAUR
1493-1519 A.D.


FROM MOSQUE
AT TRIBENI,
HOOGHLY.(1298)

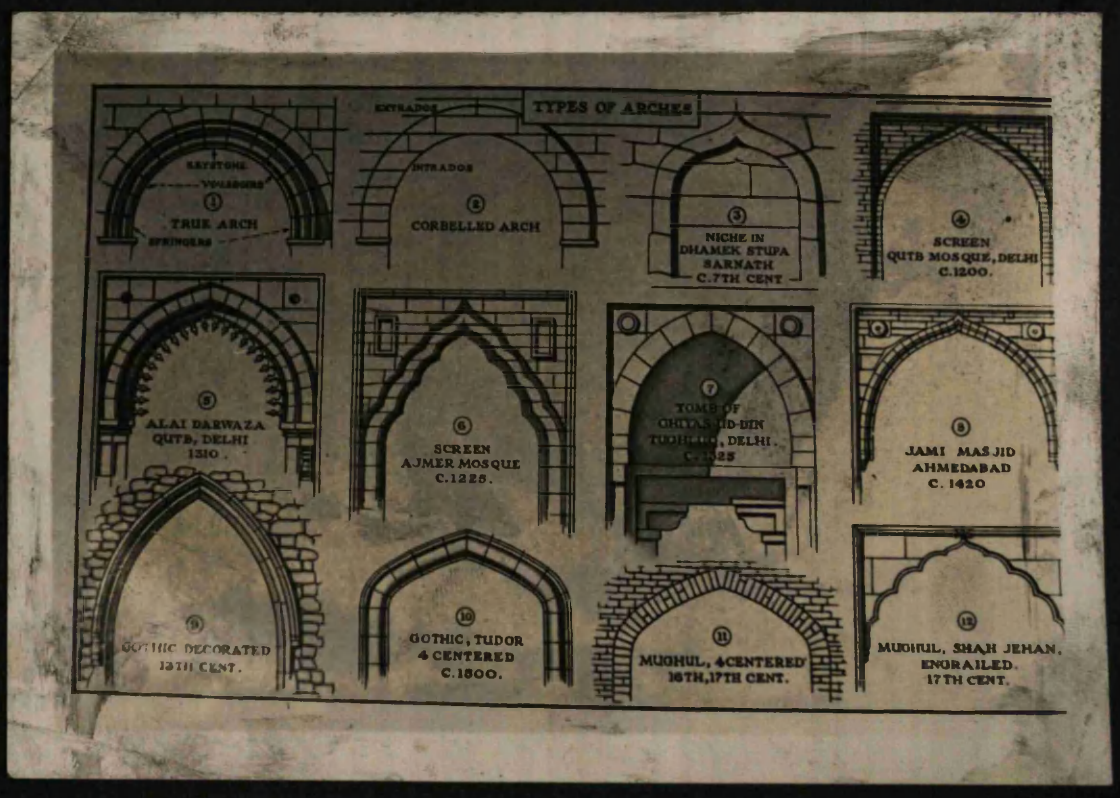
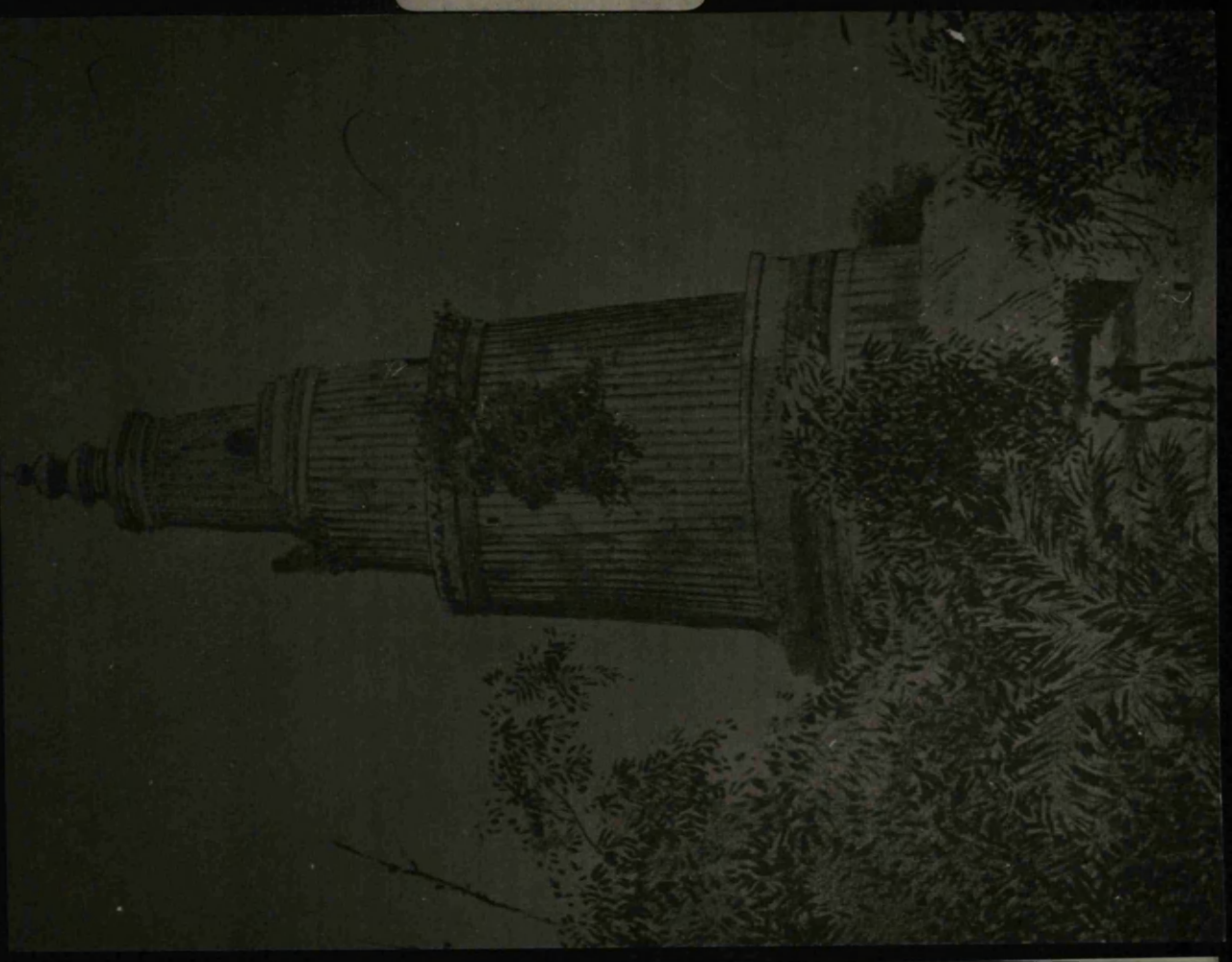

TYPES OF ARCHES
KEYSTONE
VOUSSOIRS
SPRINGERS
1 TRUE ARCH
EXTRADOS
INTRADOS
2 CORBELLED ARCH
3 NICHE IN DHAMEK STUPA SARNATH C.7TH CENT
4 SCREEN QUTB MOSQUE, DELHI C.1200.
5 ALAI DARWAZA QUTB, DELHI 1310.
6 SCREEN AJMER MOSQUE C.1225.
7 TOMB OF
C.1325
8 JAMI MASJID AHMEDABAD C. 1420
9 GOTHIC DECORATED 13TH CENT.
10 GOTHIC, TUDOR 4 CENTERED C.1500.
11 MUGHUL, 4CENTERED 16TH,17TH CENT.
12 MUGHUL, SHAH JEHAN. ENGRAILED. 17TH CENT.

PLATE LII
a-b

a-b



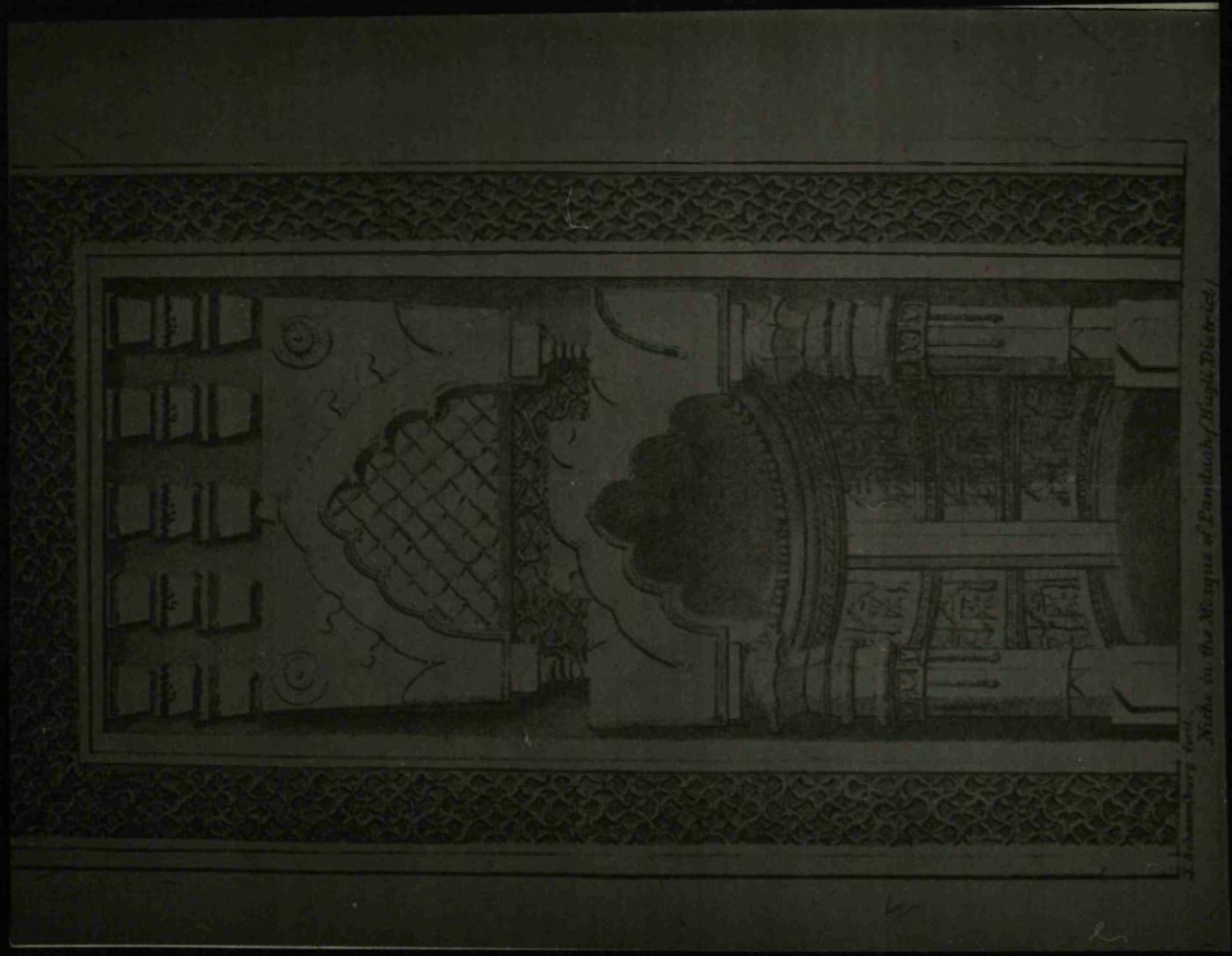
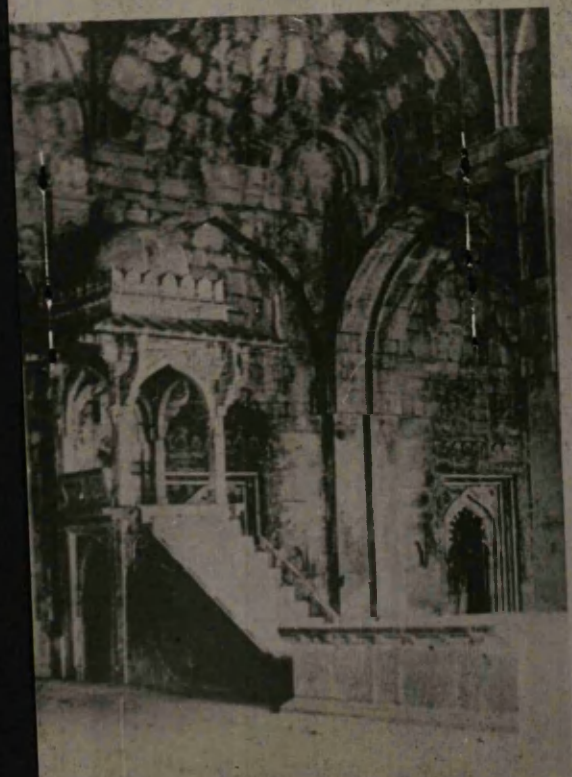


PLATE LIV



(a) CRUMBLING MASONRY IN THE SOUTH DÂLAN, BEFORE REPAIR.

(b) THE SOUTH TAKHT BEFORE REPAIR, LOOKING WEST.

(c) THE MIMBAR, OR PULPIT.

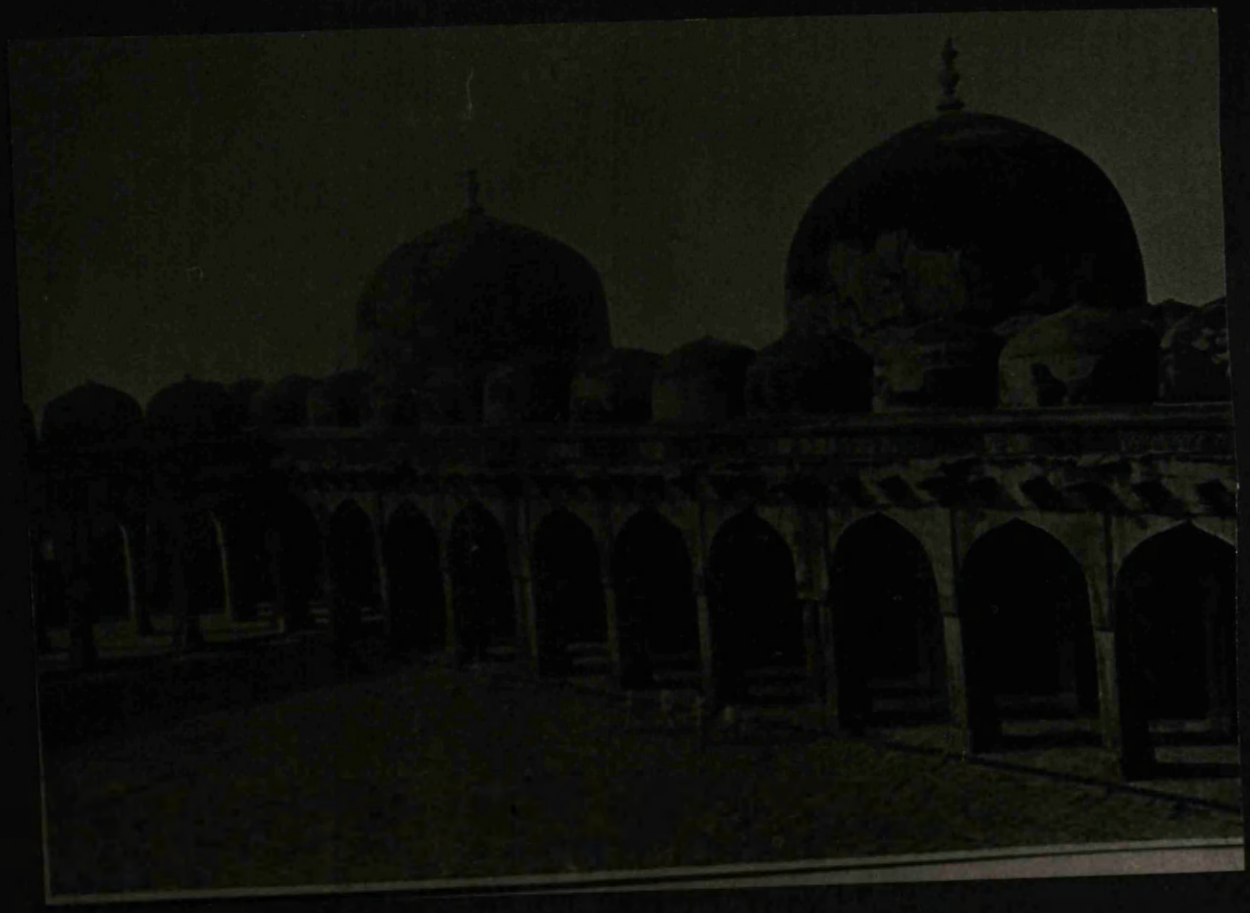
(d) ONE OF THE RESTORED MIHRABS.

PLATE LV
a-c

(a) MAKARA-GARGOYLE FROM PANDUA (I. M. No. Pa. 1).

(c) MAKARA-GARGOYLE (PATNA MUSEUM).

PLATE LVI
a-b



44. Sonargaon. Tomb of Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah, Panel decoration (Cir. 1410)

PLATE LVII
a-b

PULPIT IN TRANSEPT. ADÍNAH MOSQUE.

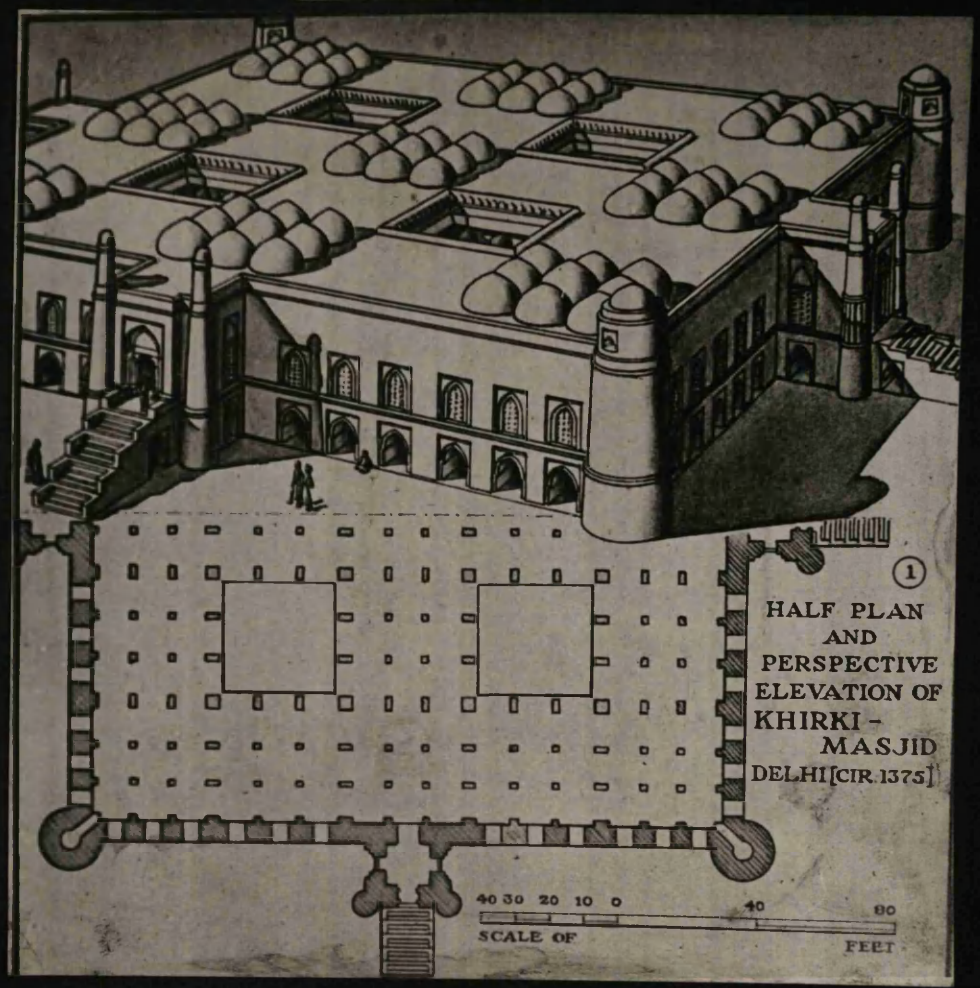
9. Chhota Pandua. Pulpit in Bari Masjid

Fig. 3.—Old Mosque at Mollā Simlā, Hugli.

PLATE LVIII a-b

PLATE LIX

PLATE LX
a-b



1

HALF PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE ELEVATION OF KHIRKI - MASJID DELHI [CIR. 1375]

40 30 20 10 0 40 80
SCALE OF FEET

T. Johannburg fecit

The Interior of the Masque of Panduah (Hugli District)

PLATE LXI
a-b

PLATE LXII
a-b

PLATE LXIII

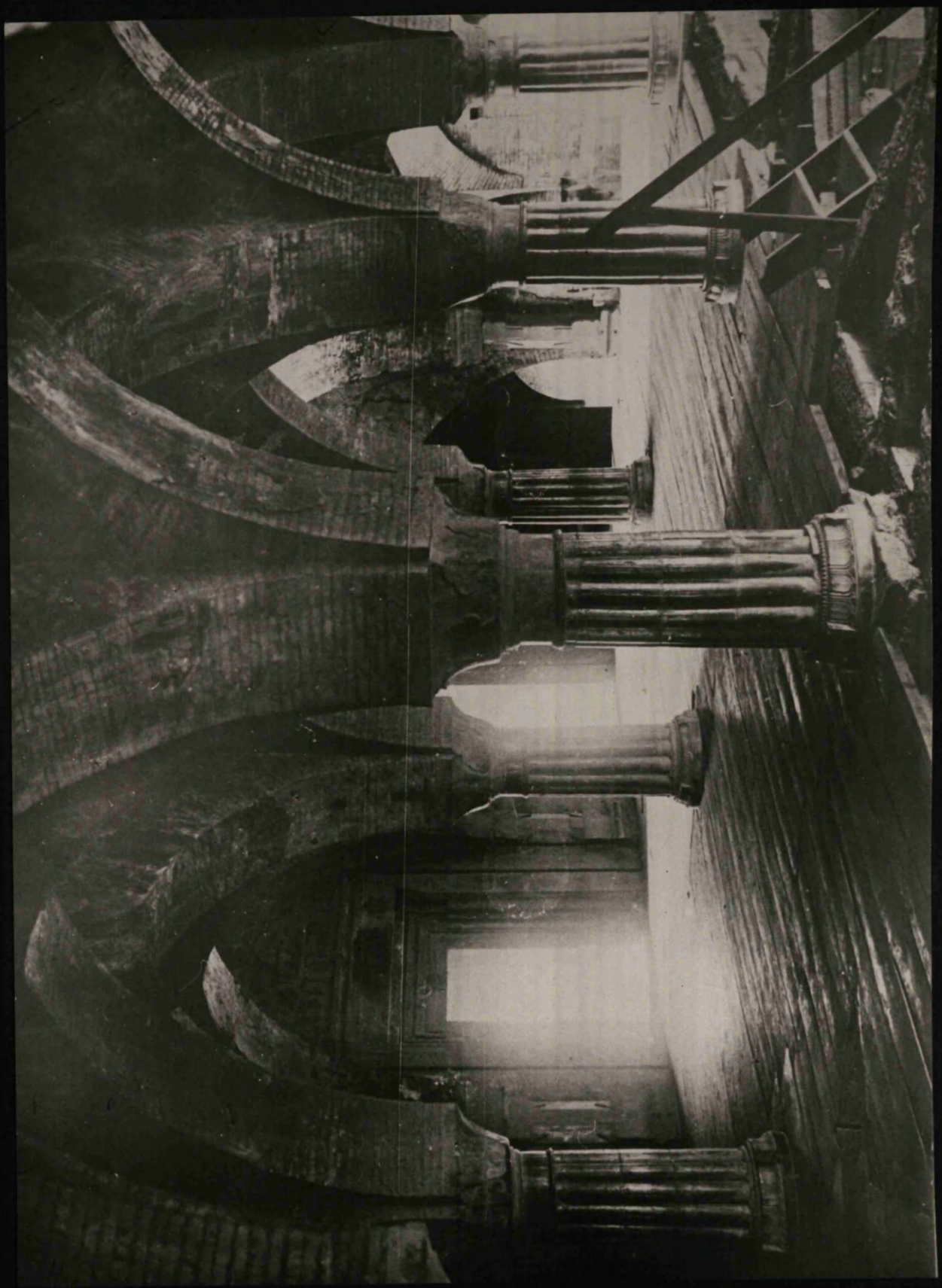


PLATE LXIV
a-b

PLATE LXV
a-b

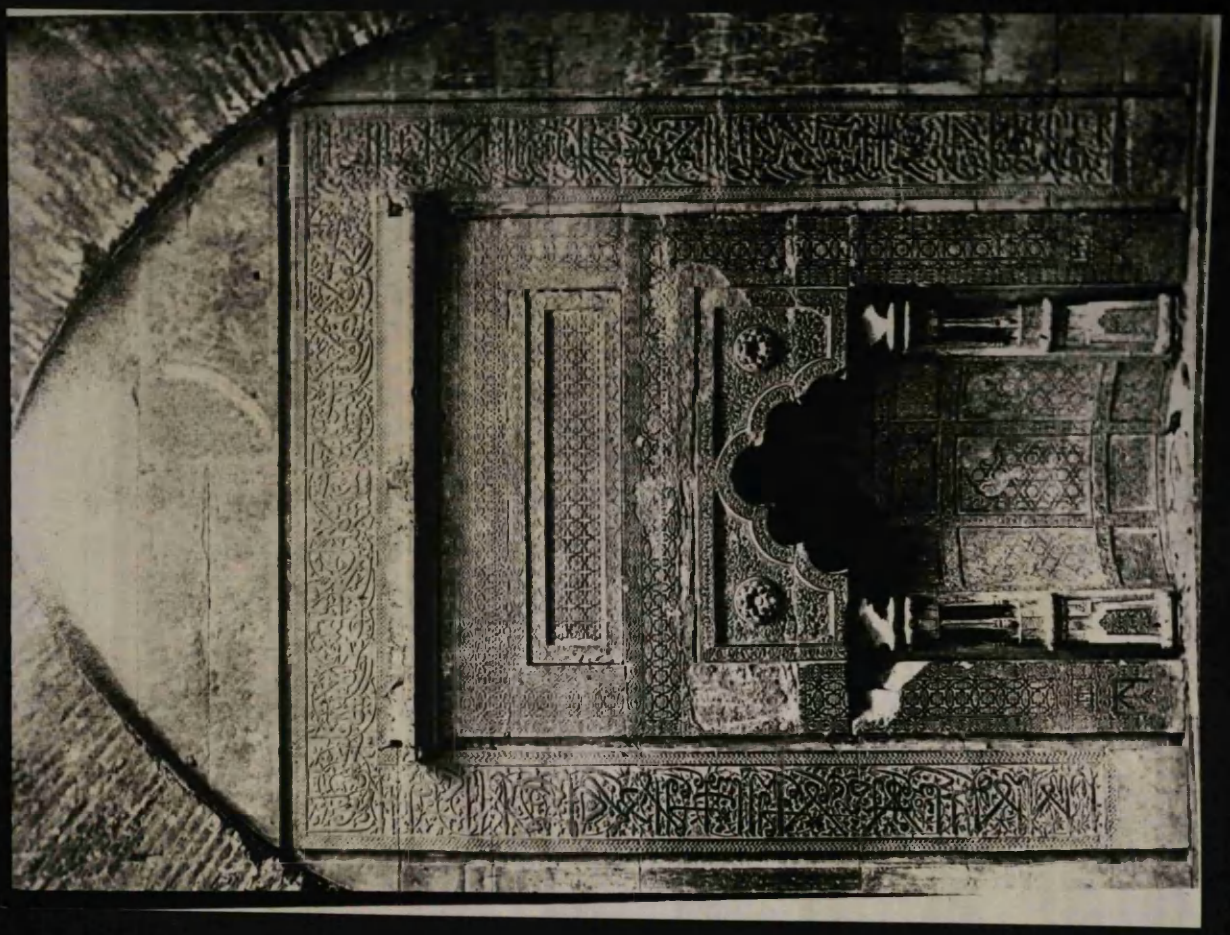


PLATE LXVI

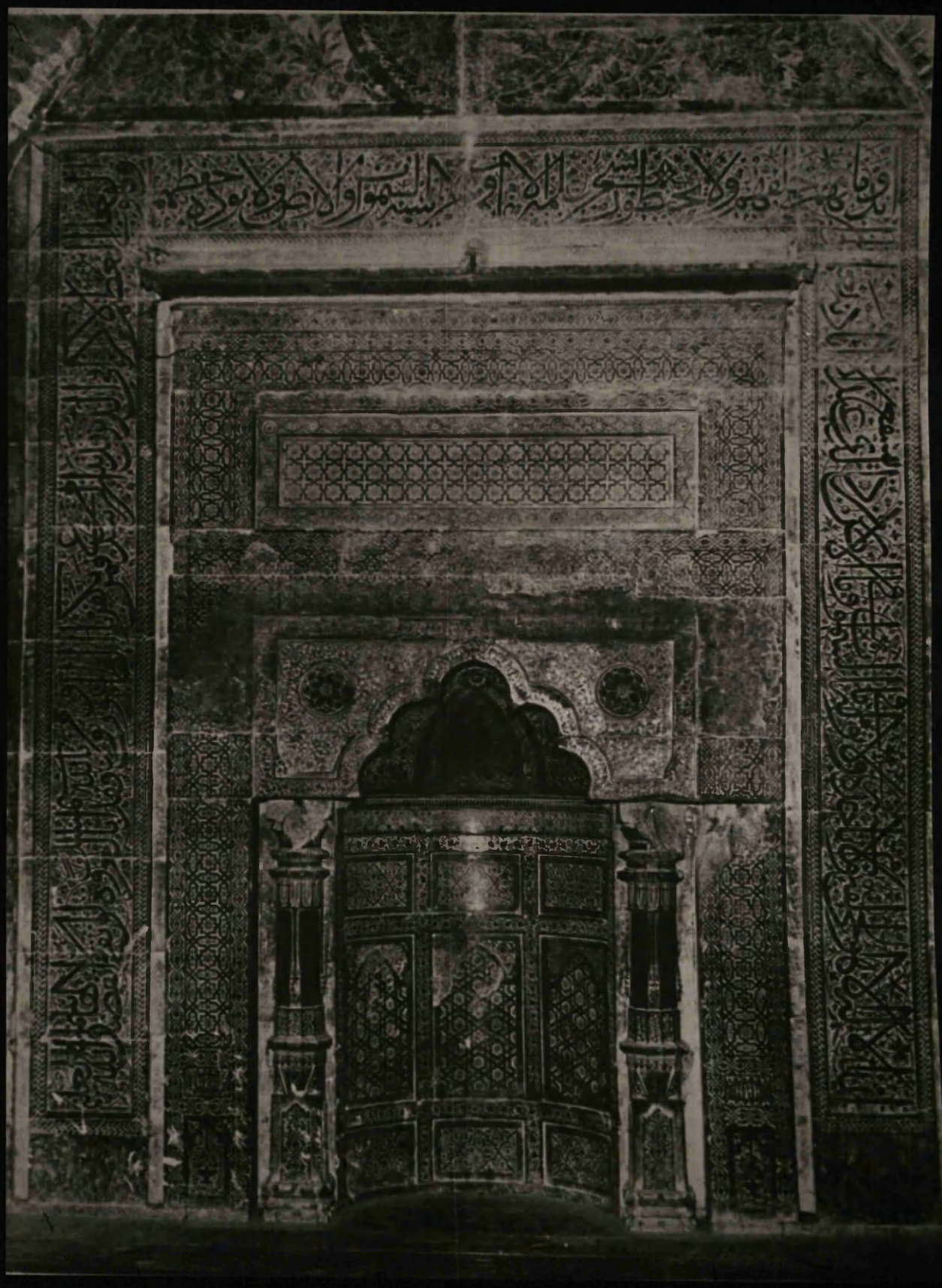
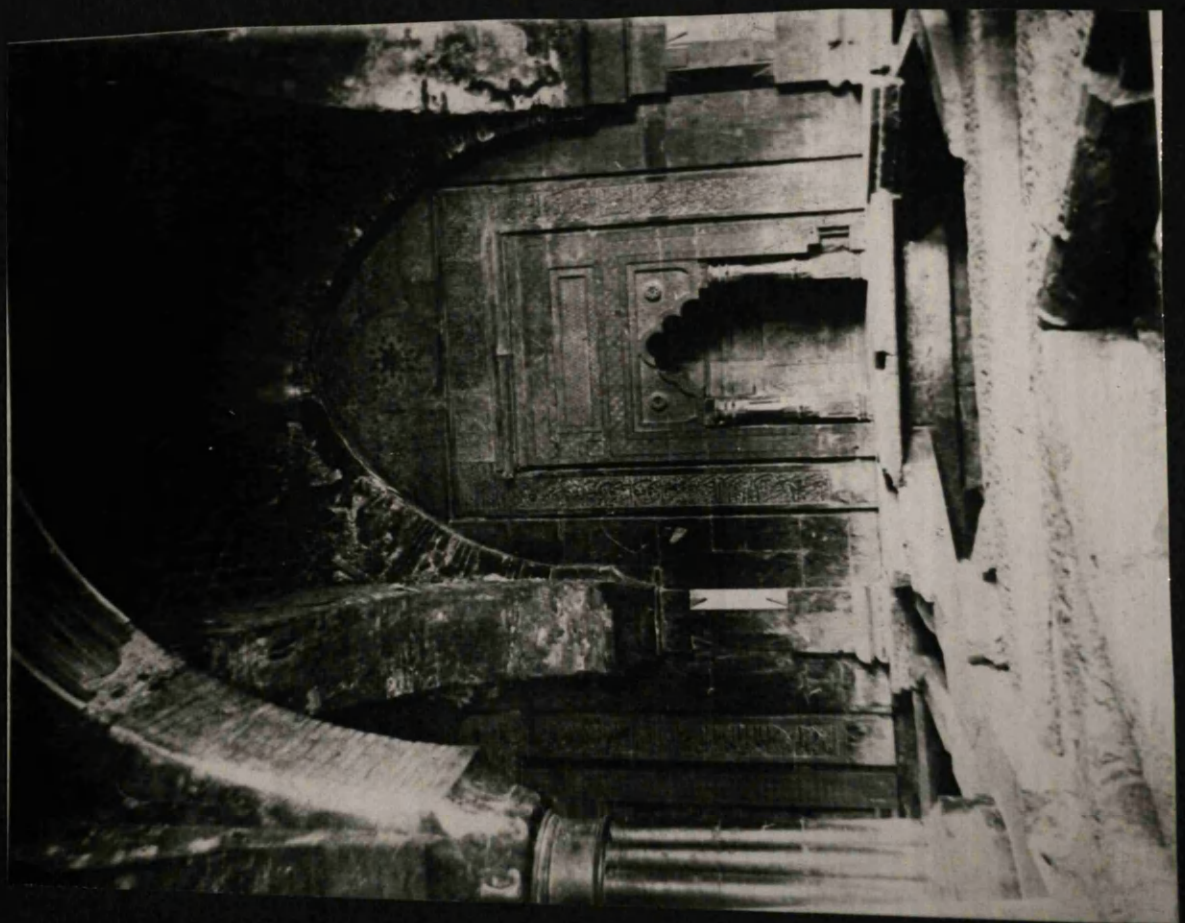


PLATE LXVII

PLATE LXVIII
a-b



Pandreah. (127.)

Adina Masjid, aisles from ladies' gallery, looking north.

Pandreah (128)

Adina Masjid, looking south.

PLATE LXIX a-b

PLATE LXX

PLATE LXXI
a-b

PLATE LXXII

PLATE LXXIII
a-b

PLATE LXXIV

PLATE LXXV
a-b

PLATE LXXVI

PLATE LXXVII

PLATE LXXVII

PLATE LXXIX
a-b

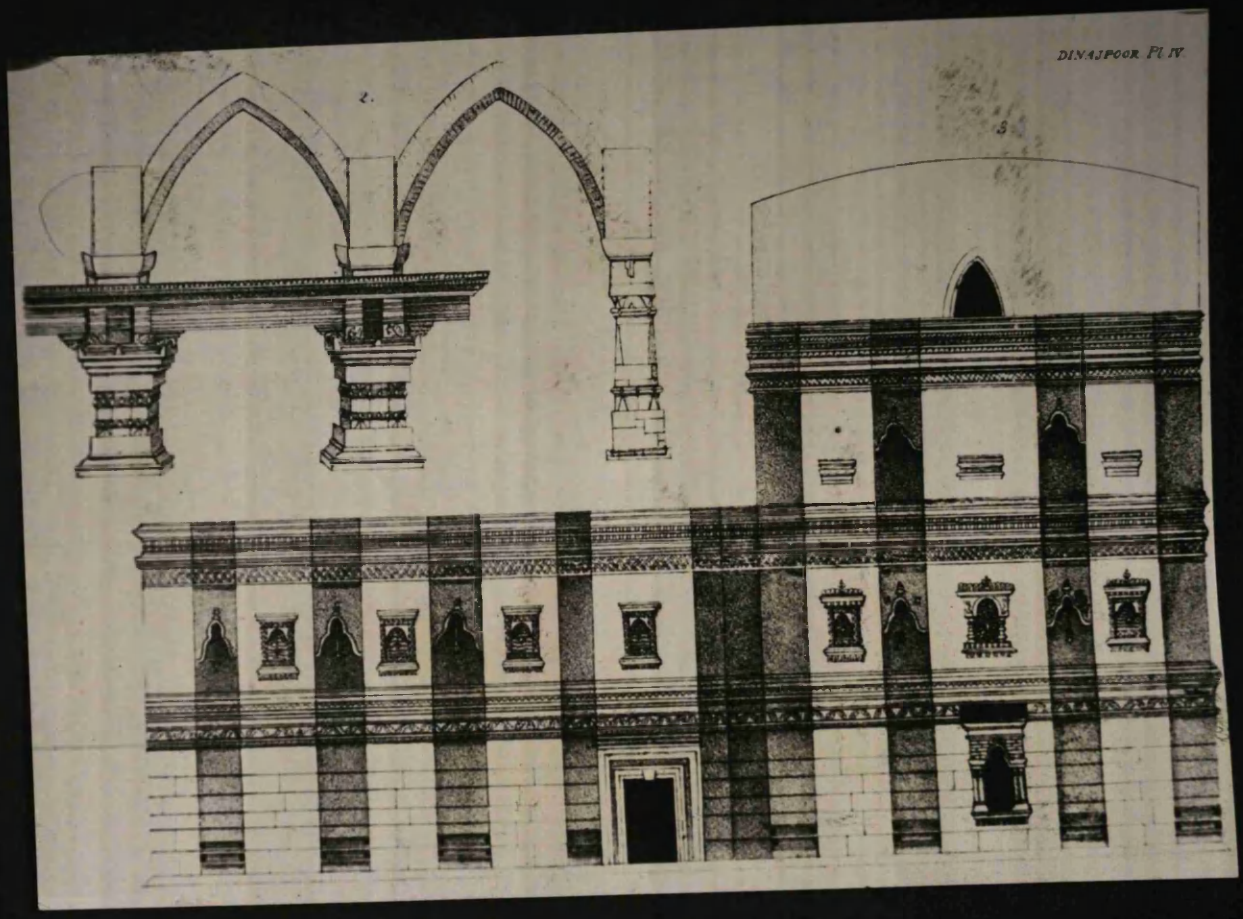


PLATE LXXX
a-b

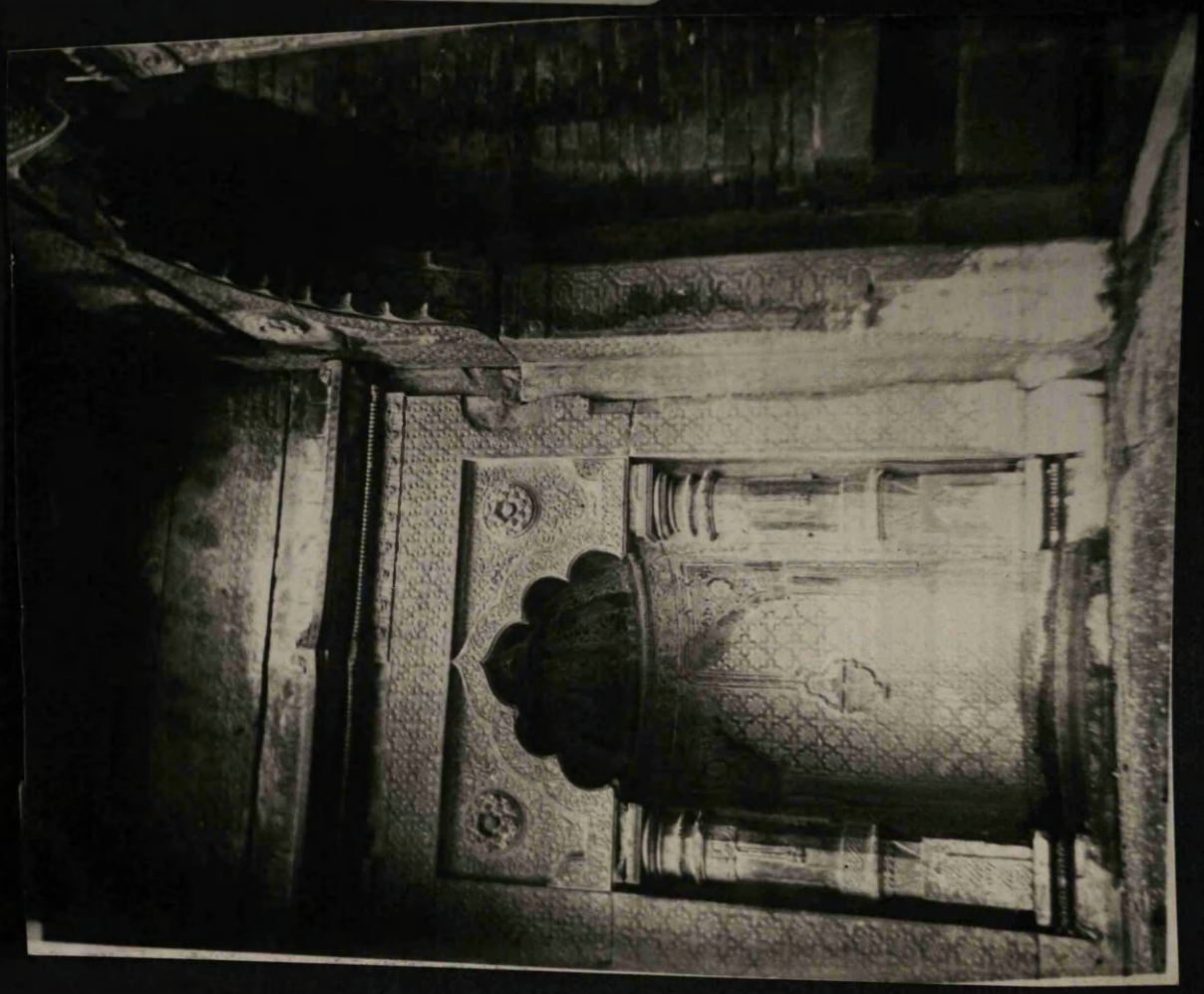


PLATE LXXXI
a-b

PLATE LXXXII
a-b

PLATE LXXXIII
a-b

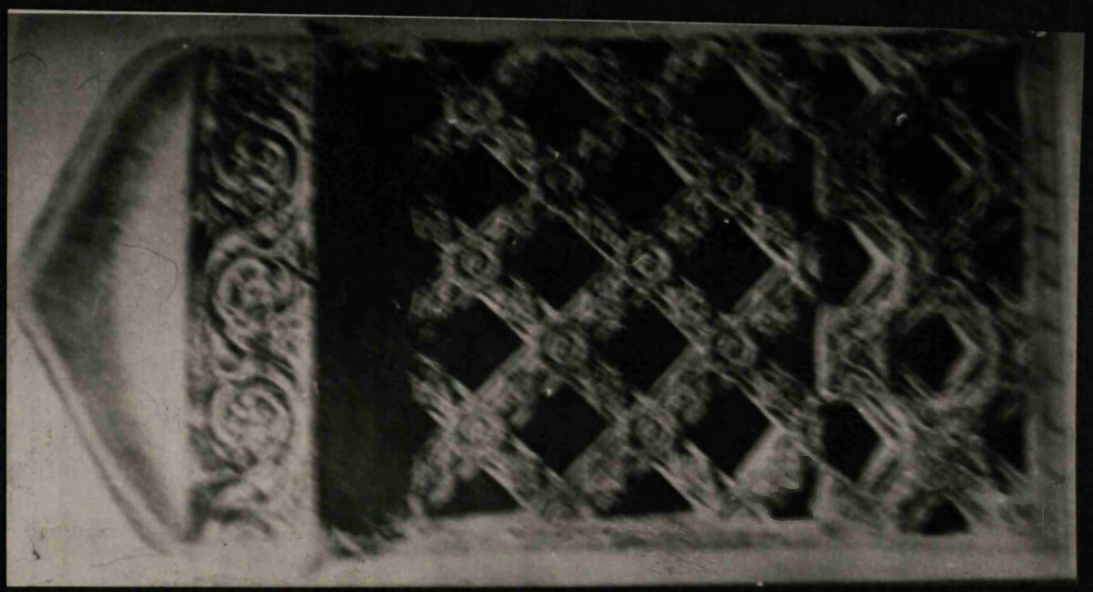
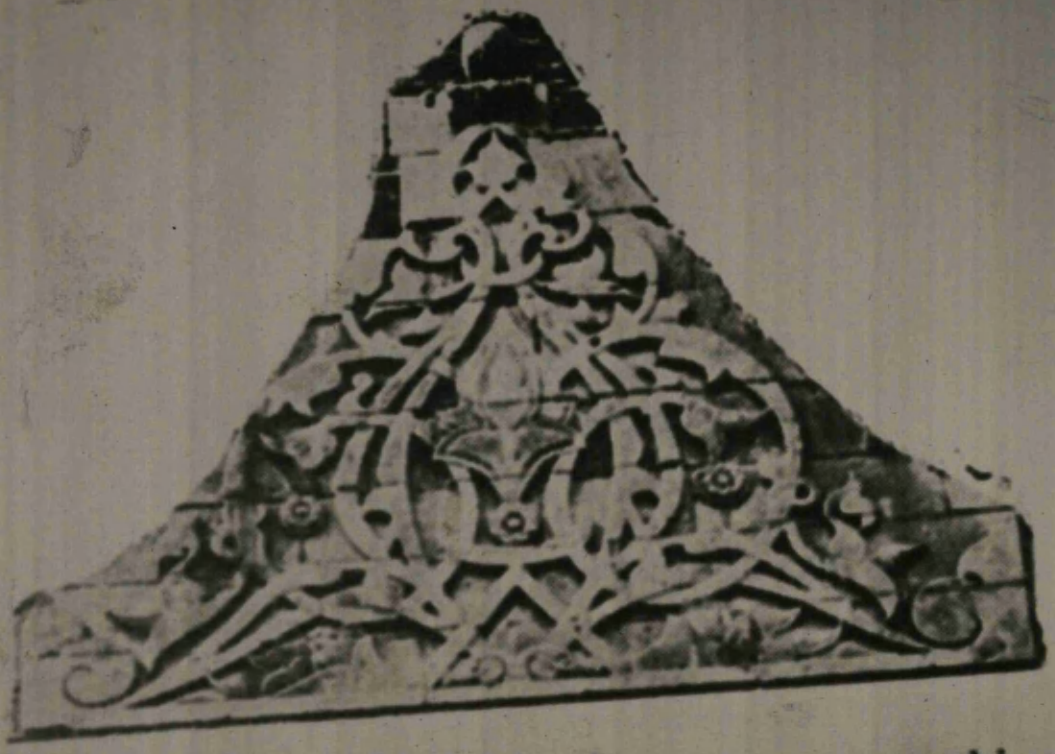
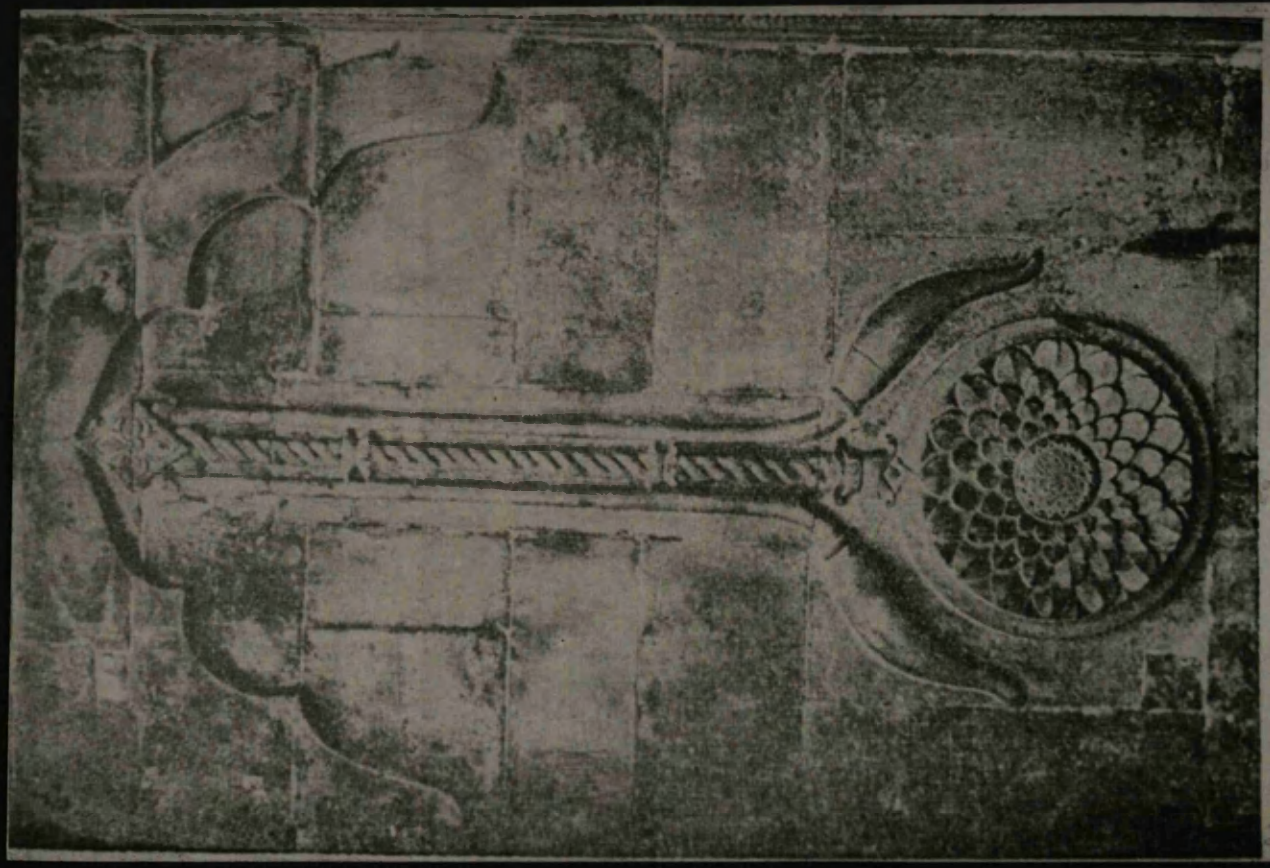


PLATE LXXXIV
a-b



Hazrat Pandua, Adina Masjid, the interlocking design



20. Hazrat Pandua, Adina Masjid, hanging motif

PLATE LXXXV

PLATE LXXXVI

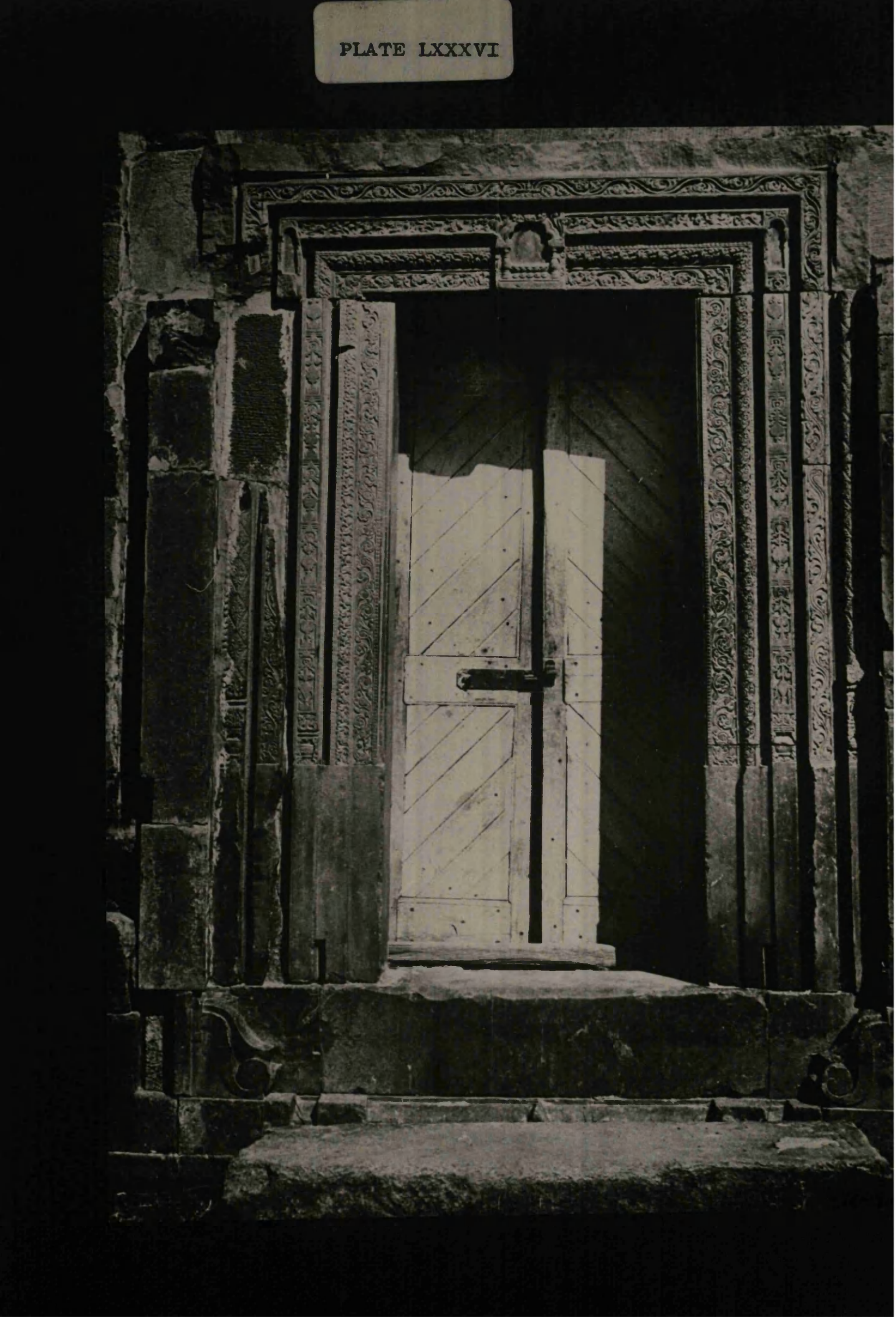
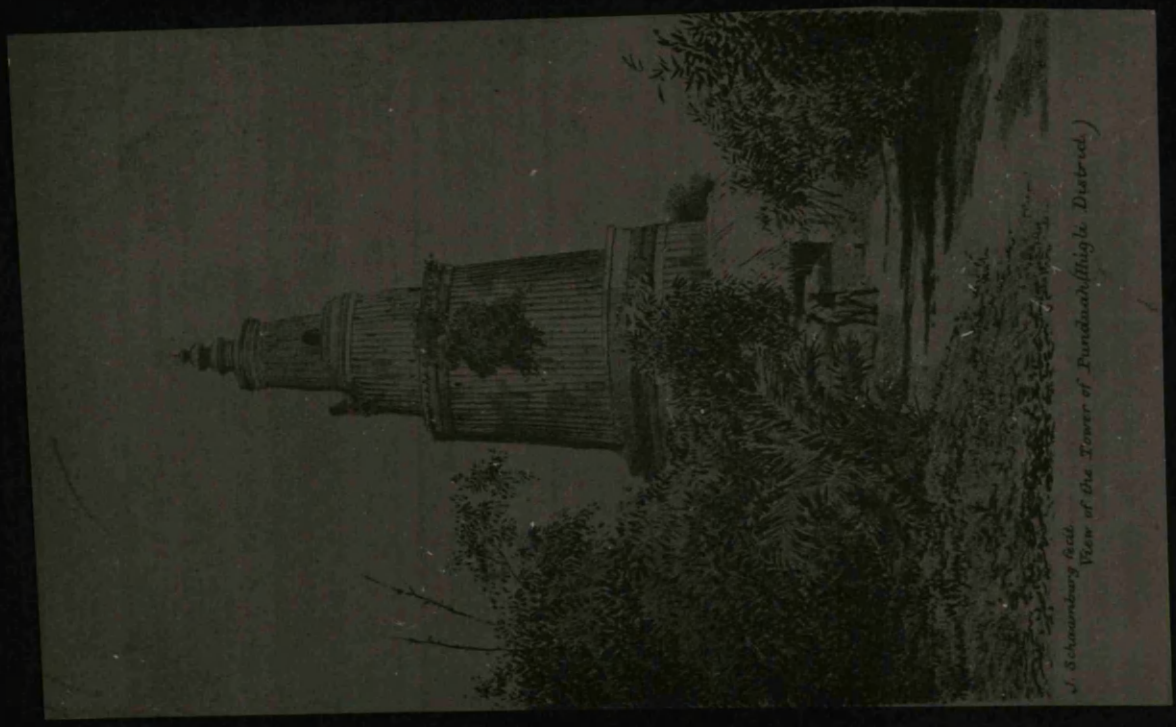


PLATE LXXXVII
a-b



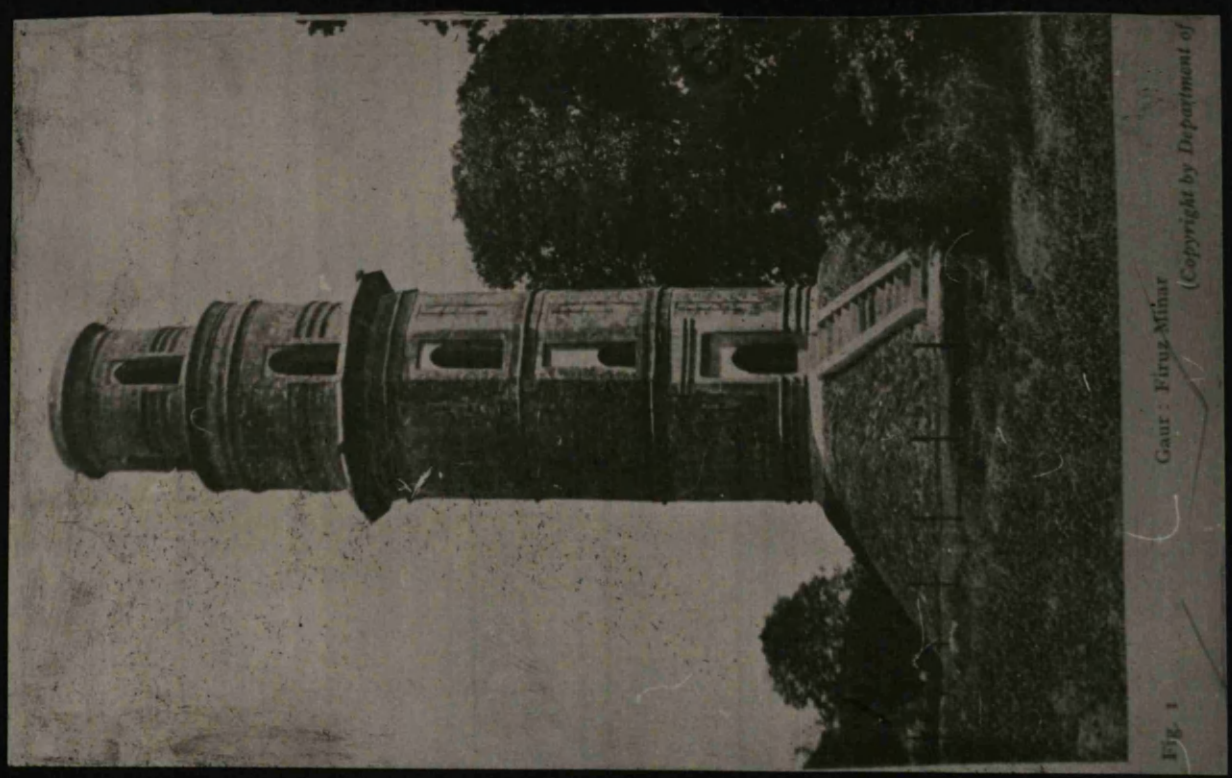
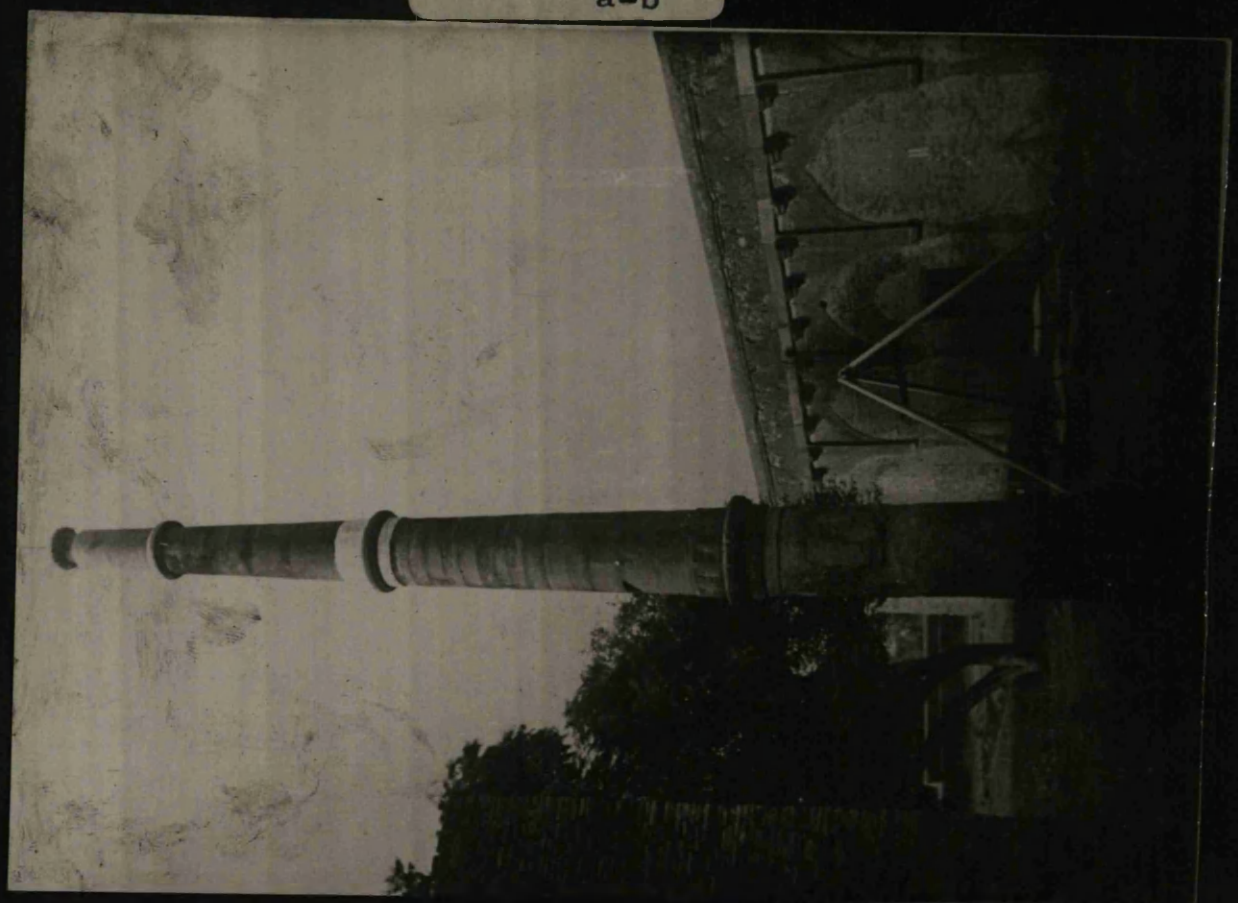


PLATE LXXXVIII
a-b

PLATE LXXXIX

a-b

PLATE XC
a-b



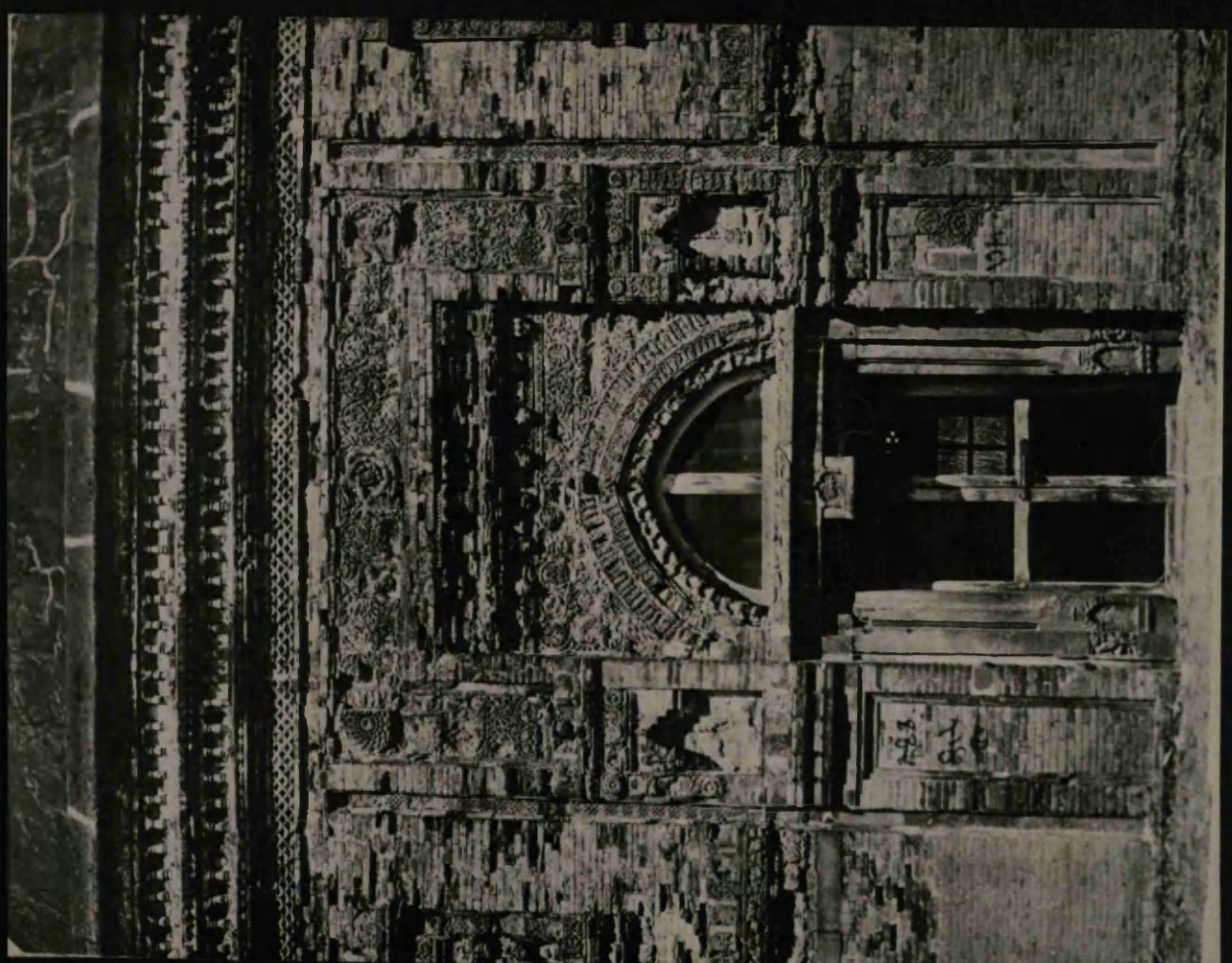


PLATE XCI
a-b

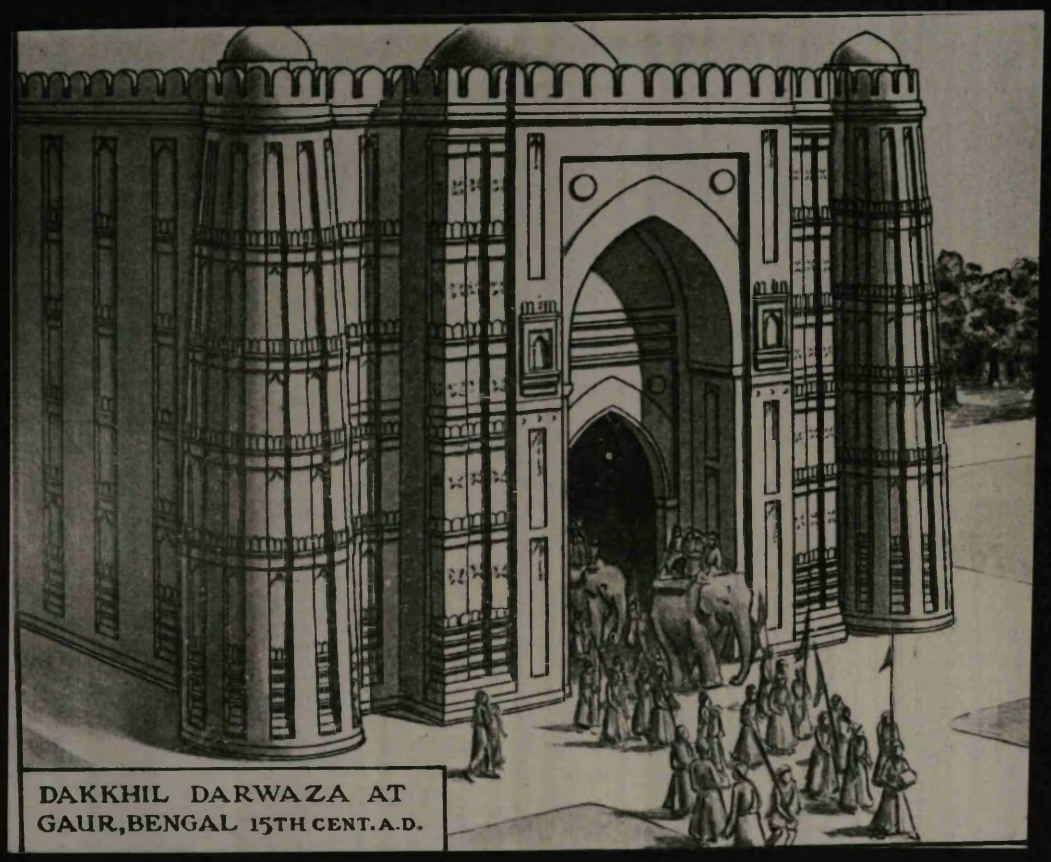
25. Hazrat Pandua, Adina Masjid, the brick design in the tympanum

PLATE XCII
a-b

PLATE XCIII

PLATE XCIV
a-b

PLATE XCV
a-b



DAKKHIL DARWAZA AT
GAUR, BENGAL 15TH CENT. A.D.

PLATE XCVI
a-b

PLATE XCVII

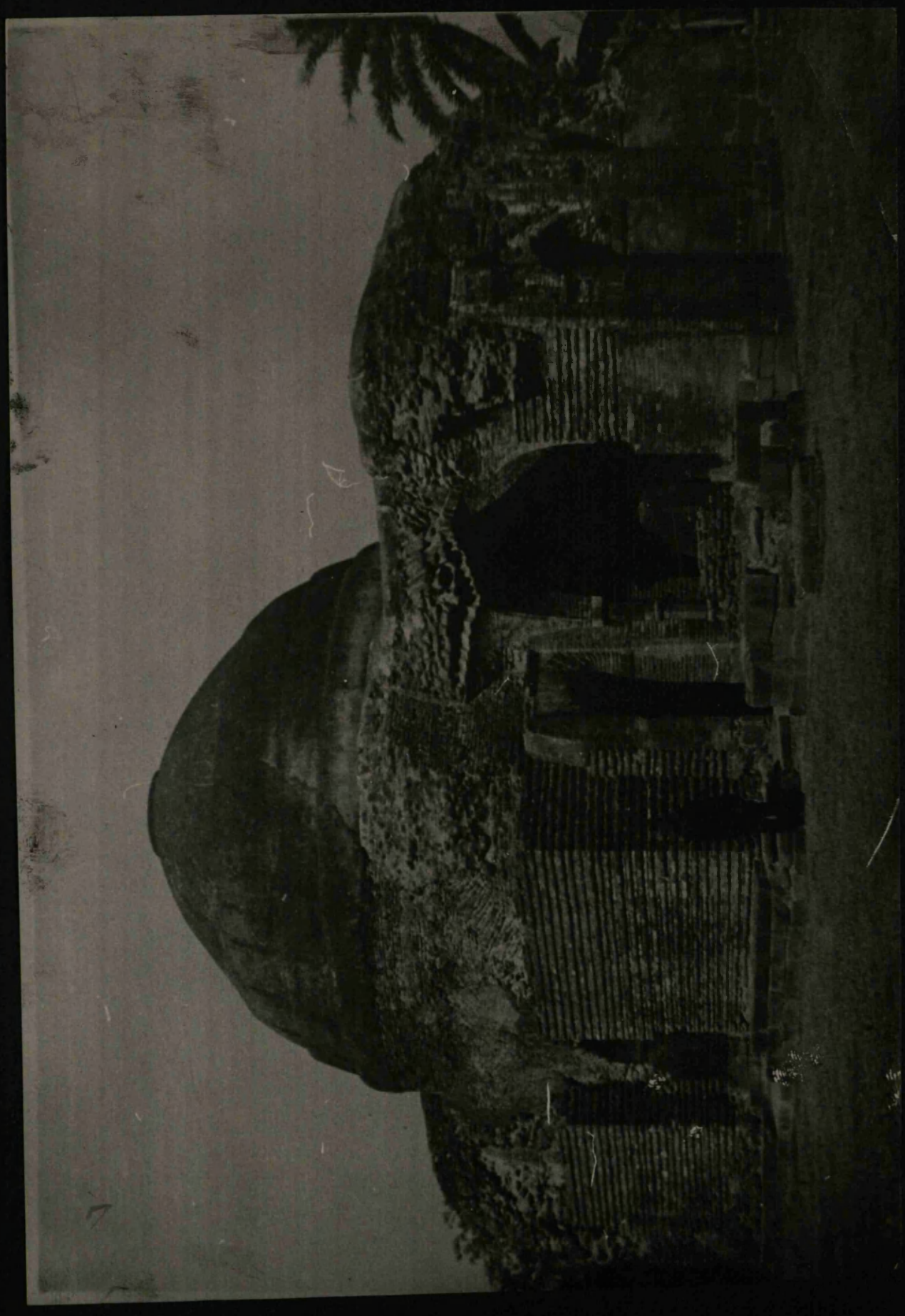


PLATE XCVIII

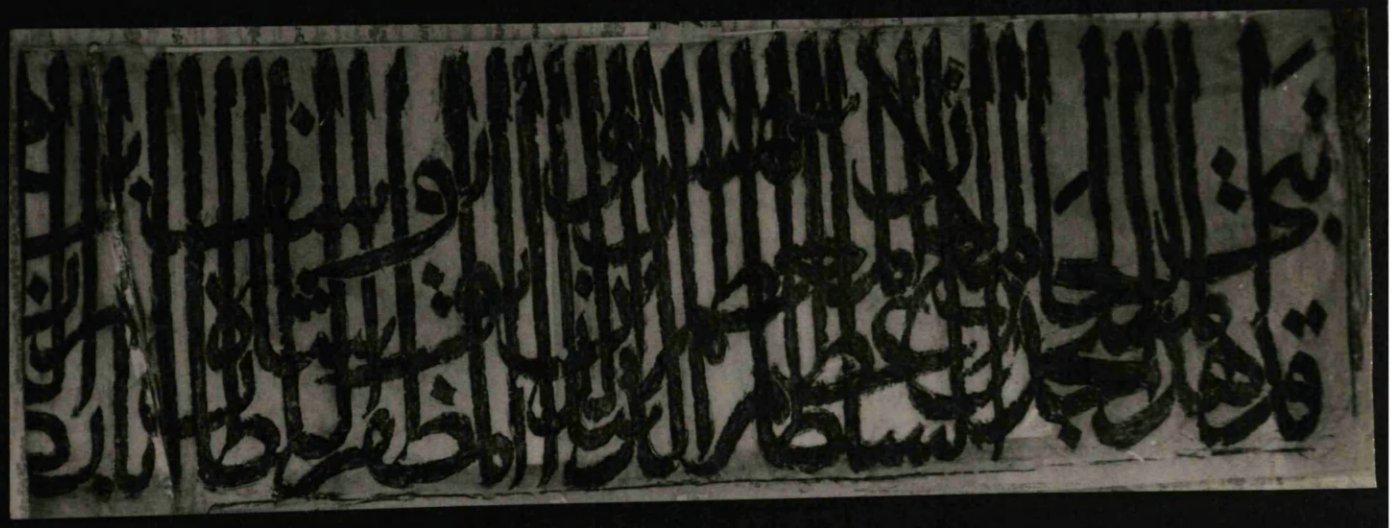


PLATE XCIX
a-b

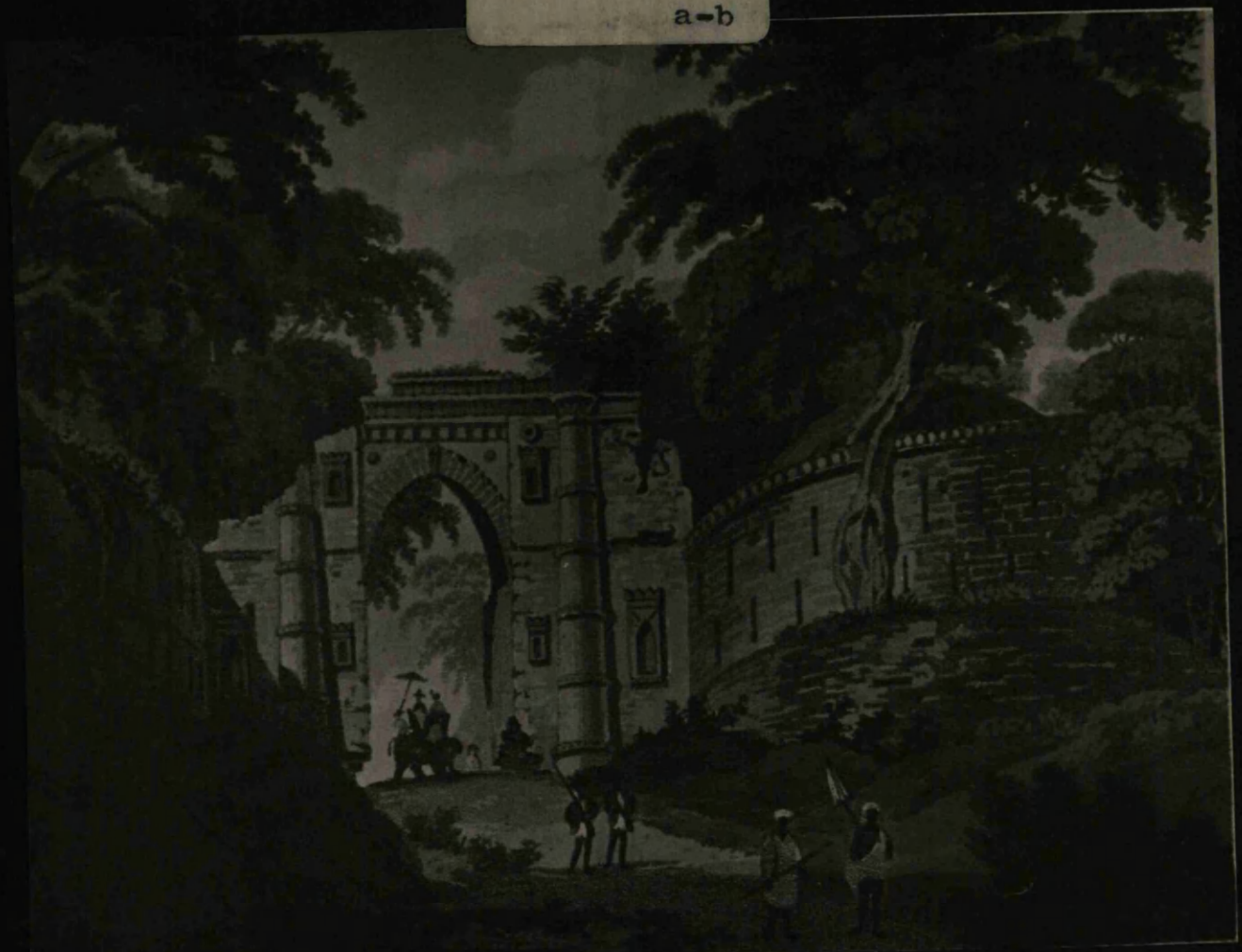


PLATE C
a-b

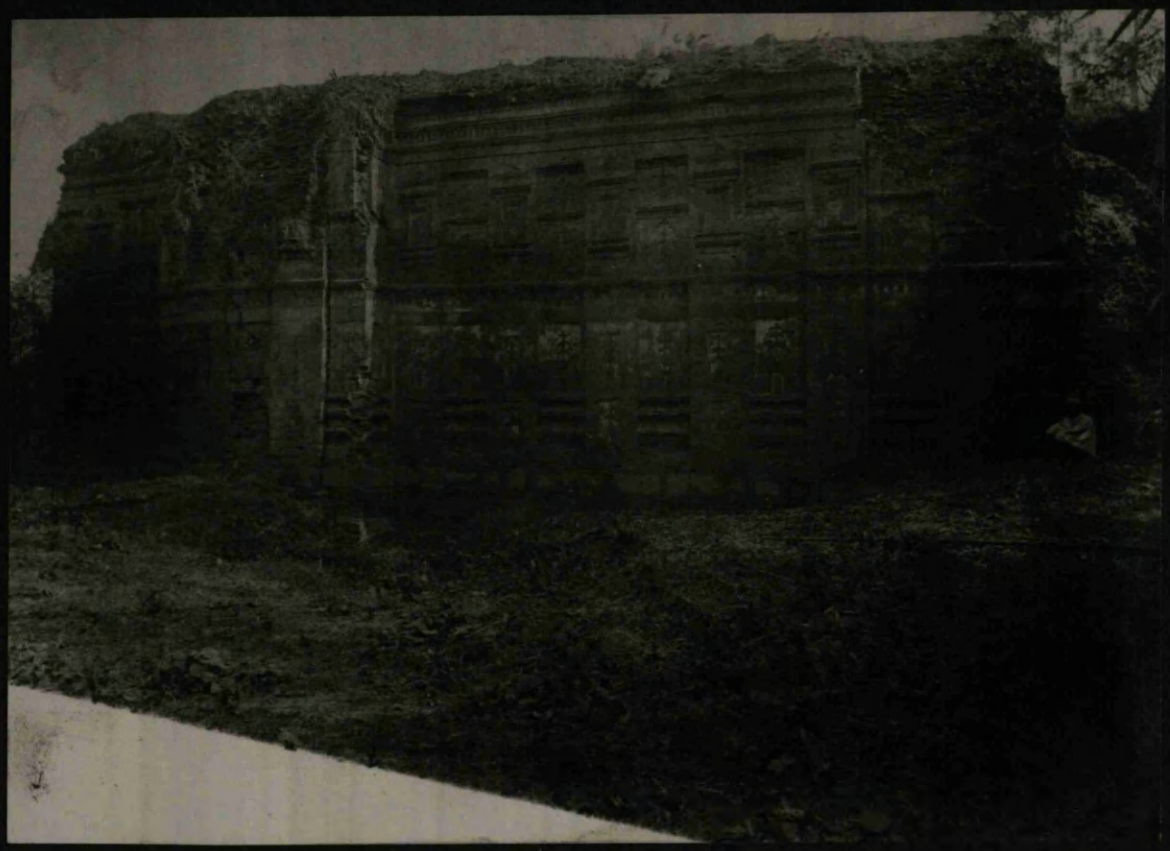


PLATE CI

PLATE CII
a-b

PLATE CIII

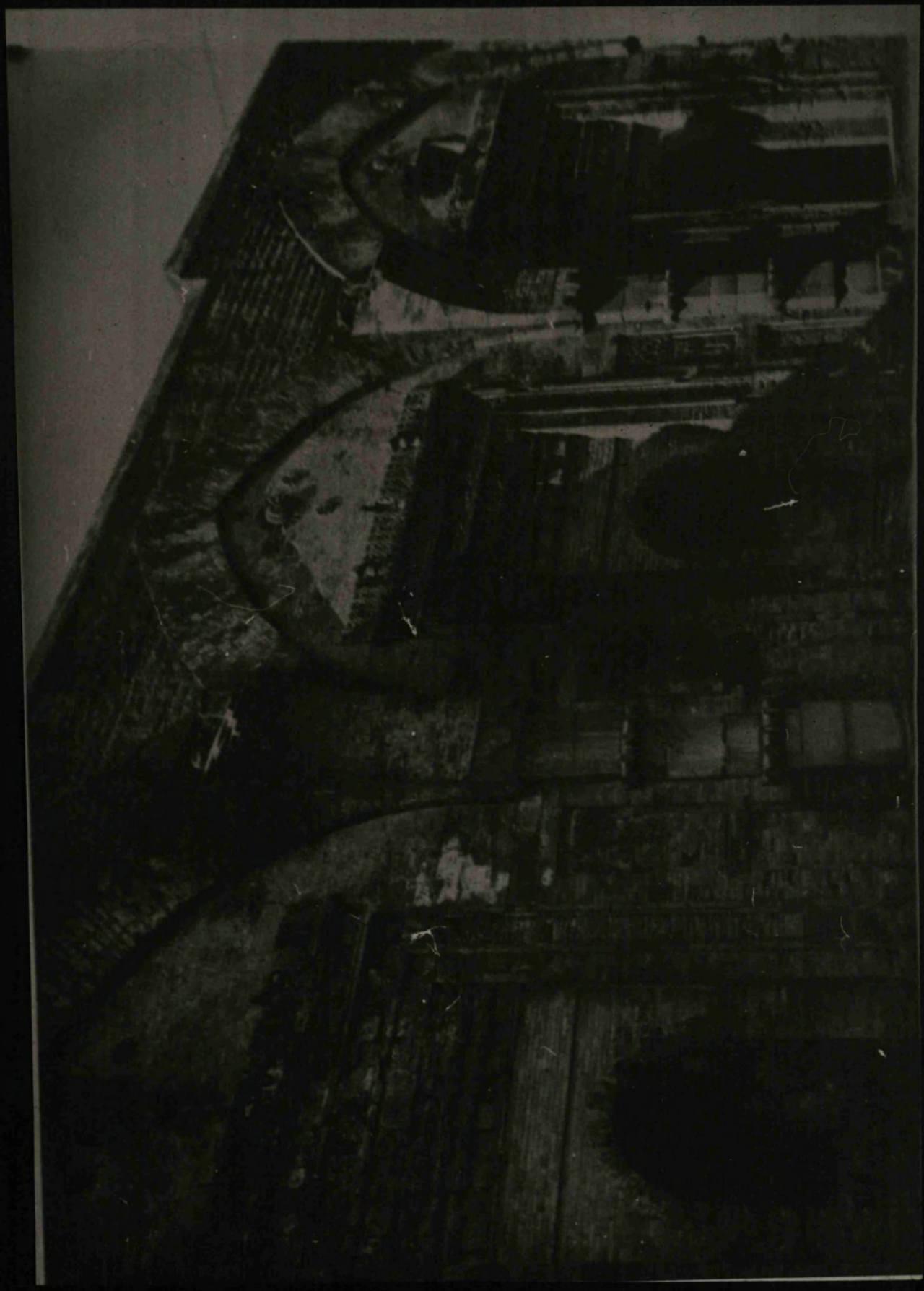


PLATE CIV

PLATE CV

PLATE CVII

PLATE CVII

PLATE CVIII

PLATE CIX

PLATE CX

PLATE CXI
a-b

PLATE CXII

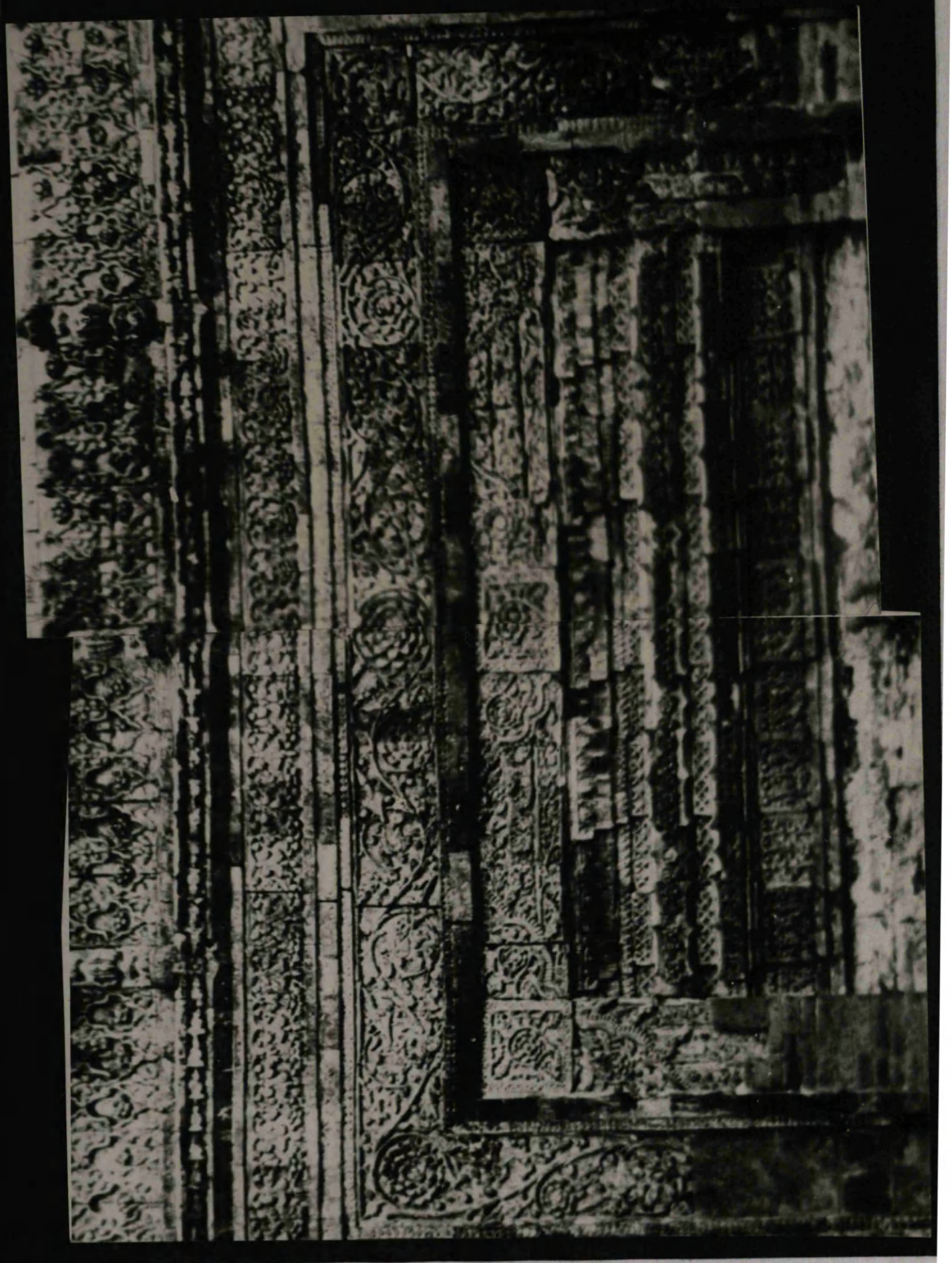
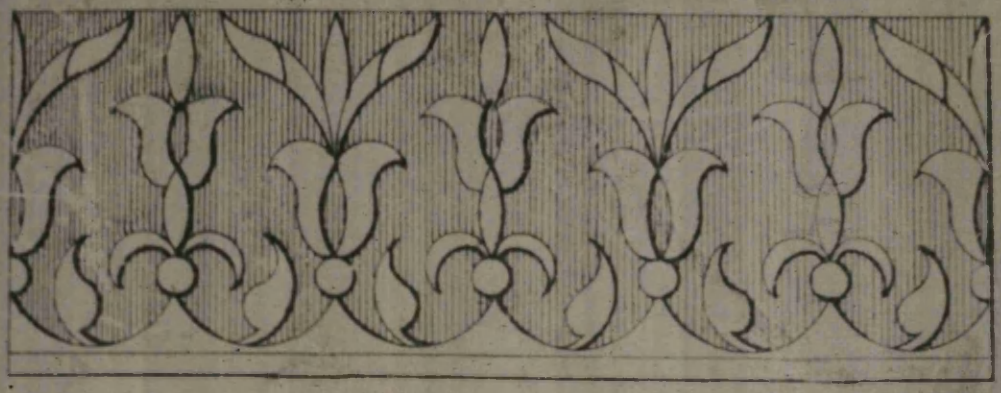
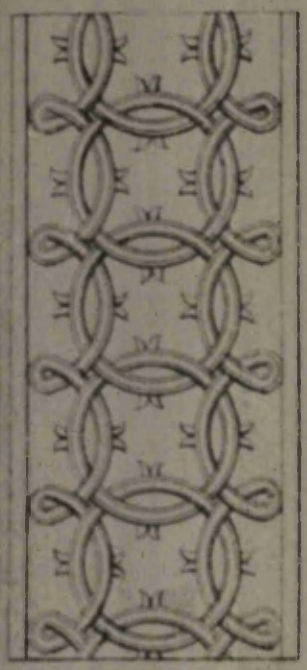


PLATE CXIII

THÂNTIPARA MASJID.



EKLAKHI TOMB - HAZRAT PANDUA.



THÂNTIPARA - MASJID.

PLATE CXIV
a-b

PLATE CXV

a-b

PLATE CXVI

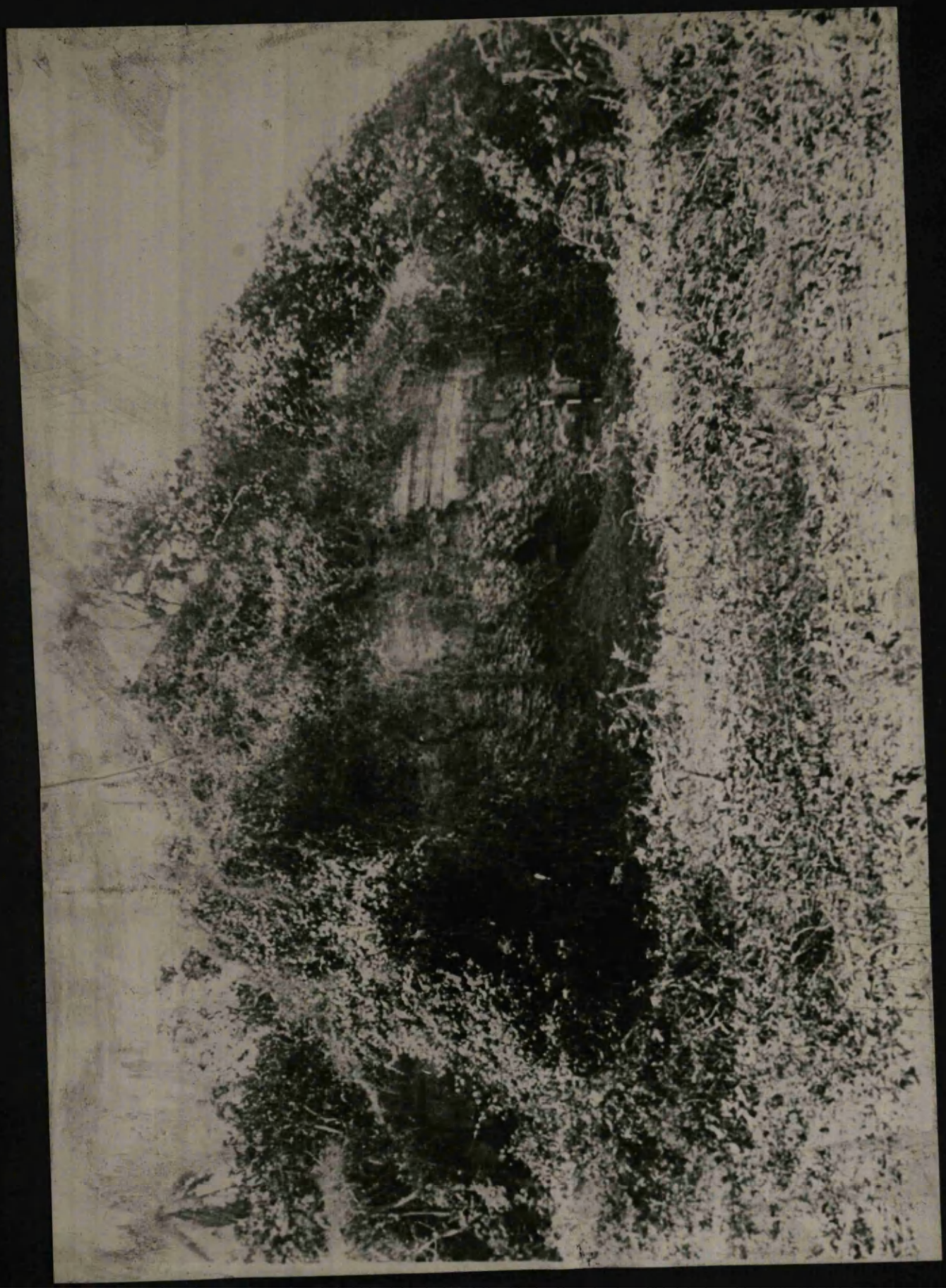


PLATE CXVII

a-b

54. Gaur. Gunmant Masjid, the decorated ceiling (early 16th century)

PLATE CXVIII
a-b

PLATE CXIX

PLATE CXX

PLATE CXXI
a-b

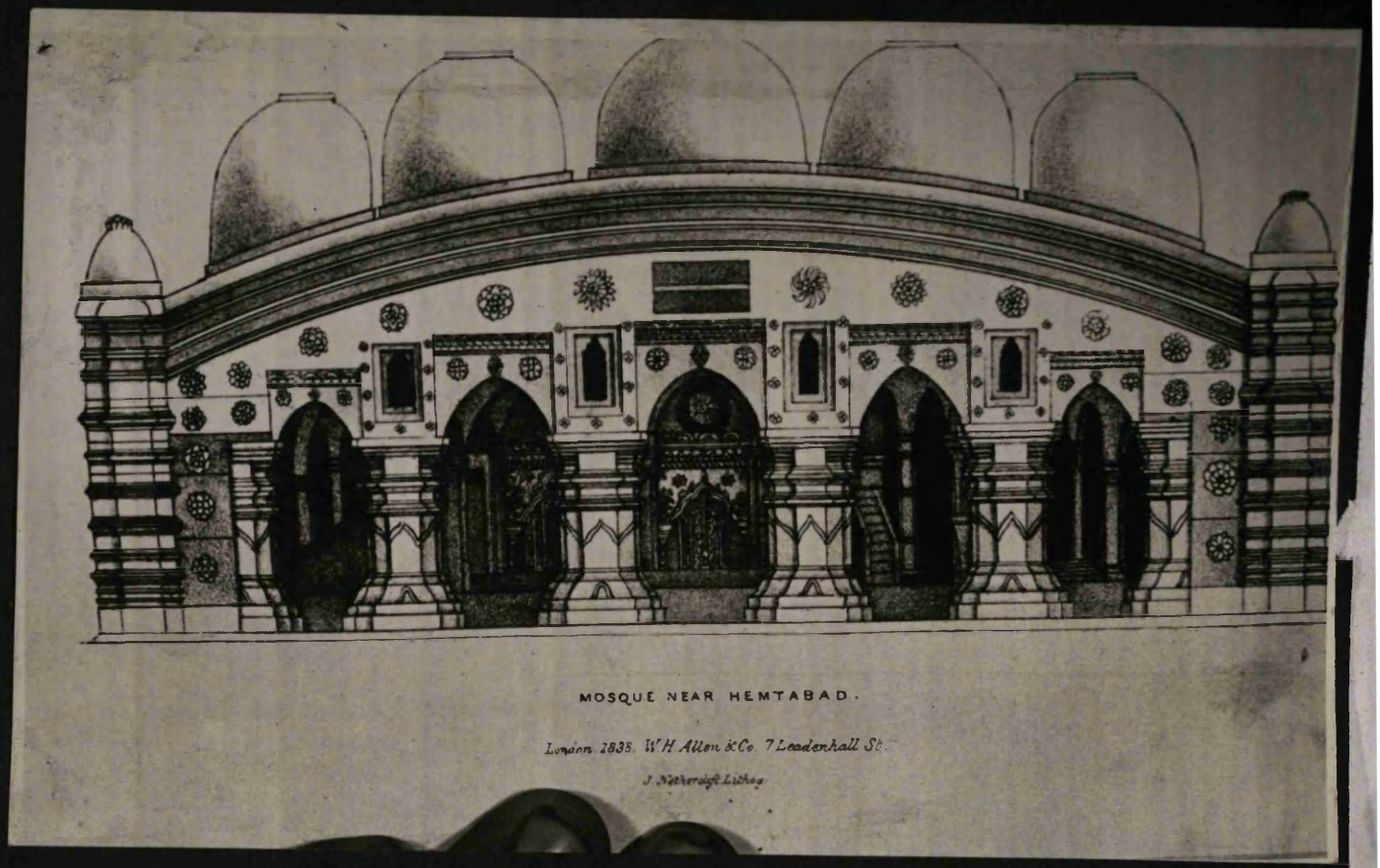
PLATE CXXII

PLATE CXXIII

PLATE CXXIV

PLATE CXXV
a-b

PLATE CXXVI
a-b

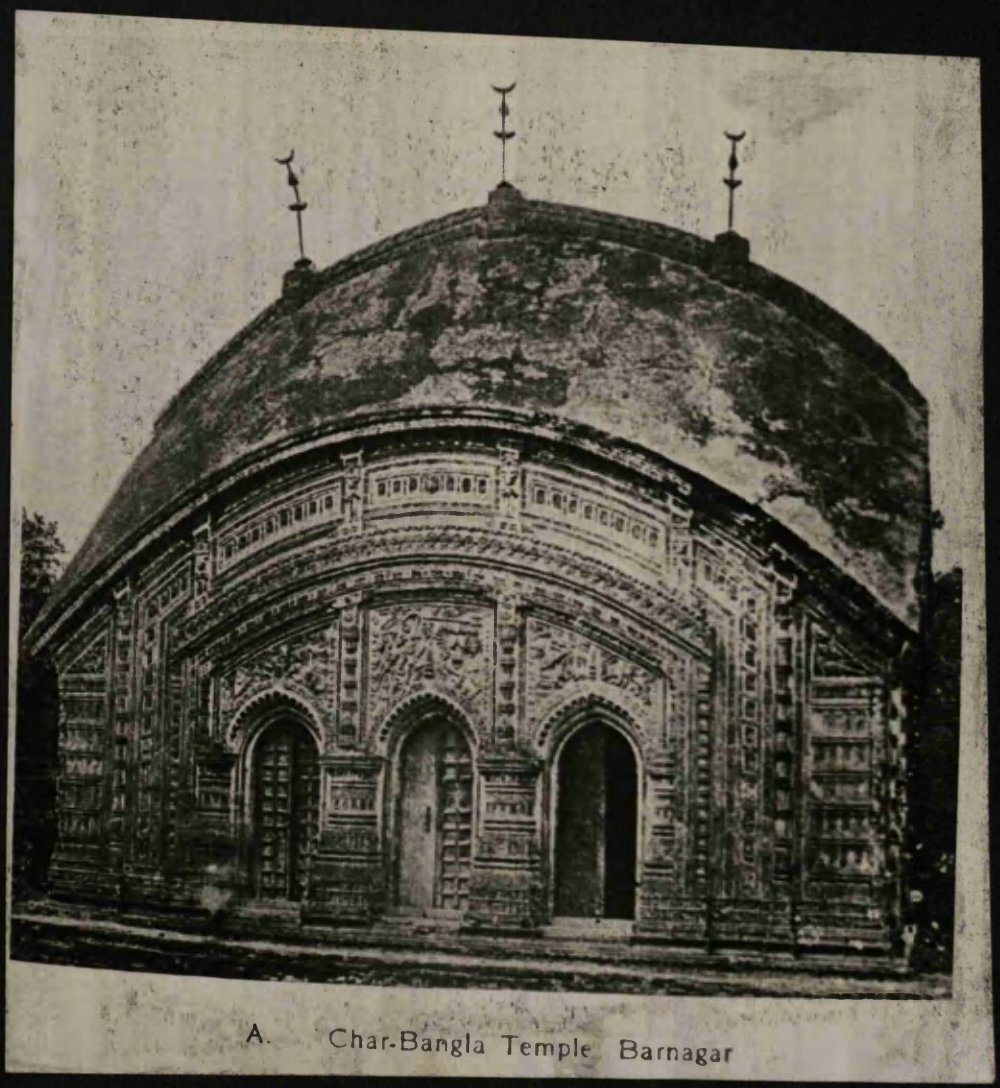


76. Kusumba. Mosque (1558)

PLATE CXXVI
a-b

PLATE CXXVIII
a-b

(a) Tezpur, Assam : Gateway leading to Kachâri Enclosure, after Conservation.



A. Char-Bangla Temple Barnagar

PLATE CXXIX
a-b

PLATE CXXX
a-b

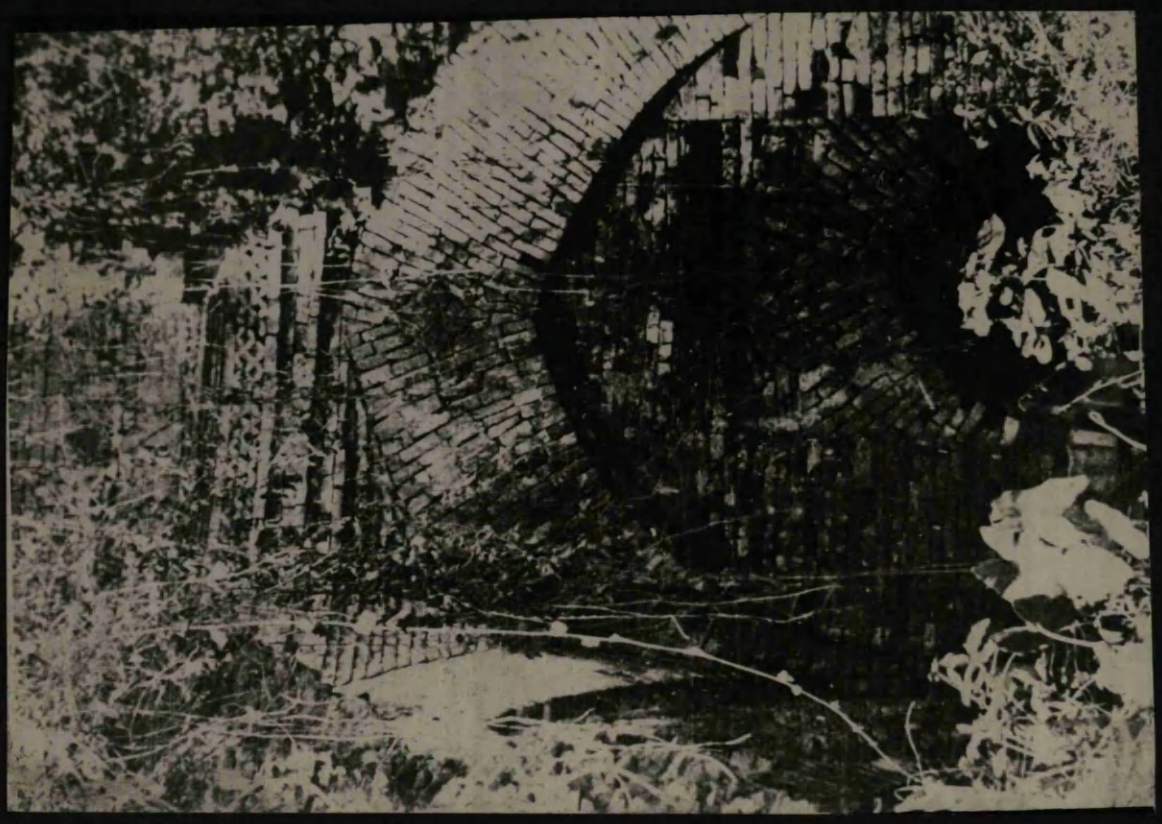


PLATE CXXXI

PLATE CXXXII

PLATE CXXXIII

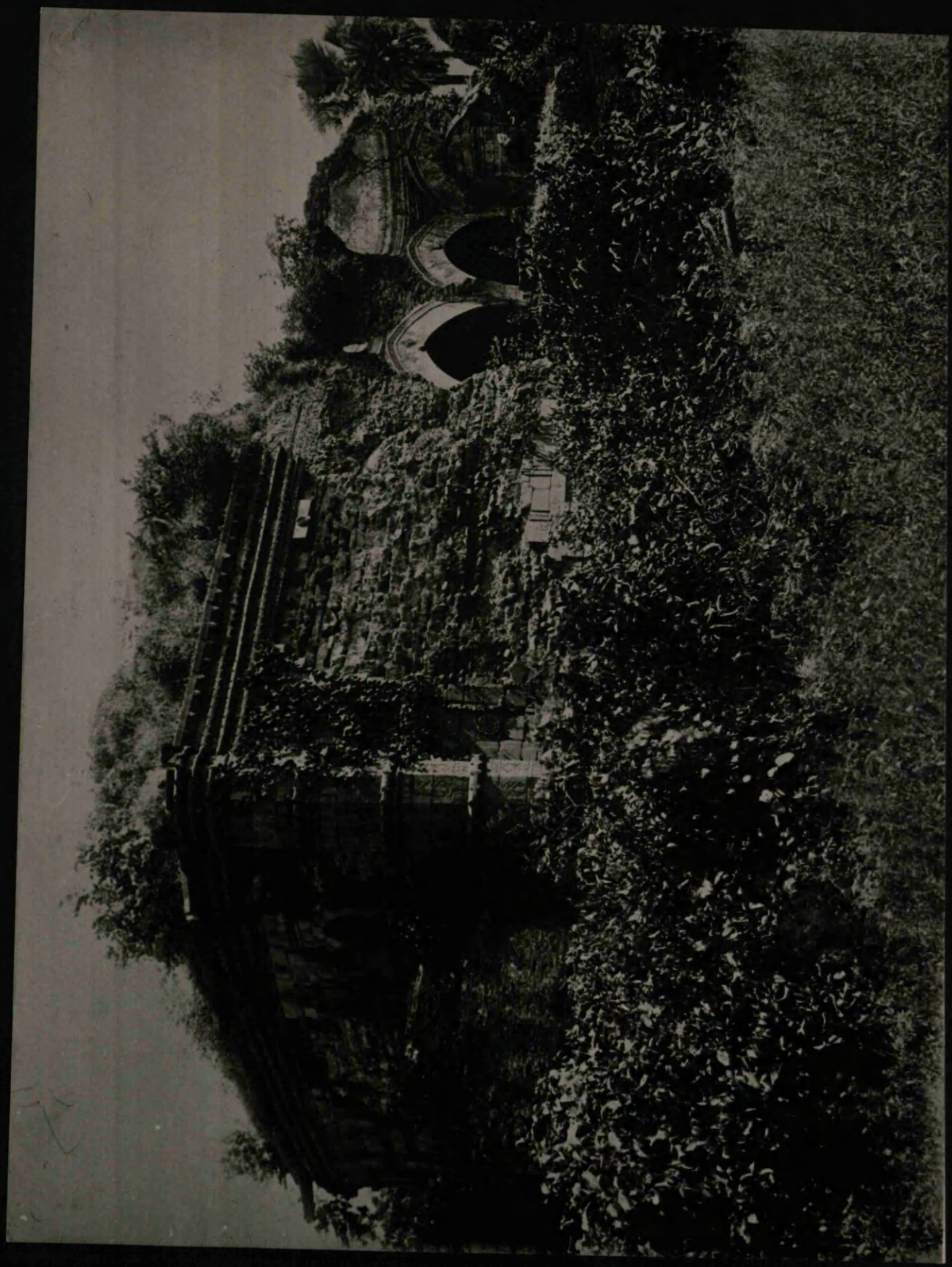


PLATE CXXXIV
a-b

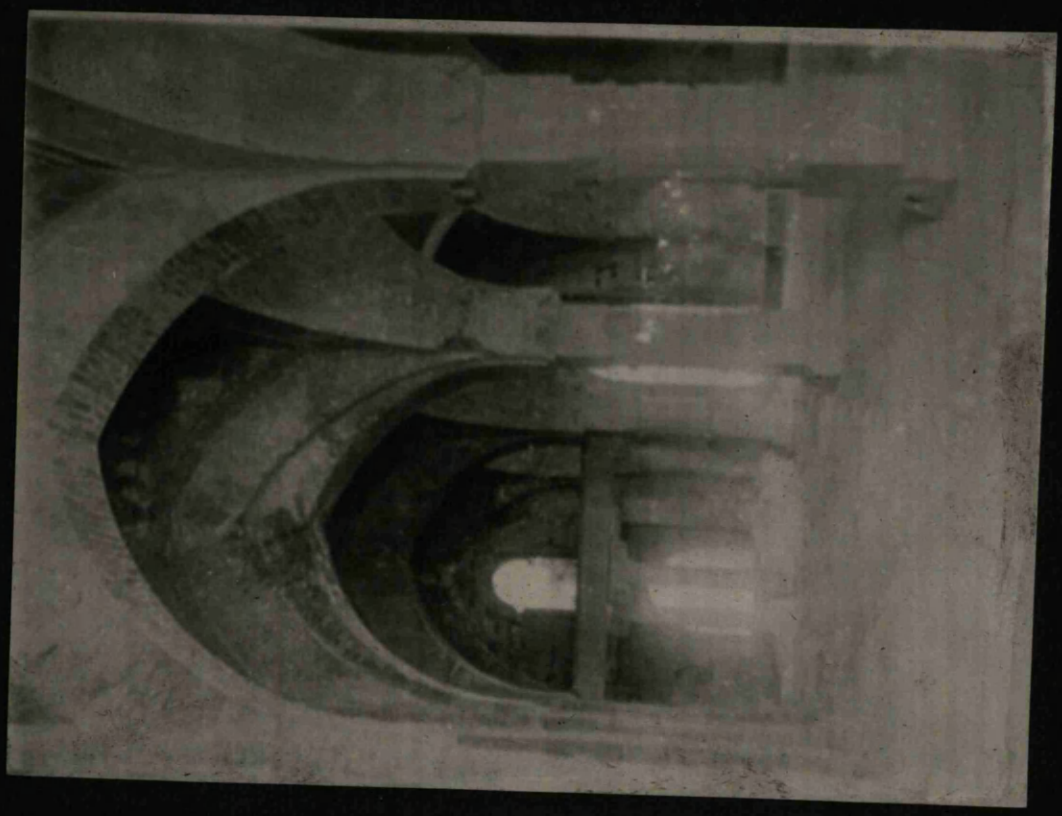


PLATE CXXXV

PLATE CXXXVI
a-b

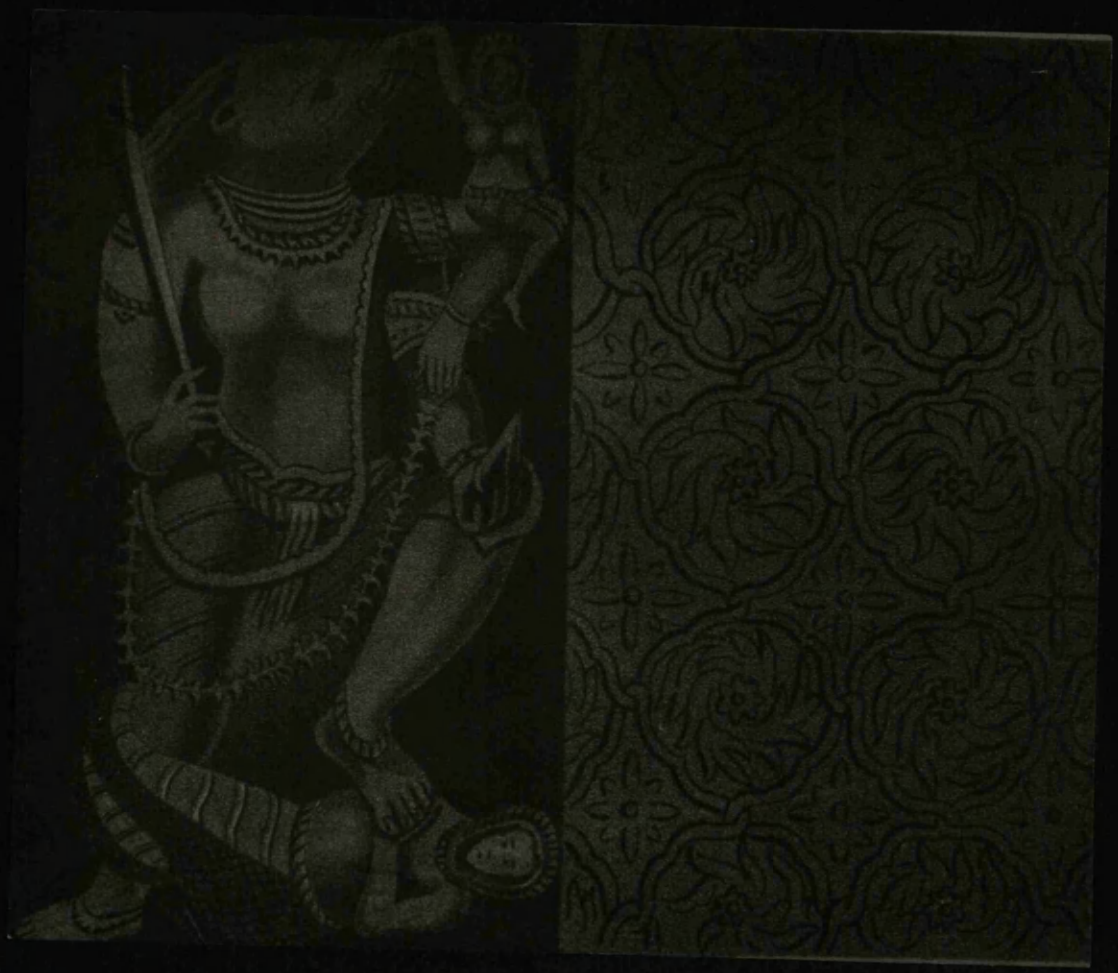


PLATE CXXXVII
a-b

PLATE CXXXVIII

PLATE CXXXIX
a-b

PLATE CXL
a-b

PLATE CXLI

PLATE CXLII

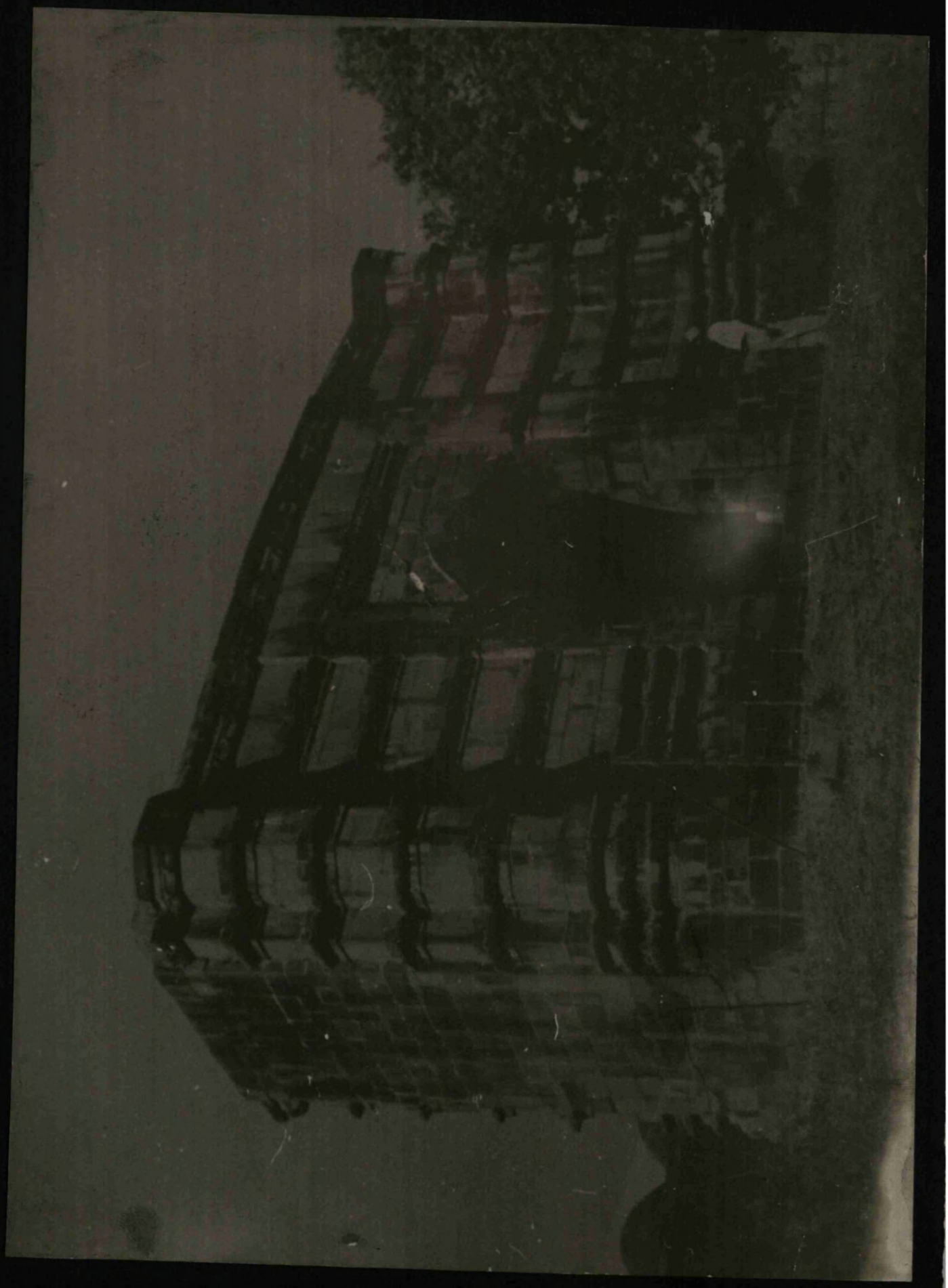


PLATE CXLIII

a-b

PLATE CXLIV

PLATE CXLV
a-b

PLATE CXLVI
a-b

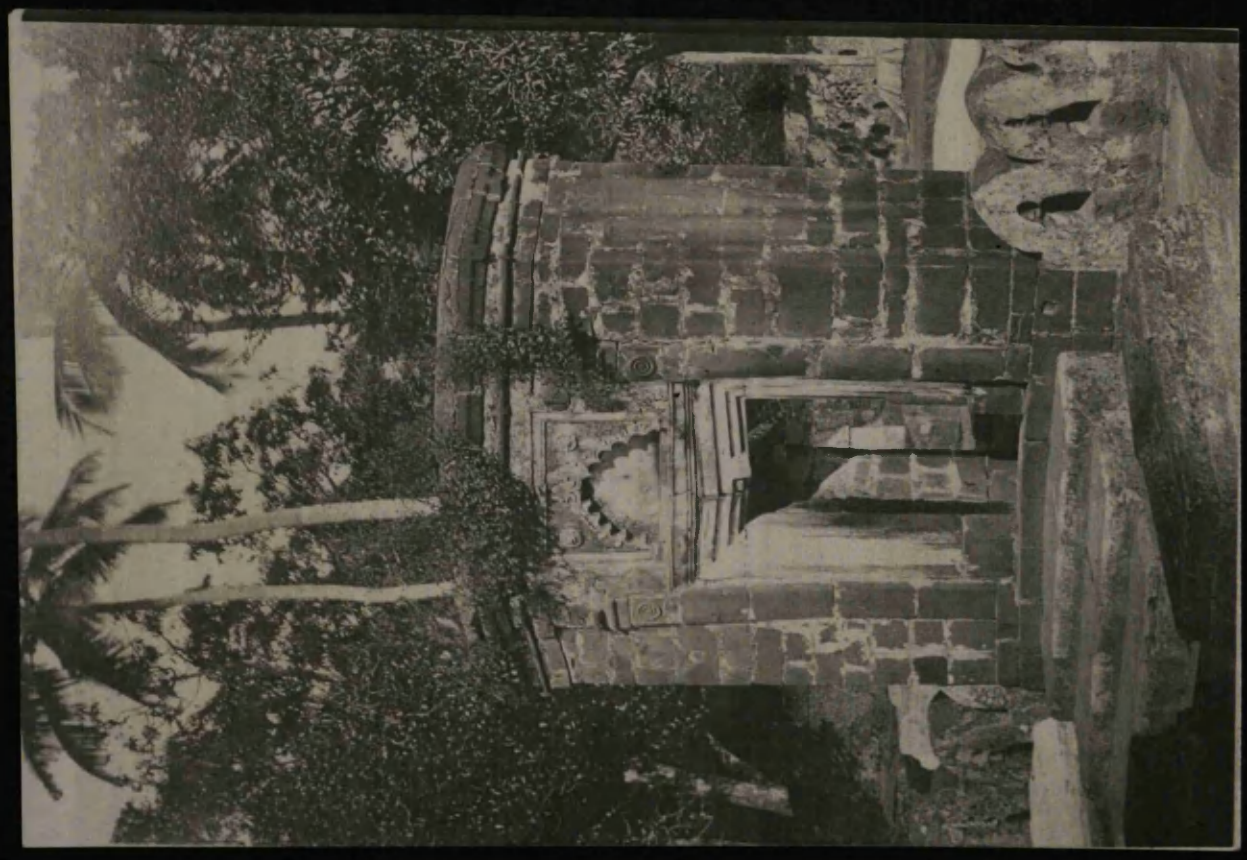


PLATE CXLVII

a-b

PLATE CXLVIII
a-b